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## John Nock Hinton: The Reconstructed Life of an English Born Mormon Convert of Virgin City, Utah

Lenora Atkin Meeks

*Brigham Young University - Provo*

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JOHN NOCK HINTON: THE RECONSTRUCTED LIFE OF AN  
ENGLISH BORN MORMON CONVERT OF VIRGIN CITY, UTAH

A Thesis  
Presented to the  
Department of History  
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

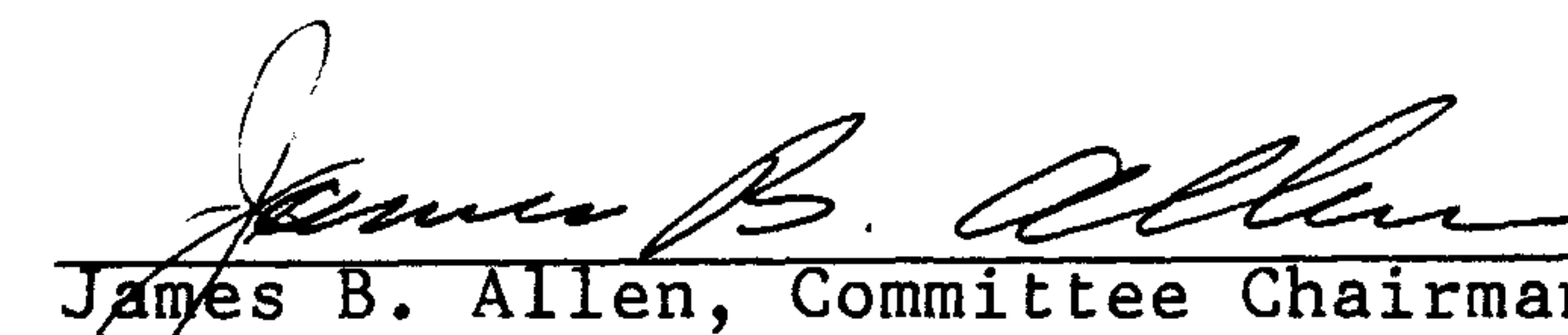
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by

Lenora Atkin Meeks

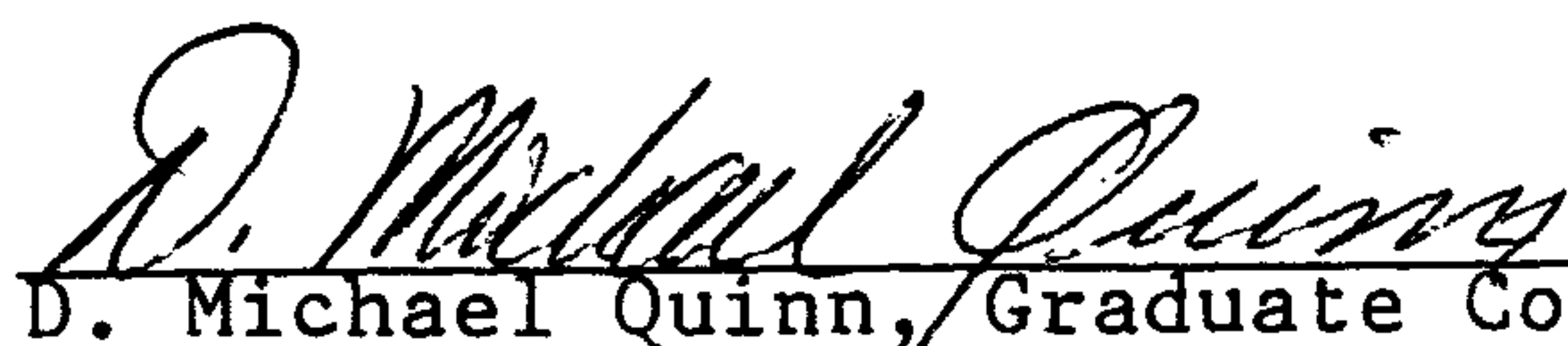
April 1987

This thesis, by Lenora Atkin Meeks is accepted in the present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

  
James B. Allen, Committee Chairman

  
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18 March 1987  
Date

  
D. Michael Quinn, Graduate Coordinator



JOHN NOCK HINTON

1839 - 1928

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## INTRODUCTION

Traditional histories often deal with large movements and are devoted to accounts of presidents, generals, elections, national policy, and wars, and infer that all significant history must happen on that level. Recently, however, emphasis has shifted to community and family history where events are seen not only from the point of view of leaders, but also from the action and reaction of followers. Mormon historian Davis Bitton has justified this trend.

Historians are on the quest for human self-knowledge; this is the best reason, I believe, for studying history. What we are interested in is human beings coping with human problems. They do this in different cultural settings and on different levels but one is not more significant than another.<sup>1</sup>

This tendency can also be seen in Mormon history. Many historians have focused on the accomplishments of the highest and most prominent leaders. More recently, however, greater attention has been given to local leaders of the second echelon. While these studies have brought greater understanding to the Mormon movement, until we know more about the common, ordinary, lay member, our view of Mormon history will be incomplete, perhaps even distorted.

The purpose of this narrative is twofold: (1) to reconstruct the life of John Nock Hinton (1839-1928), chosen because he was a common lay member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints who did not leave any personal writings, and (2) to show that a creditable biography can be written about this kind of individual, without any such personal writings.

John Nock Hinton was never an apostle, a stake president or even a bishop. He never took plural wives nor served a Church mission; and he never held a civic office. He was, however, an ordained High Priest, a Sunday School Superintendent, and leader of the ward choir. He also performed vicarious temple work and faithfully did his ward teaching. Like thousands of others who made up the vast body of the Church, he supported, sustained, then carried out the policies and programs of his leaders. His dedication to his religion was the moving force in his life and it was this kind of dedication in the lives of thousands of common members that was the binding force that held the Church together.

The reconstruction of the life of an individual such as John Nock Hinton had to be done within the backdrop of the history of his community. The lack of any personal writings by him mandated that many varied historical sources be used to find information that would add substance to the biography. Of prime importance were the personal records of those individuals whose lives



touched his life--his family, friends, and neighbors. These included a collection of family letters from England, the personal writings of his mother, brother, and children as well as journals, diaries, memoirs, and autobiographies of his friends and neighbors. Church and civil records were also used, as well as historical records on local, county, state, and national levels. Bits of information gleaned from genealogy, demography, social life, religion, politics, economics, and illustrative anecdotes became the building material for weaving the biography and the community history together.

The value of this study is threefold. First, the biography shows a human being coping with human problems and change in the economic, cultural, and environmental aspects of his life. Once this man had committed himself to a life very different from everything he had previously known, he held persistently to it, despite set-backs and hardships. Second, this study adds to the body of historical literature of Utah and the West as it includes the early history of Virgin City, a small, little known village on the Mormon frontier in the Southern (Cotton) Mission. Third, it can serve as a model to others who would like to write histories of their progenitors, but fear there is insufficient information because the ancestors did not leave any written records.

**NOTES TO INTRODUCTION**

<sup>1</sup>Bitton, Davis, "The Making of a Community:  
Blackfoot, Idaho 1878-1910." Idaho Yesterdays 19  
(1975):2.

## CHAPTER I

### GROWING UP ENGLISH:

#### BACKGROUND AND EARLY LIFE OF JOHN NOCK HINTON

On Friday June 23, 1881, in Virgin City, Utah Territory, forty-one-year-old John Nock Hinton stood watching a raging fire. The flames licked hungrily at the dry wooden boards of the frame buildings. Almost immediately, the two structures were engulfed in the hot, scorching blaze. Both John's furniture shop and his neighbor's gristmill, standing side by side on the Virgin River, were completely reduced to piles of ashes and rubble in one short hour.<sup>1</sup>

As the debris still smoldered, John gazed in disbelief. What to do now? The two-storied furniture shop was his only means of earning a living for his family, now comprised of his wife Emma and their nine children. To construct the building he had invested heavily, including the proceeds from the sale of his fields and team. Just recently, he had sold his investments in the Kolob Herd and the Co-op Store to purchase lumber to increase his inventory. He and his sons had built many different kinds and pieces of

furniture. The evening before, the top floor had been filled with furniture being painted and varnished. In a few days there was to be a grand opening and the townspeople were "anxiously awaiting the time when they could buy the furniture they needed so badly."<sup>2</sup> Now, this! There was nothing left, not even his tools. Everything was gone!

John still lingered beside the river as night came and the desert heat began to dissipate. There was real beauty in his adopted homeland even though it was vastly different from his native country. The England of his childhood seemed a long time and a far place away. It was there that he had spent seven years learning his trade, apprenticed to Jeremiah Wright, master cabinet maker and upholsterer. He had been the first in his immediate family to become a craftsman. The others were, and had been for several generations, clerks and accountants. His choice of occupation was not the only departure he had made from the traditions of his family; he was also the one who had heard the beat of "a different drummer."

Families transmit values and expectations across the generations and family was a critical influence in the life of John Nock Hinton. Even though some of his forebears had inherited small landholdings which would have provided a basic living for them, John's father and grandfather had chosen to pursue commercial careers, which

in addition to the land provided a better standard of living for their families. This tradition of a strong work ethic influenced John in his choice of occupation. He also inherited the legacy of valuing education for himself and his children. He was born into a family which for decades had been independent thinkers in matters of religion.<sup>3</sup> It was this tradition of self-determination that enabled him to choose a different religion which became a primary force in his life and caused him to leave urban England and settle in frontier Utah. These family traditions, combined with the environmental and social influences of the times in which he lived, had a lasting impact on him.

The England of John's childhood in the 1840's was the hub of the United Kingdom, the only global power then in the world. Its colonial empire extended over nearly one quarter of the earth's surface. No less marked was a British dominance in economic matters. Not only was it the most advanced and powerful economy, Britain also influenced all other national economies in commerce and industry. The Industrial Revolution which began slowly in the last third of the eighteenth century was accelerating. It transformed society by moving men and women in large numbers from traditional agricultural occupations into a system which entailed increased division and specialization of labor in factories and work places. The mechanization of the means of production, the

utilitization of new forms of energy, new kinds of transportation and communication and the ever-increasing role of science in industry were the components that brought about the phenomenon known as the Industrial Revolution. The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of perfecting existing processes and extending the manufacturing systems. This brought constant change and rapid growth.<sup>4</sup>

Birmingham, where John was born, was a large commercial and manufacturing center, located near the middle of England, in the northwest corner of Warwickshire. It was situated in a rich coal and iron district. The area in and around Birmingham was sometimes called the Black Country because of its many industries. A celebrated manufacturing town, it included the parishes of Birmingham and Edgbaston, with part of the parish of Aston.<sup>5</sup> In 1851 its population was almost 233,000.<sup>6</sup> Probably the most interesting aspects of Birmingham's history were the extraordinary growth of the town, the progressive improvements of its manufacturers, and the wide expansion of its domestic and foreign trade.<sup>7</sup> The streets of Birmingham were clean and spacious, and many were paved and lighted with gas. Some of the houses along the streets were residences of merchants, manufacturers, and tradespeople; others were the small houses of the workers. In some homes, water pumps attached to the house supplied soft water for culinary purposes.<sup>8</sup>

The English historian, Asa Briggs, described how the social history of Victorian Birmingham was circumscribed by four conditions in the work place. First, was the great diversity in occupations. In 1849, the Board of Health Commissioners attributed the town's "exceptional elasticity" in trade to more than five hundred classes of industries that could be found there. Second, manufacturing was carried out in small workshops rather than in large factories. Growth was measured by the expansion in the numbers of producing units rather than by additions to existing enterprises as could be found in other industrial centers such as Manchester. As a result, the squalor of the factory town was not as prevalent, and the relations between "master" and "men" were closer in Birmingham than in other parts of England. The political and economic policies which developed locally placed emphasis on this mutual interest, interdependence, and common action.<sup>9</sup> Third, most of the labor force of Birmingham was skilled, and consequently relatively well-off economically. The workers here suffered far less from the introduction of mechanization than did those in other industrial centers. As a result, there was far less concern about factory reform and trade unions, with more emphasis on education and friendly societies. This was an "age of improvement" whose benefits were felt to be shared by everyone. Fourth, social mobility was a reality in Birmingham. There was

considerable optimism among the townspeople that perseverance and continued good trade could lead to fortune or at the least, respectability and independence. However, in a city such as this where industrial fluctuations abounded, small "masters" could easily find themselves "men." Mobility, then, could have gone either way, up or down.<sup>10</sup>

The citizens of Birmingham had immense pride in their town. This pride was the driving force behind the civic philosophy that came to be known as "the civic gospel." The result of this "gospel" was a sweeping reorganization of the functions and finances of local government so that by the late 1870's, Birmingham had the international reputation of being the best governed city in the world."<sup>11</sup>

With the emphasis Asa Briggs noted on education and friendly societies, it is not surprising that Birmingham had many self-improvement organizations as well as cultural facilities and activities. Libraries, lecture rooms, schools, adult education facilities, museums, art galleries, theatres, and music halls could be found there.<sup>12</sup> There was the Theatre Royal, which after a stormy beginning, produced great plays for the populace.<sup>13</sup> Music was a local preoccupation made manifest by numerous small choral and orchestral societies. The triennial Birmingham Music Festival was advertised as the largest outside of London and was



designed on a large scale with instrumental and choral presentations. Among the highlight performances were Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, the premiere performance of Elijah by Mendelssohn, and performances of works by a local composer, Francis Edward Bache.<sup>14</sup>

Just as Birmingham was diverse in industry, it was also diverse in religion. Besides the established Church of England, there were places of worship for Baptists, Society of Friends, Independents, Primitive and Wesleyan Methodists, Swedenborgians, Unitarians, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics.<sup>15</sup> Earlier there had been strict laws in England's corporate towns against non-conformists, and Oxford and Cambridge Universities closed their doors to dissenters. Many capable dissenters excluded from the universities turned their talents to industry. Birmingham, not a corporate town at that time and therefore not subject to the restricting laws of larger places, became a natural haven for dissenters. They came to Birmingham and flourished there.<sup>16</sup>

The life of John Nock Hinton, son of Atkins and Agnes Maurice Hinton began October 18, 1839, on Bridge Street, in Birmingham, Warwickshire, England.<sup>17</sup> Neither of John's parents were natives of Birmingham, though both were raised in parishes within ten miles of that city.

John Nock Hinton's father, Atkins, grew up in Walsall, Staffordshire. There he received his primary education in the local grammar school.<sup>18</sup> That completed,

he trained as an accountant and then by meeting certain standards of performance determined by examination, received a charter or certificate attesting to his expertise and granting him license to work as a chartered accountant. The education and occupation of John's father, as well as previous family social position, placed the Hinton's in the middle social class.<sup>19</sup>

At the age of twenty-three, Atkins married Ann Bucknell on September 8, 1826 in the parish church at Daventry, Northampton.<sup>20</sup> They moved into a house on Great Brook Street, a rather fashionable neighborhood in Aston, Birmingham, where they attended church at the Carrs Lane Independent Chapel. During the next four years a son and three daughters were born to Atkins and Ann. However, a series of tragedies struck the Hinton family: their first born son and eldest child lived only seven weeks, and the youngest daughter, a twin, died shortly after birth. Their greatest loss was the death of Ann on August 30, 1830.<sup>21</sup> After four short years of marriage, Atkins had lost two children and his wife. At the age of twenty-seven, he was a widower with two daughters, Mary Ann, age two, and newborn Sarah Elizabeth. It was almost seven years later that he married for the second time to twenty-six-year-old Agnes Maurice who bore him six children, the second of whom was John Nock Hinton.<sup>22</sup>

Atkins took his bride, Agnes, to his Great Brook Street home after they were married in 1837. By that

time, Mary Ann was eight and Sarah Elizabeth was six, and neither could have remembered their mother, Ann. While the family was living there, two children were born, Agnes in 1838, and John Nock in 1839.<sup>23</sup> Having lost two of Ann's children, it was undoubtedly a worry to the whole family that John was a sickly child and needed much care. He did not walk until he was three years old.<sup>24</sup> In 1841, upon the birth of the second son, named Atkins for his father,<sup>25</sup> the Hinton family moved a short distance to Bloomsbury Place. With only fifteen months in age separating the two boys, they were best friends and constant companions in childhood.<sup>26</sup>

At first, the boys' world was small. Father was seldom seen, as he was occupied with the business. The house where mother presided was not totally their domain, since the drawing room was for company and for the grown-ups in the evenings. But the kitchen, with all the smells of good things cooking, was theirs. Emma Blackburn,<sup>27</sup> the maid, did most of the cooking under the close supervision of mother, but sisters Mary Ann, Sarah, and Agnes also helped in the kitchen. Most of the cooking was done at home, including jams, jellies, cakes, pies, pudding, and bread.<sup>28</sup> During Victorian times there were many dictums concerning children and their behavior. The boys ate their meals in the kitchen. Not until they were older were they permitted to eat in the dining room. It was thought that anything but the plainest food was quite

beyond a child's digestion. For dinner there were plain boiled vegetables and milk pudding, with perhaps a little steamed fish, boiled mutton, or fowl. Breakfast consisted of porridge, and for tea-time, bread and butter with a small ration of jam or cake.<sup>29</sup>

To many middle class Victorians, "Children, obey your parents in the Lord," and "Children should be seen and not heard," were inviolable injunctions. There were many rules of conduct recognized universally as being correct that had to be learned. "Don't tuck your napkin under your chin." "Don't gurgle, or draw in your breath, or make other noises when eating soup." "Don't expectorate on the sidewalk." "Don't use slang" and on and on covering every age from childhood to senility.<sup>30</sup> However, growing up was not a process of constant grind and discipline. One of John's favorite activities was to help his father with the fuchsias and other beautiful flowering plants in the conservatory.<sup>31</sup> There were many pleasant pursuits for John and Atkins. Out-of-doors they took walks and played with kites.<sup>32</sup> Because the manufacture of small metal items was extensive in Birmingham, all kinds of dolls, hobby horses, rocking horses, jigsaw puzzles, music boxes, wooly animals, models of sailing ships, Noah's arks, and regiments of lead soldiers were readily available.<sup>33</sup> Although books written especially for children tended to be "moralizing tracts," they offered the boys another outlet for their

energies.<sup>34</sup>

Continuing the family practice and tradition, Atkins Hinton and family attended church as Independents. The congregation of their choice was the spacious Carrs Lane Chapel where Reverend John Angell James served as minister. There were many activities other than regular Sunday services in which members could participate. Some of these were more secular than religious. Reverend James' record of 1859 described many societies for local and foreign missionary activities; charitable, maternal and benevolent societies for the ladies; a Religious Tract Society; the Village Preacher Society; the Young Men's Brotherly Society with a two thousand volume library; Sunday and day schools "which comprehended nearly two thousand children;" and night school including Bible classes for young men and women.<sup>35</sup> Clearly, if such was the choice of the individual, much time and effort could be expended in chapel social life. The Reverend James was a good preacher and packed the church every Sunday. The services were very long, so Atkins, with obvious sympathy for the children, took a lunch prepared for each of them and, one by one, they would duck down under the high pew to eat it. This made the services bearable for the youngsters.<sup>36</sup>

Another influence, very early in John's life, was that of the extended family. His mother's sister, Elizabeth Maurice, often lived with them. The Hinton

family also could visit and associate with other relatives living close by in Birmingham. Besides several aunts on the Maurice side of the family, of particular interest to John was great-uncle James Bulmer. A brother of his grandmother Hinton, Uncle James had lived with the family in Walsall when John's father was a small boy. Uncle James was a carpenter by trade, the only member of either side of the family with that kind of occupation. Perhaps he was influential in John's choice of vocation.

It was during this time that Atkins Hinton, as the accountant manager, helped in the formation of a brassfounding firm.<sup>37</sup> The brass hinges, locks and keys, metal facings for corners and edges as well as screws and bolts made in Birmingham were considered by the cabinet makers throughout the country to be the very best.<sup>38</sup> This firm was one of the first Nettlefold companies which, after several earlier mergers, became part of the the large conglomerate of Guest, Keen and Nettlefolds, Ltd. in 1902.<sup>39</sup>

In the meantime, the Hinton family was increasing. Another son, Thomas Maurice and a daughter, Hannah, were also born at Bloomsbury Place. Just a month after Hannah was born, tragedy again struck the Hinton family. John's half-sister, Sarah Elizabeth, died of consumption at the age of fifteen. Of the four children of the first family of Atkins Hinton, only Mary Ann remained.<sup>40</sup>

In 1851, Atkins Hinton moved his family to 143 Ashted Row in the fashionable suburb of Ashted, also in the district of Aston. The houses there were constructed of brick. A distinctive architecture was evident in the double-fronted houses with three-light windows, divided by columns, while the doorways were surmounted by enriched friezes and segmental pediments.<sup>41</sup>

When the Hinton family moved to Ashted Row, John was eleven. He and his two brothers were attending school.<sup>42</sup> Since the census returns show them living at home, they were attending day school rather than boarding school. The Hinton sons could have attended a private school but as their father had attended the Walsall Grammar School, it seems reasonable that grammar school might have been his choice for them. The King Edward Grammar School was less than a mile away on New Street. It was open only to boys, and had a headmaster, a second master, three classical Greek and Latin assistants, a mathematics master, a chief and two assistant masters in modern languages, drawing, and writing.<sup>43</sup> Whatever school they went to, all three boys attended until they were fourteen years old.

By the age of fourteen, John had decided that he wanted to make furniture as an occupation so he began his apprenticeship with Jeremiah Wright, master cabinet maker and upholsterer of 260 Bradford Street, Birmingham.<sup>44</sup> Just how much influence his Uncle James Bulmer, the

carpenter, had on this decision cannot be determined but furniture making was certainly a departure from the commercial occupations traditional to the family.

The length and nature of any apprenticeship was set forth by an indenture, or contract, entered into by the apprentice, his parents or guardians, and the master. Premiums were paid to the master who charged whatever he could get in the marketplace.<sup>45</sup> The indenture itself was a printed form with appropriate blanks for inserting the names of the parties, the trade, the term of years, and the size of the premium. The legal language was well established and predated the Statute of Apprentices of 1563. The apprentice was bound not only in a service relationship to his master but also to certain standards of personal behavior. He could not frequent taverns nor play cards, dice, or any other unlawful game. Although the Elizabethan clause in the document forbidding fornication had been omitted, an apprentice could not marry during his term. The master could expect the apprentice to give him faithful service and gladly obey all his lawful commands, keep his secrets, and be on call day and night. Moreover, the apprentice was obliged to conduct himself in an honest and faithful manner towards his master and all his master's property.<sup>46</sup>

In 1853, when John began his apprenticeship, Jeremiah Wright was fifty-nine and still very active in his profession.<sup>47</sup> He had a large shop where several



craftsmen and other apprentices in addition to John served. As a cabinet maker and upholsterer, Wright was a producer/retailer of furniture who also dealt in other household furnishings and could have advised clients on the decoration of homes. The workmen carried out such varied jobs as making, covering and stuffing furniture, cutting carpets, and arranging window drapery.<sup>48</sup> John commenced his apprenticeship by doing such menial tasks as sweeping out the shop, running errands, and putting away tools. The process of making furniture was broken down into small parts and the novice apprentice began with the most simple. As John's expertise increased, he did the more difficult tasks, and finally, at the end of seven years, he was capable of completely producing a large variety of furniture pieces.

The Wright furniture shop on Bradford Street was about one and one-half miles from the Hinton home on Ashted Row and, according to local custom, John walked there and home again each day.<sup>49</sup> Work generally began at eight o'clock in the morning and finished at seven o'clock in the evening with about one and one-half hours off for meals and tea. On Saturday, work usually ceased at 1:00 P.M. This made a work week of between fifty-two and fifty-four hours, leaving the evening and weekends for other activities.<sup>50</sup>

For middle-class Victorians, most evenings were spent at home. Many felt that inactivity was repreh-

sible, perhaps even immoral. Members of the family would have spent the time playing games, reading good books, or involved in other educational or artistic pursuits. Some might draw or paint. The ladies sewed, did needlework or embroidered. Above all, there was music.<sup>51</sup> The Hinton family had a piano, as did many middle class British homes. Often, after church, Sunday evenings were spent around this piano, with everyone in the family singing, and harmonizing their separate parts.<sup>52</sup>

As John was serving his apprenticeship, the other children began training for their life's work. John's older sister, Agnes, after completing the courses of study at her Aunt Caroline's private school in West Bromwich, became a governess to a titled family. She traveled extensively with them on the continent. She continued in this position until her marriage in 1867 to Bernard Thomas.<sup>53</sup> While the younger sisters spent their time as scholars, John's brother, Atkins, began his apprenticeship in 1855, to his uncle, Bower Hinton, a grocer of Dudley.<sup>54</sup> He did not complete his term until after John left for America in 1861. Thomas, the youngest brother, apprenticed as an accountant to his own father.<sup>55</sup> As with John, the early training, education and apprenticing would serve all the Hinton children well throughout their adult lives.

In the latter part of 1860, John reached his majority. He was an attractive man with wavy brown hair,

blue eyes, and regular features. He had long artistic fingers, ears that lay close to his head, and an ample but not overlarge nose. Not a large man, he was never over five feet, six inches tall and as he grew older he seemed to shrink somewhat. All through his adult life he wore some kind of beard, with or without a mustache. His brother, Atkins, upon seeing him again for the first time in thirty-two years, at the age of fifty-three, described him as a "handsome . . . sturdy backwoodsman."<sup>56</sup>

At the age of twenty-one John's life experiences had left an indelible imprint on his character that was discernible later in life. His childhood homelife created in him a strong sense of family, and developed family ties that were to last a lifetime, half a world away. Strong religious inclinations emerged as he became conscious of his family's traditional concepts of religion, and developed his own religious convictions and expectations. In addition, he learned an appreciation for the cultural activities to which his middle class life had exposed him. John's schooling had given him tools of reasoning and literacy. From this he developed a love of learning that he passed on to his children. His career choice led him through his apprenticeship and taught him the value of hard work. From his master he learned business management principles. Moreover, he learned to handle resources with care and skill and to appreciate good wood, fine tools and excellent workmanship. John's

participation in Birmingham's commercial sector gave him firm confidence that through perseverance and patience almost anything could be accomplished. It was this spirit of optimism and faith in the ultimate goodness of life that gave him the tenacity to cope with the changes and adversities that came to him. He was now prepared for life as an independent, self-sufficient individual. Having grown up English in a middle-class Victorian home in the traditions of his family, he was ready to dare to be different. He would now make his own choices and suffer the consequences, whether good or ill. He faced the future with hope, confidence, and eager expectation.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER I

<sup>1</sup>Agnes Maurice Hinton to John Nock Hinton, July 21, 1881. This is part of a collection of letters from John's family in England that is in the library of Virginia Hastings Baker, Mesa, Arizona, photocopy in possession of author, hereinafter cited as VHB; and "Hurricane Couple, Dixie Pioneers, Celebrate 65th Wedding Anniversary," Deseret News, May 29, 1926, recalled the fire. "While melting glue on the dirt floor, a fire was ignited." The complete article is included in the Appendix.

<sup>2</sup>Edith Hinton Gibson, "The Life Sketch of John Nock Hinton," p. 5. Typescript copy in possession of author.

<sup>3</sup>They were members of the Independent Church, later known as the Congregational Church, one of the many nonconformist or dissenting religions in England. See the appendix for details about the religious practices of each individual ancestral family. Nonconformist churches are those which do not conform to the doctrines and rituals of the established state church. The Anglican or Episcopal church is the official Church of England.

<sup>4</sup>Francois Crouzet, The Victorian Economy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), p. 1-2; Roderick Floud, and Donald McClosky, eds., The Economic History of Great Britain Since 1700, 2 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1981), 1:103-105.

<sup>5</sup>Samuel Lewis, A Topographical Dictionary of England, 4 vols. (London: S. Lewis and Co. 1844), 1: 246.

<sup>6</sup>W.B. Stevens, ed., A History of the County of Warwick, Vol 7, "The City of Birmingham" (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 14.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., and Lewis, Topographical Dictionary, 1: 249.

<sup>8</sup>Lewis, Topographical Dictionary, 1: 248.

<sup>9</sup>Asa Briggs, Victorian Cities (London: Odhams Books Limited, 1963), pp. 188-189.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 189.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 187.

<sup>12</sup>Lewis, Topographical Dictionary, 1: 251.

<sup>13</sup>Stephens, History of Warwick, p. 237.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 236.

<sup>15</sup>Lewis, Topographical Dictionary, 1: 251.

<sup>16</sup>Ina Taylor, The Edwardian Lady (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1980), p. 12.

<sup>17</sup>Agnes Maurice Hinton "Family Memorandums," manuscript, not paged. Photocopy of this small booklet written by John Nock Hinton's mother is in author's possession, original in possession of A.G. Gale, Birmingham England; and Birth Certificate of John Nock Hinton, General Register Office, London, England.

<sup>18</sup>There he was given for "first prize" a small book. C.C. Sturm, Reflections on the Works of God (London: J. Walker and J. Harris, 1808), inside front cover.

<sup>19</sup>Geoffrey Best, Mid-Victorian Britain 1861-1875 (New York: Schocken, 1971), pp. 85-87. Best here lists occupations of the middle-class. Among those mentioned were "Commerce: clerks, accountants, bankers, etc. Public Administration. Trade, wholesale and retail." He then adds another measure of middle class as those having domestic servants. The Hinton family met both of these criteria. 1841, 1851, and 1861 Birmingham, Warwickshire and 1881 Handsworth, Staffordshire Census Returns. Genealogical Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah hereinafter cited as GLC.

<sup>20</sup>Hinton, "Memorandums."

<sup>21</sup>Carrs Lane Independent Chapel Register and St. James the Less, Birmingham Parish Register, GLC. See the appendix for family group sheet.

<sup>22</sup>Hinton, "Memorandums." This marriage brought to the Hinton family a Welsh line rich in religious

nonconformity. Agnes Maurice was born in Tipton, Staffordshire twelve miles from Birmingham. She and her family lived in several places in the industrial midlands where her father worked as a writing clerk, accountant, or in another commercial occupation. See the appendix for details about the religious practices of each individual ancestral family.

<sup>23</sup>Hinton, Memorandums;" Birth Certificates for Agnes Hinton and John Nock Hinton, General Register Office, London, England.

<sup>24</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 1.

<sup>25</sup>Hinton, "Memorandums;" Birth Certificate for Atkins Hinton, General Register Office, London, England.

<sup>26</sup>Atkins Hinton, "A Tiptonian's Travels," newspaper articles, 1897, number 3. Photo copy of the six original articles sent by Bernard Atkins Hinton to Edith Gibson February 17, 1952. I have made inquiries to determine the name of the newspaper and the complete dates of publication to Birmingham Reference Library, Birmingham University Library, the British Library Newspaper Library at Colindale, and the Tipton Public Library but none of these have extant copies of the pertinent newspapers. Originals, VHB. These articles are included in the Appendix.

<sup>27</sup>1851 Census returns 143 Ashted Row, Birmingham. GLC.

<sup>28</sup>Christopher Hibbert, Daily Life in Victorian England (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), p. 41.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., pp. 30-32.

<sup>31</sup>Interview with Lucille Hinton Gubler, Bountiful, Utah, June 15, 1986.

<sup>32</sup>Atkins Hinton newspaper article, number 3, VHB.

<sup>33</sup>Hibbert, Daily Life, p. 45-46.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>35</sup>Best, Mid-Victorian Britian, pp. 196-197.

<sup>36</sup>Bernard Atkins Hinton to Edith Gibson, March 1, 1954, VHB.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 1934; and William A. Corbett to Edith Gibson, March 19, 1952, VHB.

<sup>38</sup>Stephens, History of Warwick, pp. 103-104.

<sup>39</sup>Earl B. Thomas, "The Guest Keen and Nettlefolds Group of Companies," Steel Review, January 17, 1960, pp 1-7.

<sup>40</sup>Hinton, "Memorandums."

<sup>41</sup>Lewis, Topographical Dictionary, 1: 248. This district of Aston had been laid out in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

<sup>42</sup>1851 Census, Ashted Row, Birmingham, GLC.

<sup>43</sup>Lewis, Topographical Dictionary, 1: 251; and Best, Mid-Victorian Britian, p. 161.

<sup>44</sup>Gibson, "Biography," p. 1; and 1861 Census, 260 Bradford Street, Birmingham, GLC.

<sup>45</sup>Joan Lane, ed., Birmingham Apprentices and Their Masters (Oxford: Comersgate Ltd., 1983), p. xii.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. xiii.

<sup>47</sup>1861 Census, Bradford Street, Birmingham, GLC; and J.G. Bartholomew, Ed., Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles (London: George Newnes, Limited, 1904), plate 54.

<sup>48</sup>Gibson, "Biography," p. 1; and David Alexander, Retailing in England During the Industrial Revolution (London: Athlone Press, 1970), pp. 155-156.

<sup>49</sup>Atkins Hinton to John Nock Hinton December 3, 1911. VHB.

<sup>50</sup>Charles Booth, Life and Labor of the People in London (New York: AMS Press, 1970), pp. 184-185.

<sup>51</sup>Hibbert, Life, p. 34.

<sup>52</sup>Elizabeth Hinton to John Nock Hinton, December 10, 1923, VHB; and T.K. Derry, T.L. Jarman, The Making of Modern Britian (New York: New York University Press, 1956), p. 199; and Hibbert, Daily Life, p. 34.

<sup>53</sup>A.G. Gale to Camilla Hastings, February 29, 1959, VHB; 1861 Census, west Bromwich, GLC.



<sup>54</sup>Bernard Atkins Hinton to Edith Gibson, August  
6, 1952, VHB.

<sup>55</sup>1861 Census, Ashted Row, Birmingham, GLC.

<sup>56</sup>Atkins Hinton, "Tiptonian's Travels," number 3,  
VHB.

## CHAPTER II

### NEW HORIZONS

John Nock Hinton's future was greatly influenced by a decision and a commitment he made in 1856, when, at the age of sixteen, he discarded the traditional religion of his family to join the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In compliance with the teachings of his new faith, he would, at the completion of his apprenticeship, leave the country of his birth and take up residence in Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, in the United States of America. As these transitions occurred in his life, John found himself in settings and situations distinctly different from anything his background or experience had taught him. Nevertheless, they were for him a gateway into a new life and once having embraced it, he clung to it tenaciously.

After becoming friends with William Isom, and while visiting in the Isom home, John first heard of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, sometimes called the Mormon Church, a new religion from America being preached throughout England by itinerant mission-

aries.<sup>1</sup> When John learned more about the principles and doctrines of this new faith, and became convinced that it was the restored Gospel of Jesus Christ, he decided to become a member. On Sunday February 10, 1856, while still sixteen years old, John was baptized.<sup>2</sup> He differed from the majority of the Mormon converts at that time who were of the working class because he was one of the 11.49% who were of the middle class.<sup>3</sup>

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints had been organized in up-state New York, on April 6, 1830 with Joseph Smith Jr. as its president, as well as Prophet, Seer, and Revelator. Some years earlier, while he was still in his teen years, Joseph had reported that he had received a series of visitations from celestial beings, two of whom he designated as God, the Father, and Jesus Christ. They told him of the apostate condition of all religions, and the need for the restoration of the original Christianity. Further, his future calling would be to restore this original Christianity with all the tenets that had been taught by Christ. Subsequently, he obtained sacred records that for centuries had been buried in a nearby hill. These records, on plates having the appearance of gold, contained the history of the pre-Columbian inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere. He translated these records by miraculous means and then had the translation published as the Book of Mormon. Later revelations conferred the Aaronic and Melchizedek Priest-

hoods, the ecclesiastical and administrative authority for the new faith.

Joseph Smith, in the early 1830's, directed the compilation of the revelations he had received and had them published, first in 1833, as the Book of Commandments, and again, revised, in 1835 as the Doctrine and Covenants. This volume, together with the Bible, the Book of Mormon and later the Pearl of Great Price became the "standard works" of the Church, setting forth the doctrines, principles, and practices of the new religion.

Soon after the Church was organized, other presiding offices were established including the First Presidency, Quorum of Twelve Apostles, First Council of Seventy, Presiding Bishopric, and Patriarch of the Church. Moreover, geographical organizations of stakes, wards, branches, and missions evolved.<sup>4</sup>

The new Church, popularly called the Mormon Church, grew rapidly as the result of missionaries being sent to many parts of the world to proselyte. A doctrine that had a profound influence in the lives of the new converts was that of the "gathering of the Saints to Zion." Zion was wherever the body of the Church was located. In the early years it was in Ohio and Missouri, then Illinois, and eventually, Utah. The concept of the gathering permeated the hearts and minds of members as did nothing else. It was a persistent theme in the sermons, writings, and hymns of the Church. It called the Saints

to leave behind the past and start afresh in the promised land. They would then be in an environment removed from the Gentile (non-Mormon) and from worldly evils where they might better work out their own salvation, and become a righteous people who would please God.<sup>5</sup>

At the time of his baptism, John had almost five years of his apprenticeship yet to serve. Although often spurned and rebuffed by his master and fellow apprentices because of his religious affiliation, he was determined to finish out his time, so that he might have a good occupation to earn a livelihood. He began to save his meager three shillings per week for passage to America and Utah.<sup>6</sup>

None of John's family shared his enthusiasm for his new-found faith. Although they were religious, they could not reconcile many of the teachings of Mormonism with their own beliefs. They particularly disliked and disapproved of the doctrine of plural marriage.<sup>7</sup> However, reflecting the strong feeling of religious tolerance so prevalent in Birmingham, his family put no obstacle in his way nor did they restrict his practice of his chosen religion. Moreover, they later assisted in his preparations to emigrate.<sup>8</sup>

In mid-Victorian England, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was held in low esteem by many persons. Geoffrey Best, while discussing the 1851 Religious Census, reported, "Mormons, who counted about

18,000 attendance on census Sunday, were considered heathen by everyone else."<sup>9</sup> Although the general public rejected and disparaged the Church, the missionaries continued to win converts. In the decade of the 1850's some 43,304 English men and women were baptized.<sup>10</sup>

When John's apprenticeship was completed early in 1861, he found that his frugality had paid off: he had saved enough money for ocean passage and to make the long trip to Utah.<sup>11</sup> As was customary at the beginning of each year, The Latter-day Saints Millennial Star, the official publication of the Church in England, gave council for the year's emigration. Those wishing to go to Utah must register and pay deposits early to the mission office. The advice continued with an estimate of expected expenses based on costs of the previous year.<sup>12</sup> Other articles gave detailed descriptions of what the emigrant might expect in preparation, travel, and upon arrival in Zion. In February, the members were informed of a new, more cost-effective emigrating scheme. "Down and back" teams from the "Valley" would transport the emigrants from Florence, Nebraska to Utah.<sup>13</sup>

John sent his transportation deposit of one pound to the mission office on April 3, 1861.<sup>14</sup> Preparations for the trip then assumed an urgency as he considered just what he should take with him. Of first priority were his cabinet-making tools. His books, including English and Algebra texts, were also important. He would need

sufficient clothing to last a number of years.<sup>15</sup> Then there were all the necessities and niceties for a comfortable, but long journey. At last all was ready, and John bid what he thought was his last good-bye to all his family and friends.

On Saturday, April 20, 1861, the train station in Birmingham was filled with busy people. It was difficult to discern the persons leaving from those seeing them off. Luggage was piled high and porters were stacking it carefully to get it all on board. Passengers soon began moving to the cars, bidding tearful farewells to relatives and friends. John Nock Hinton was traveling in a company of one hundred people from Birmingham. As the train pulled out of the station, passengers strained for a look out of the windows, for a last glimpse of loved ones too soon lost from view.<sup>16</sup>

These were not ordinary people getting out of the city for a holiday, but members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints leaving their native England to "gather" to Utah Territory in the western United States. The first leg of the journey was by train in second class carriage, eighty-eight miles northwest to Liverpool.<sup>17</sup> Next they sailed on the vessel Underwriter to New York Harbor; thence by rail to Florence, Nebraska; and, finally, by wagon train to Salt Lake City, the end of their journey.

As the train to Liverpool jostled along, the

travelers talked excitedly about the trip and the destination. They were very happy to be on their way and as some began singing the "Songs of Zion" the others joined them.<sup>18</sup> This group of Saints was under the leadership of Elder Milo Andrus. He had been a member of the Presidency of the Birmingham District and was, therefore, known and respected by the emigrants. Although an American, he had been in England for three years as a missionary. Failing health compelled him to leave and to return to his family in Utah.<sup>19</sup>

In Liverpool, this group of Birmingham Saints was joined by emigrating Mormons from other parts of England. The Underwriter could be seen at anchor in the Mersey River. The company of traveling Saints was organized by the Mission president with Milo Andrus as President and Homer Duncan and Charles W. Penrose as counselors. These men in turn organized the 624 members into nine wards, including one for bachelors.<sup>20</sup>

Monday, April 22, the passengers were conveyed by tugboat to the Underwriter. Once on board, everyone was examined by a doctor. They then found their places below deck. John, of course, was in the bachelor's ward, "a dull, dark place in the fore part of the lower deck."<sup>21</sup>

The next day the ship weighed anchor and a steam tug towed it out into the Irish Sea. About this time, John noticed a pretty, slender, brown-haired, young lady traveling with his friends, the Foster family. By



prevailing upon John Foster, John was introduced to Emma Spendlove from Rowington, Warwickshire.<sup>22</sup>

Emma Spendlove was the daughter of Elizabeth Harrison and John Spendlove. Her father John Spendlove had been a laborer on the railroad for many years. Emma's mother, Elizabeth, died about the time her father joined the Mormon Church in 1849. On October 11, 1852, while living in Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, John Spendlove remarried. His bride, Maria Tole, was also a member of the Mormon Church and anxious to join the Saints in Utah. She soon obtained employment for the children and encouraged them to save their earnings for emigration. Emma began to work at the age of ten, first taking care of children. Later, she did housework and lace-making. Her wages were small, but she eventually saved enough to go to Utah. The rest of the family was unable to go at that time, so it was decided that Emma would go alone, accompanying the Steven Foster family, close friends of the Spendloves.<sup>23</sup>

The first few days of the voyage the Underwriter had a calm ocean. A social was held in the evening of the second day at sea. The company was entertained with singing, readings and dancing.<sup>24</sup> It was on occasions such as this that John and Emma became better acquainted.

As the good weather gave way to storms, and the sea became rough, the motion of the ship brought upon the passengers that ancient curse, seasickness. Almost

everyone was afflicted. John's fellow passenger, F. W. Blake recorded in the company's journal, "I had never in the whole of my life remember feeling so awful [sic] bad, and such was the fate of many others."<sup>25</sup> The storms continued and several days later, Blake further recorded, "We pray God to speed the ship and give us strength to bear the sickness."<sup>26</sup> After a week of storms, the ocean finally calmed; everyone was then able to resume their normal activities. The evening socials were also resumed, and often the company danced to the "tune of a fiddle."<sup>27</sup> Throughout the rest of the voyage, although the sea was rough at times, storms never lasted more than a day.

As their friendship deepened, John and Emma decided to marry and begin their new life in Zion together. They had known each other for less than a month, yet this marriage was destined to last more than sixty-five years through prosperity as well as adversity. Sunday, May 19, dawned with warm breezes and bright sunshine. It was a beautiful day! The regular Sunday meeting schedule was kept and then a special event took place. As recorded by Milo Andrus:

In the evening at 8 o'clock, another important meeting was held in No. 1 Ward to celebrate the nuptials of a young couple, John Nock Hinton and Emma Spendlove. Brother Milo Andrus, at their request officiated in the ceremony and pronounced them man and wife. The marriage was good for fun and anticipations with the young and merry recollections among those who had passed through the ordeal before."<sup>28</sup>

Three days later, May 22, the Underwriter arrived

in New York, completing a passage of twenty-nine days. Before leaving the ship the Saints were again examined by a doctor who pronounced them in good health. The passengers and their luggage were taken to shore by a small boat. F. W. Blake noted in his journal that as the company crossed the short span of water, "handkerchiefs and hats were waving and loud hurrahs were heard sounding over the waters." The travelers were elated that the first leg of the journey had been completed.<sup>29</sup>

After passing through customs at Castle Gardens, the group, still under the leadership of Milo Andrus, started the next evening by train on the first leg of their trip to Florence, Nebraska. They went by way of Dunkirk, Cleveland, and Toledo, Ohio, to Chicago, arriving there five days later, at noon on May 28. Here the travel-weary passengers had six hours to walk around and to shop for food and other items they needed for their continuing journey. The next day they arrived at the Mississippi River at Quincy, Illinois, where they boarded the river steam boat, Black Hawk, to travel down stream twenty miles and across to Hannibal, Missouri where they boarded another train.<sup>30</sup>

Everywhere they saw signs of war, for the American Civil War was in progress. Train stations housed soldiers waiting to be transferred to the battle area. As John and Emma traveled with the Saints, they saw towns under martial law where all business seemed to have

ceased.<sup>31</sup> Regardless of their concern for the dangers of war, the company continued on by train across the state of Missouri to St. Joseph. During this portion of the trip, F. W. Blake reported that they passed through a town where the secessionist flag had been ripped down and then, further along the way, wood had been piled on the railroad tracks "by the rebels. We dashed on right over it and I presumed it got completely smashed."<sup>32</sup>

At St. Joseph, amidst a heavy rain storm, the company boarded a river boat for the three day trip up the Missouri River to Florence. The river was hard to navigate because the boat had to avoid trees and pieces of wood, and occasionally sand banks. At nightfall the boat was stopped close to shore, and then continued on at daybreak. The second day on the river, John and Emma and their traveling companions had their first look at Indians. As Florence came into view on June 2, eleven days en route from New York, everyone was anxiously awaiting "a speedy deliverance from boat life." However, engine trouble delayed their landing. It was not until 8:00 P.M. that they were at last on shore "prepared to greet old friends." They found Church members with teams and wagons ready to take them to the unfurnished houses in the vicinity which were occupied by each successive Mormon emigrant group as it passed through enroute to Salt Lake City.<sup>33</sup> Darkness fell quickly and the baggage had to be left on the wharf for the night. Before it could be

retrieved next morning, it was soaked by a severe rainstorm.<sup>34</sup>

John and Emma, with the rest of the Utah bound Saints, now had several weeks of waiting and preparation before starting across the plains. There were several companies of Eastern States Saints and the group of European Mormons on board the Monarch of the Sea yet to arrive from the East, as well as the "down and back" wagons to come from Utah. The "down and back" plan had been initiated in 1861 by Brigham Young to create a new, less expensive way of moving people and freight to Utah. This plan had three purposes. First was to bring immigrants to Utah at low cost; second, to bring to Utah Territory needed goods that could be purchased more cheaply in the East; and third, to take surplus flour and oxen from Utah to Florence to be sold or traded for goods.<sup>35</sup> The planners had made every effort to have the Utah teamsters spend a minimum of time in Florence, so the work of preparation had to be accomplished as quickly as possible. The amount of provisions needed to transport almost 4,000 people to Utah was staggering. It was a real tribute to the organizers of the 1861 emigration that the undertaking was a smooth and successful process, well-managed and well-supplied. Consequently, misfortunes of all kinds were kept to a minimum. Because of the successful 1861 season, this emigrating scheme was used for several succeeding years.<sup>36</sup>

While John and Emma were waiting in Florence with the others of their company, two young men bathing in a nearby stream drowned. John was asked to make their coffins. He had never made one before, and although these were his first, they were certainly not the last he ever built. Since it took most of the night to complete the coffins, John was compelled to leave a frightened Emma alone in their temporary home. All night long thunder, lightning, and the fierce wind of a storm raged. Emma was very relieved when John returned with the first light of morning just as the weather calmed.<sup>37</sup>

Upon the arrival, on June 16, of Captain Joseph W. Young, the pace of preparation quickened. He took charge of the Saints who would be traveling with Church teams. He soon opened a "sundries" account for all persons in his charge. Credit was issued to individuals needing food and supplies.<sup>38</sup> On June 16, John received eighteen pounds of flour at three cents a pound, four pounds of bacon at eleven cents a pound, two pounds of sugar at ten cents a pound, one-half pound coffee at twenty cents a pound, one-fourth pound of tea at one dollar a pound and one pound of apples for eight cents, for a total of \$1.61 on his Perpetual Emigration Loan.<sup>39</sup>

Very soon, Captain Young became aware that there were more emigrants than had been expected. To provide food and supplies for so many, he asked all traveling in Church teams to donate all their cash to a general fund.

This money, together with larger sums of tithing from the eastern branches, was used by agents on purchasing trips to Omaha, Bluff City, and the surrounding country-side to buy large quantities of provisions.<sup>40</sup>

The presiding elders, emigrants and teamsters spent the first weeks in July organizing the companies. The emigrants were divided into eight independent, and four "down and back" companies. Everyone received a wagon assignment.<sup>41</sup> John and Emma were in Joseph Horne's Church train.<sup>42</sup> Then John, along with the others, took his luggage to the bowery to be weighed. Adults were charged twenty cents per pound for anything over fifty pounds and any overages were added to their Perpetual Emigrating Fund loan accounts. John and Emma had 123.5 extra pounds which amounted to an additional \$24.70 on their loan.<sup>43</sup> After weigh-in, all baggage was loaded into the wagons. Several families shared one wagon, and families from two wagons shared one sleeping tent. Once loaded, the teamsters drove the wagon to the campground three miles outside of Florence. There the emigrants got their first lessons in camp life.<sup>44</sup> While waiting in camp to begin the trip to Utah, the company experienced several violent storms. These storms made evident the fact that the tents were neither rain nor wind proof.

On the Fourth of July, John and Emma with the others of the Horne company heard cannons fired in Florence in "honor of the day". After a day of speeches

and celebration, in the evening they enjoyed dancing under the stars.<sup>45</sup>

Just prior to the departure of the Horne company, mail arrived from Utah. The emigrants welcomed news from "the valley". In his diary, F. W. Blake commented on an item of special interest to them.

Private letters report that Brigham Young and a company of celebrities are traveling through the Southern settlements encouraging home manufacturing and saying that he would like to see them more thickly populated. It is supposed here that the most of the people in the Church trains for this year will be recommended to proceed to the Southern settlements.<sup>46</sup>

Captain Joseph Horne had spent the past several seasons in Southern Utah on the Virgin River at Heberville growing cotton.<sup>47</sup> His account of the warm winters and the opportunities for obtaining land just by fencing added interest to the subject. This may have planted the seed in John's mind that reached fruition the following year.

By July 9, all was in readiness and the company began its wagon trek across the plains. Depending upon the terrain and the state of the roads, they were able to cover at least eight, and at most, thirty miles each day. Often they found the condition of the road less than ideal with sections sometimes alternately rocky, sandy, or rutty. Heavy rainstorms could produce mud several feet deep on the road. They forded most of the streams and rivers with their wagons except for the few crossings with ferry boats.<sup>48</sup>

A highlight of the journey for the Horne company



was the Pioneer Day celebration on July 24. After traveling eighteen miles, they camped and ate dinner. Later, following brief remarks by Brothers Jacob Gates and Claudius V. Spencer, a grand ball was held "in honor of the day . . . the Utah teamsters carried the day . . . in dancing. Everyone enjoyed themselves well."<sup>49</sup>

While enroute to Utah, the emigrants ate plain food that could have become monotonous.<sup>50</sup> To avoid this they supplemented camp fare with wild fruit, grapes, cherries, currants, and gooseberries picked along the way. The men caught fish in the streams and shot wild ducks, rabbits, and antelope adding fresh game to their diet. When the company reached the Sweetwater in Wyoming, bacon had become scarce, so an ox was killed and the meat distributed among the families.<sup>51</sup>

The Mormon Road was very well-traveled the summer of 1861. Going west were the twelve Latter-day Saint emigrant trains, four Church teams and eight independent companies. In addition, several Mormon freighters had fitted out near Florence.<sup>52</sup> Several times the Horne Company passed army regiments going east on their way to war. Later, they saw a train of ten large Army wagons and afterward, closer to Utah, a mule train. They also watched several mail and passenger coaches pass, some going east, others going west, and overtook two construction crews erecting poles for the Overland Telegraph Company.<sup>53</sup>

While traveling in the Horne company to Utah, John and Emma had many new and exciting experiences. The country they traversed was very different from England. It seemed much larger and was virtually unoccupied by humans, except for a few isolated settlers and the Indians. Frequently, Indians came into camp to beg for food or to trade. Part of the animal life they saw was new to them. They had never seen lizards, rattlesnakes, or antelope. More familiar to them were the wild ducks, rabbits, and ground squirrels. The creatures which perhaps disturbed them most were the mosquitoes that often kept them awake at night.<sup>54</sup>

John and Emma also found camp life quite a departure from their daily routine in England. They walked most of the day, seldom riding in the wagon. At night they slept in a tent with several other families. They washed their clothes in the streams they passed. Their meals were cooked over an open fire often fueled by buffalo chips which John gathered when wood was scarce. The men took turns guarding the cattle at night.<sup>55</sup> The most exciting new thing in their lives, however, had nothing to do with the trip. By mid-August, Emma became aware that she was expecting their first child.

On September 11, when Joseph Horne's company arrived at the summit of Big Mountain, John and Emma got their first glimpse of Salt Lake Valley. What a welcome sight! There was much rejoicing.<sup>56</sup> The long overland

journey was almost complete. It had been sixty-three days since they left Florence. For John and Emma, it had been almost five months since they had bid good-bye to their family and friends in Birmingham.

The next morning, the Joseph Horne company was delayed while each head of household gave his signed promissory notes for the cost of emigration to the Perpetual Emigration Fund Company agents Joseph Young and Amos Musser.<sup>57</sup> John's note totaled \$109.45.<sup>58</sup> By four o'clock when all business had been completed the wagons traveled six miles down Emigration Canyon before stopping to spend the night. Early the next morning, September 13, the company broke camp for the last time, and by afternoon arrived in Salt Lake City.<sup>59</sup>

John and Emma saw the same features in Salt Lake City that Mark Twain described seeing that same year. There were no visible loafers, drunkards, or noisy people. Everywhere were intent faces and busy hands and a "general air of neatness, repair, thrift, and comfort was around and about and over the whole." The streets were wide with clear water running in ditches on both sides. These ditches had branches to carry water to the orchards and gardens of the home owners.<sup>60</sup> Sir Richard F. Burton, during his stay in 1860, noted that the homes were generally of adobe in a barn shape, with wings and lean-tos, and were all turned endways to the street giving a suburban look to the settlement. He felt that Salt Lake

City was, on the whole, a vast improvement upon its contemporaries in the Mississippi and Missouri valleys.<sup>61</sup>

As the Horne wagon train arrived in "the valley" the immigrants were warmly greeted, then escorted to the Eighth Ward Public Square.<sup>62</sup> After being officially welcomed by Church leaders, friends, and other members, they were provided with a good meal and perhaps even entertained with music and dancing. Subsequently, the bishops of Salt Lake City helped find temporary housing for each family until they could be permanently located.<sup>63</sup>

John soon found employment as a cabinet maker with William Capener.<sup>64</sup> A native of London, England, Capener had built a cabinet shop on Second East between First and Second South.<sup>65</sup> Caskets as well as furniture were made in the shop and the demand was often greater for the former than for the latter. Because wages were low, John also made furniture on his own time to supplement his income. Since money was scarce, he traded the pieces not needed in their home for food and household equipment.<sup>66</sup>

Less than a month later, John and Emma attended their first General Conference of the Church. It was held in the Bowery on Temple Square on October 6, 7, and 8. The First Presidency, ten of the Twelve Apostles, the Presidency of the Seventies, the Presidency of the High Priests' Quorum, the Presidency of the Salt Lake Stake of Zion, and the Patriarchs were seated on the stand. In his opening remarks, President Brigham Young said that because

this first day of conference was on the Sabbath, "we will devote it to teaching the spiritual things of the kingdom, and then tomorrow we will attend to business." The leaders then spoke to the subjects of faith, obedience, tithing, consecration, gifts of the spirit, observance and reverence for the Sabbath, the authority and duties of the Aaronic and Melchizedek Priesthoods, the first principles of the Gospel, and of the need for the Saints to be united in all things. At the beginning of the Monday morning session, President Young attended to the business of the conference. Among other things discussed was the call for volunteers to go to Washington County "to raise cotton, indigo, grapes, figs, and other such articles as cannot be raised in the northern counties." Apparently, there were no volunteers because at the end of the afternoon session, Brigham Young announced "that as the brethren did not volunteer for this mission, the Presidency and the Twelve would make the selections, and they would expect the brethren to go and to stay until they were released."<sup>67</sup> A list of the 309 families called to go was read from the pulpit before the conference ended.<sup>68</sup> Once again, the semi-tropical region of Southern Utah, discussed by Joseph Horne while crossing the plains, was brought to the attention of John and Emma.

The Hintons were very busy during their first winter in Salt Lake City. Emma was preparing for the birth of their first child and because William Capener did

not have enough work to keep him busy, John was making furniture at home. Some of it was for their home, but he hoped to sell one particularly lovely table. Many people admired it, but none could afford to buy it. Colonel Reese, an Army provisions officer, had supplies left after federal troops in Utah had returned to the eastern states because of the Civil War.<sup>69</sup> He bought the table and paid for it with enough flour and bacon to last them all winter.<sup>70</sup> On November 30, in fulfillment of their religious expectations, John and Emma went to the Endowment House to receive their blessings and have their marriage sealed for time and all eternity.<sup>71</sup> In the spring, on April 7, 1862, their first child, John Maurice Hinton, was born.<sup>72</sup>

In northern Utah, the winter of 1861 had been very cold, and fuel very scarce. By spring, John and Emma began to consider alternatives available to them. They again heard talk of the Southern Mission, sometimes called the Cotton Mission. Erastus Snow, President of the mission, in a progress report to Brigham Young that spring, had requested additional help to subdue "the big county." He was hoping for five hundred more workers.<sup>73</sup> The previous October, President Snow had admonished the first group of missionaries not to take along any heavy furniture. There was plenty of timber in the vicinity to make bedsteads and other articles of furniture, so a good turner (cabinet maker) was needed in the mission.<sup>74</sup> At

the October 1862 General Conference, Brigham Young answered Snow's plea with a call to over two hundred additional families to go to the Cotton Mission.<sup>75</sup>

For many years, John and Emma had planned and prepared to "gather to Zion." They had felt that Salt Lake City was the end of their journey. Although John had left England a single man, he now had a wife and child to support. To best fulfill that responsibility, he now chose to go to the most southern part of Utah Territory, the Cotton Mission. It appeared to John that with over five hundred new families in the area all needing furniture, great economic opportunity awaited a young, ambitious cabinet maker unafraid of hard work. John and Emma were going south as volunteers.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER II

<sup>1</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 2. Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are often called "Mormons".

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., and Birmingham, England L.D.S. Branch records, GLC.

<sup>3</sup>P.A.M. Taylor, Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966), pp. 144-159. John was also different from the majority of the British converts in that he emigrated alone whereas most came in families. In one aspect, however he was similar because he was among the 90% who came from urban areas.

<sup>4</sup>For a fuller account of the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints see James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard The Story of the Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976); B. H. Roberts A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1930); and Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton The Mormon Experience (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978).

<sup>5</sup>Bruce R. McConkie Mormon Doctrine (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 2nd ed. 1966), p. 306.

<sup>6</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 1.

<sup>7</sup>Atkins Hinton to John Nock Hinton, March 10, 1881, VHB.

<sup>8</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 2; and Henry Leigh interview, June 2, 1983.

<sup>9</sup>Best, Mid-Victorian Britain, p. 171.

<sup>10</sup>Richard L. Evans, A Century of "Mormonism" in Great Britain (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1984, orig. pub. 1937), p. 244.



<sup>11</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 2.

<sup>12</sup>"Emigration," Latter-day Saints Millennial Star 23 (January 5, 1861) :9.

<sup>13</sup>"Inquiry Answered," Latter-day Saints Millennial Star 23 (February 16, 1861) :106.

<sup>14</sup>Church Emigration, 1861, GLC. The balance of two pounds, sixteen shillings was paid prior to John's sailing.

<sup>15</sup>Henry Leigh interview, June 2, 1982. John's mother helped by providing two dozen white shirts.

<sup>16</sup>F. W. Blake Diary, holograph, April 24, 1861, Library-Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. Hereafter cited as HDC.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, April 23, 1861, HDC. Hereafter cited as Journal History.

<sup>20</sup>Blake Diary, April 21, 1861.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., April 22, 1861.

<sup>22</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch", p. 2.

<sup>23</sup>J. Dewey Spendlove, "Memoirs of John Spendlove," pp. 33, 49, unpublished manuscript, typescript copy in possession of author, original in possession of J. Dewey Spendlove, Brigham City, Utah. This is not an autobiography but a compilation by its author.

<sup>24</sup>Blake Diary, April 24, 1861.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., April 29, 1861.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., May 1, 1861. Interestingly, they did not pray for the sea to be calmed.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., May 3, 1861.

<sup>28</sup>Milo Andrus Diary, Holograph, May 19, 1861, HDC.

<sup>29</sup>Blake Diary, May 22, 1861.

- <sup>30</sup> Ibid., May 23-30, 1861.
- <sup>31</sup> Journal History, June 26, 1861.
- <sup>32</sup> Blake Diary, May 29, 1861.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid., May 31-June 2, 1861; and Journal History June 26, 1861.
- <sup>34</sup> Blake Diary, June 3, 1861.
- <sup>35</sup> William G. Hartley, "The Great Florence Fitout of 1861," Brigham Young University Studies 24 (Summer 1984) :345.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid., pp. 370-1.
- <sup>37</sup> Gibson, "Life Sketch" p. 3.
- <sup>38</sup> Hartley, "Great Florence Fitout," p. 359.
- <sup>39</sup> Perpetual Emigration Fund Frontier Account Book, General Accounts and Personal Accounts, HDC.
- <sup>40</sup> Hartley, "Great Florence Fitout," p. 358.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 367.
- <sup>42</sup> Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 3.
- <sup>43</sup> PEF Frontier Accounts, HDC.
- <sup>44</sup> Hartley, "Great Florence Fitout," p. 362.
- <sup>45</sup> Thomas C. Griggs, Diary, microfilm of holograph, July 4, 1861, HDC.
- <sup>46</sup> Blake, Diary, July 8, 1861.
- <sup>47</sup> Joseph Horne, Diary, microfilm of holograph, entries for 1858 to early 1861, HDC.
- <sup>48</sup> Griggs Diary, entries for July 9 to September 13, 1861.
- <sup>49</sup> Ibid., July 24, 1861.
- <sup>50</sup> Hartley, "Great Florence Fitout," pp. 359-360. This author lists in detail the large amounts of supplies procured for the Church wagon trains but the list showed very little variety with flour, sugar, apples, coffee, hams, bacon, side and shoulder meat and kegs of pickles.

<sup>51</sup>Griggs Diary, August 28, 1861.

<sup>52</sup>Hartley, "Great Florence Fitout," p. 265. Only seven of these have been identified.

<sup>53</sup>Griggs Diary, entries for July 19 to September 10, 1861.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., entries for July 10 to August 26, 1861.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., September 11, 1861; and Richard F. Burton, The City of the Saints ed. by Fawn M. Brodie (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963 orig. pub. 1863), pp. 213-215. A year earlier, Sir Richard F. Burton, upon arriving at this same summit, had also been affected by the sight. He related how "at this point the pilgrim emigrants" rejoiced and gave thanksgiving: and that they believed the "spirit of God pervades the very atmosphere." Although he acknowledged he was not influenced by religious fervor, he could not "after nineteen days in a mail wagon, gaze upon the scene without emotion;" and Griggs Diary, September 11, 1861.

<sup>57</sup>Griggs Diary, September 10, 1861.

<sup>58</sup>PEF Frontier Accounts, HDC. This account would not be settled for many years. On the back of his note is recorded, "James Henry Brown, of Logan, Cache Co. should pay this debt, January 1878." James Henry Brown, a stonemason, was also from Warwickshire, England. He and John Hinton had emigrated to Utah the same year, sailing on the Underwriter together and both worked on the St. George Temple in 1875. Apparently, in some way, Brother Brown become indebted to John, and to satisfy the debt agreed to pay off his note. In 1880, many of the PEF debts were reduced or entirely canceled by the First Presidency of the Church. Only one payment of \$40.09 was made by Brown, on September 12, 1883, which most likely retired the debt.

<sup>59</sup>Journal History, September 13, 1861: and Griggs Diary, September 13, 1861.

<sup>60</sup>As quoted in William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen, eds., Among the Mormons (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1973), p. 345.

<sup>61</sup>Burton, pp. 218-220.

<sup>62</sup>Griggs Diary, September 13, 1861. The Salt Lake City and County Building is now situated on this block.

<sup>63</sup>Story LDS, p. 285; Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, Mormons and Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1984), pp. 45-47; and Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), pp. 106-107.

<sup>64</sup>Gibson "Life Sketch" p. 3.

<sup>65</sup>Margaret Cluff, "Life of William Capener," p. 4. Photocopy in possession of author, typescript copy in possession of William W. Capener, Salt Lake City, Utah.

<sup>66</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 3.

<sup>67</sup>Journal History, October 9, 1961; and L. V. Long, "Semi-Annual Conference, Held in Salt Lake City, Oct. 6, 7, 8, 1861," The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star 23 (December 7, 1861): 779-786.

<sup>68</sup>James G. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission", typescript copy, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah hereafter cited as BYU, pp. 62-68.

<sup>69</sup>Norman F. Furness, The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), p. vii. This is an indepth study of the Utah War including the situations that lead President James Buchanan to send troops to Utah in 1857. The reasons for the expedition were rooted in the mutual animosity between the Mormons and non-Mormons which had begun very early in the Church's history. The distrust of the other, which existed within each group, precipitated many events and influences that convinced the eastern establishment that Utah was in a state of rebellion and only United States troops could suppress it. The troops marched through Salt Lake Valley in June 1858 a short time after President Buchanan had granted the Mormons a full pardon. Camp Floyd was established some forty miles southwest of Salt Lake City, and troops remained there until they were recalled in 1861 at the commencement of the Civil War. Further details are discussed in Chapter III.

<sup>70</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 3.

<sup>71</sup>Endowment House Sealing and Endowment Records, GLC, November 30, 1861.

<sup>72</sup>Virgin City, LDS Ward Records, GLC.

<sup>73</sup>Journal History, March 10, 1862.

<sup>74</sup>Deseret News, October 21, 1861, in an address given in the Bowery on Sunday morning, October 20; Bess Snow, "Snow: History of Levi and Lucinda Streeter Snow Family," p. 77, Erastus Snow Family Archives in possession of Rebecca S. Payne, Salt Lake City, Utah.

<sup>75</sup>Journal History, October 19, 1862. John Hinton, among others known to have moved to the Upper Virgin River Valley in 1862, did not appear on this list of those who were called, it is, therefore, assumed that he went as a volunteer.

## CHAPTER III

### VIRGIN CITY:

#### A COMMUNITY BEGINS

To reconstruct the life of an individual who did not leave any personal writings, one must rely upon the writings of others, and even more upon community history. Virgin City was to be John Nock Hinton's community for the next half century. It had its beginnings shortly after the Latter-day Saints first reached the Salt Lake Valley in the summer of 1847. Almost immediately, Brigham Young had ordered a geographic study of the Great Basin. Explorations disclosed areas of fertile, easily tilled land, and by 1862 more than fifty oases, in a belt two to ten miles wide, extending nearly the full length of what is now Utah, were found to be suitable for settlements.<sup>1</sup>

Towns first appeared along the Wasatch front in Salt Lake, Weber, and Utah counties. In 1851 Parowan, the first community in Southern Utah, was founded. A short time later, Cedar City was established as the Iron Mission. These settlements were stepping stones to the colonization of Washington County, south of the rim of the Great Basin. The purpose of this colonization was four-

fold: first, to convert the Indians to Mormonism; second, to secure the southwestern approach to the Great Basin; third, to develop new trade and emigration routes by way of the Colorado River and the Old Spanish Trail; and fourth, to make the Mormon people economically independent by raising warm weather crops, especially cotton.<sup>2</sup>

As early as 1854, Mormon missionaries were working with the Indians in Washington County. Their experiments with growing cotton on the Santa Clara Creek were brought to the attention of Brigham Young. Beginning in 1856, he sent additional small companies who, over the next five years were successful in the culture of cotton at Washington, Heberville, and Tonaquint.<sup>3</sup>

The actual settlement of Virgin City was precipitated by a series of events beginning on July 24, 1857. While Brigham Young was with a large group of his followers celebrating the tenth annual Pioneer Day in Big Cottonwood Canyon, he received news that an army of the United States was marching to Utah. Historically, Mormon religious, economic, political, and social practices had been a source of conflict and irritation to many. Convinced that the Mormon people were in a state of rebellion against the government, and at the urging of a powerful Eastern press, President James Buchanan dispatched an army to Utah. Many members of the Church viewed the coming army as a continuation of the persecutions they had suffered earlier when their enemies

had driven them from their homes, first in New York, then in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois.<sup>4</sup> This was especially true in the isolated southern Utah settlements where rumors of an impending invasion from California added to the agitation.<sup>5</sup> The prospective conflict soon assumed the proportions of a holy war. This excitement culminated southwest of Cedar City in a most horrendous manner.

The Mountain Meadow Massacre occurred September 7, 1857, on the California Trail in Washington County, twenty-five miles from Cedar City. A large group of immigrants composed of the Fancher train of families from Arkansas, and a group of men who called themselves the Missouri Wildcats, were traveling the Southern route through the territory on their way to California. Some of the men of this second group boasted to the Mormons that they had participated in the Haun's Mill Massacre and other mobbings against the Church in Missouri. The recent news of the death of the beloved Apostle Parley P. Pratt who had been assassinated in Arkansas as he was returning home from a mission added friction to the situation. Utah was placed under martial law and, moreover, its leaders had instructed the people not to sell their now precious supplies. Tension increased when some immigrants who could not obtain the supplies they needed simply expropriated them from the Mormon farmers. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the Indians believed the company had poisoned their wells, causing the



death of some of their tribesmen as well as their livestock. The Indians first surrounded and then attacked the immigrants at Mountain Meadows. Meeting with more opposition than they had anticipated, they asked their Mormon friends for help. The local leaders not only feared antagonizing the Indians, but felt that they were already partners with them, because a few impulsive young Mormon men had killed an immigrant as he was trying to go for help. The Iron County Militia, in response to the request of the Indians, joined them in the battle in which some 120 men and women of the train were killed.<sup>6</sup> Caught up in the hysteria of the moment, the participants first viewed this battle as the opening of the anticipated conflict with the United States Army. Once the deed was accomplished, however, they soon realized the enormity of their action. Juanita Brooks tells how in the aftermath of the massacre, the men involved began looking for new places to live.

Not that they feared the law, but that they could not face their neighbors. They wanted their children to grow up far away [so] that they would not hear of it or become connected with it.<sup>7</sup>

Meanwhile, in Salt Lake City, Brigham Young's strategy for dealing with the United States Army, had matured. First, the Utah Militia would conduct a campaign of bloodless harrassment to delay the army in Wyoming until spring. Brigham hoped that this would allow enough time for the public fervor to subside and a peaceful

settlement to be effected. As a last resort, the citizens would abandon, then burn their homes and fields and flee to a safe refuge where they would set up new communities. To find a place of refuge, Brigham Young commissioned several exploring parties from the southern settlements to search the desert for possible sites.<sup>8</sup>

The first group was led by John D. Lee, who left Fort Harmony on February 8, 1858 accompanied by Joseph Horne and his company of cotton farmers whose instructions had been to find a location suitable for growing cotton. However, there may have been another reason for this junket as Lee recorded in his diary on the above date.

I started south according to my appointment to locate or point out the location intended to be made by Pres. B. Young for a resting place for his family & that of the 1st Presidency.<sup>9</sup>

During the following week these men examined the land at the junction of the Santa Clara and the Virgin River as well as the "valley below." Although Lee preferred the upper site, the cotton farmers chose the lower one.<sup>10</sup> President Young was considering all possible solutions to the situation and this was one choice open to him.

The largest and most ambitious excursion, was the little known White Mountain Expedition, led by William H. Dame and George W. Bean, who from April to June 1858, searched for arable land, water, forage, and timber.<sup>11</sup> Among the more than 160 men in the company were some who had been in the vicinity when the Mountain Meadow Massacre

occurred and were hopeful of finding new homes away from Cedar City.<sup>12</sup> In various sized groups, the men explored in excess of 2000 square miles in southeast Nevada and southwest Utah where, according to an old, inaccurate John C. Fremont map, in a mountain range running east and west was supposed to be a series of suitable oases.<sup>13</sup> However, what they found was about 170 acres of marginal agricultural land but no east/west mountain range, no sizeable rivers, nor substantial stands of timber. The optimistic explorers tried to establish settlements. They surveyed townsites, and planted fields, only to see the crops wither and die by mid-summer, poisoned by alkali brought to the surface by irrigation water.<sup>14</sup> On July 24, the entire project was abandoned and the men were sent home not having found the looked-for refuge.<sup>15</sup> Meanwhile, Brigham Young and newly appointed governor, Alfred Cumming, had resolved peacefully the major differences between the Mormons and the federal troops, removing the necessity for "resettling" the Saints.<sup>16</sup>

Upon returning to their homes in Iron County, some of these men still had hopes of finding new settlement sites. Two more parties, one from Cedar City and another one from Parowan, explored the higher valleys of the Virgin River. In early September, Nephi Johnson traveled south from Cedar City down Ash Creek to newly-established Toquerville. From there, with some Indians, he went east up an Indian trail to explore the upper

Virgin River Valley. They traveled up the river, bypassing the East Fork and the Parunuweap Canyon, into what is now Zion National Park. Along the river bottom, he found pockets of fertile alluvial land in a strip almost twenty miles long and in some places as much as a half-mile wide. He thought water from the Virgin River and North Creek would be sufficient to irrigate the land. Johnson also noted that there was rock for building material and, in adjoining valleys and highlands, timber and excellent pasturage. He returned to Cedar City and reported to Stake President Isaac C. Haight that settlement could be made in the upper Virgin River Valley.<sup>17</sup> On September 24, President Haight wrote to Brigham Young for permission to have a settlement established along the river. In his reply, President Young granted the permission Haight sought.

I should be very much pleased if the brethern were desirous of doing so to have a settlement made in some of those pockets of the Rio Virgin which have lately been explored. Of course the principle object of the settlement would be to raise cotton, but I should very much like to have a vineyard for some five thousand grape cuttings put out immediately with a view of making wine.<sup>18</sup>

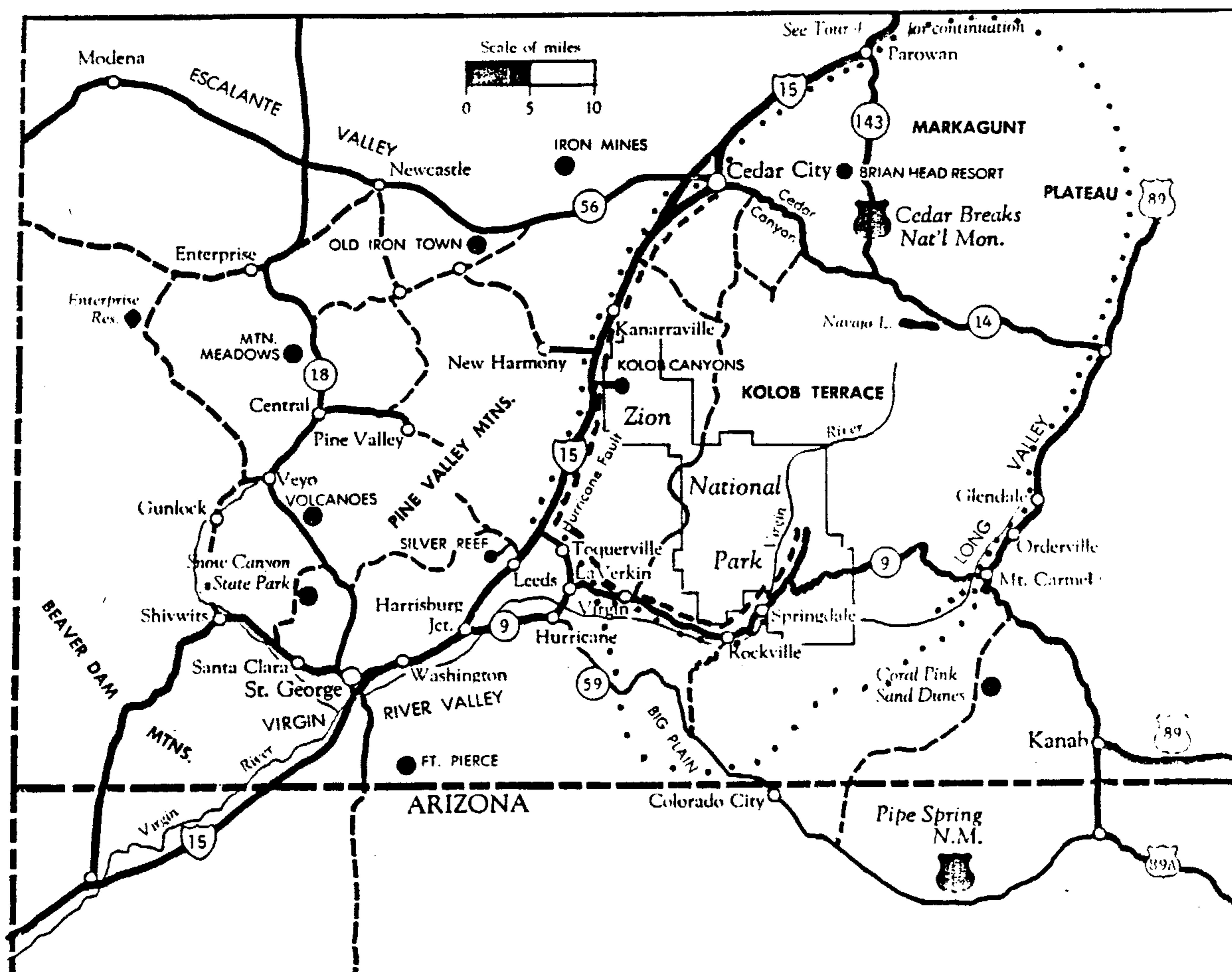
President Haight in turn passed this permission and council on to Nephi Johnson, who with with a number of others established a settlement on the confluence of North Creek and the Virgin River, first called Pocketville, but later renamed Virgin City.

The other exploring group of eleven men left

MAP 1

SOUTHWEST UTAH

And the Exploration of the Virgin River, 1858



----- Nephi Johnson  
..... Jesse N. Smith

Source: Utah: a Guide to the State, 1982.

Parowan on September 6, under the direction of Jesse N. Smith who had been called by Apostle George A. Smith to explore the headwaters of the Virgin River, searching for places cotton would grow. The group went east up through Parowan Canyon, over Cedar Mountain to Long Valley. It followed the East Fork of the Virgin River through meadows and high, cool valleys until it passed through the narrow Parunuweap Canyon. There the men were forced to climb to the south rim where they made their way west through very rough country over plateaus and canyons until they could work their way back down to the Virgin River. Backtracking upstream through the upper valley, the men explored some fifteen miles to where the east fork emerged from the Parunuweap Canyon.<sup>19</sup> Upon returning to Parowan, Jesse N. Smith sent his report to George A. Smith in Salt Lake City. Although impressed with the Long Valley area, he recognized that it was probably too cold for cotton but thought other crops would flourish there. On the other hand, he felt that the upper Virgin River Valley (which Nephi Johnson favored) was not desirable for settlement. He pointed to evidence of heavy flooding and noted that a rise of a few inches of water could inundate the narrow canyon completely from side to side.<sup>20</sup> In his answering letter, George A. Smith advised that no settlement of Long Valley should be made at that time. He did, however, give permission "for any of the Parowan brethern wish[ing] to join Nephi [Johnson] in the Toquerville Reserve

settlement. . . to do so."<sup>21</sup> None of the men known to have been with this exploring group settled in the Upper Virgin River Valley.

Anxious for new land to settle and armed with Brigham Young's sanction, Nephi Johnson with a small company of men began, on December 6, to construct a road across the mountains east of Toquerville. It took two weeks to build a very rough road and get their wagons to where Virgin City now stands. They then laid out the town with ropes and drew lots for the land. Soon, they had water on the ground they had chosen to farm by way of irrigation canals and ditches. In the latter part of February 1859 a few families moved to Virgin, making it the first settlement in the upper Virgin River Valley.<sup>22</sup>

Virgin City was first named Pocketville because it was situated in an alluvial "pocket" next to the Virgin River. By July 27 of that year, it had been renamed for the river as an entry in the Journal History called it Virgin City. However, there were still references to it as Pocketville for several more years.<sup>23</sup> The naming of the river is credited to Father Escalante who in 1776 placed it on Spanish maps as Rio de la Vergen. It is noteworthy that the local Indians had two names for it. One was Pah-rush, meaning in English "water that tastes salt." The other one was Pah-russ, "dirty water."<sup>24</sup> Both names are quite applicable to the characteristics of the river.

The families of Virgin City spent the next three years working to improve and develop their new community. As in most Utah towns, the basis of the economy was agriculture and livestock. Because crop production in this arid, desert climate was dependent upon irrigation, the maintenance of the canals and ditches was of prime importance. Water would often seep through the sandy banks of the newly made ditches causing them to give way, making it necessary for the men to spend many hours keeping the water running to the crops. The settlers of Virgin spent \$1,100 on the irrigation system during the 1859-1860 season,<sup>25</sup> but the second year's operation was much less costly at \$408.52.<sup>26</sup> Despite this handicap, the farmers were enthusiastic about growing warm weather crops. They planted cotton, sugar cane (for molasses), corn, "vines," spring wheat, and melons. Their livestock consisted mainly of sheep, goats, and milk cows.<sup>27</sup>

Another important source of income for the people of Virgin City was cottonwood ashes. Cottonwood trees grew abundantly along the river bottoms. Ashes from these trees were better than those of other trees for softening water. The villagers carefully saved their ashes and hauled them to the near-by towns to trade for other commodities.<sup>28</sup>

Soon after Virgin City was founded, religious and civic organizations were effected. Early in 1859, Stake President Isaac C. Haight organized Virgin City as a



Branch attached to the Harmony Ward under Bishop William Rees Davis.<sup>29</sup> Nephi Johnson was appointed Branch President. Members of the community constructed a sixteen by eighteen foot public building of logs which served the residents for all Church, social, and civic meetings.<sup>30</sup> During the December, 1859 term, the Washington County Court designated Virgin City as precinct six in the county. Alexander J. Ingram was appointed Justice of the Peace to serve until the next election. A short time later, the court also appointed James W. Bay, constable and Andrew J. Stratton, road supervisor.<sup>31</sup> Within this frame-work the people of Virgin City were able to govern themselves.

Apostle Amasa Lyman visited the new settlement in April, 1859. Observing "several hundred acres" of land with rich soil that could be cheaply watered from the river, plenty of Cottonwood trees for fencing, and good range for small stock, he counseled the people to stay, "build up the place, make comfortable homes, and support schools." Moreover, he urged other settlers to come because there was additional land of equal quality upstream. However, despite this plea the population of Virgin City grew slowly. By July of 1859 eleven families, a total of forty-six persons, made their homes there. Visitors and residents alike encouraged "new adventurers," especially men with capital, to invest in machinery for "working cotton into various useful articles."<sup>32</sup>

In December 1859, under the leadership of Nathan C. Tenny, several families from Virgin City, moved six miles upstream and settled Grafton.<sup>33</sup> The 1860 Census lists both communities together under Virgin City. There was then a total of seventy-nine individuals, constituting sixteen families, in the area. Eight unoccupied dwellings testify that at least eight families were not inclined to remain and "build up the place" as Brother Lyman had admonished.<sup>34</sup> A third settlement on the north bank of the river, just a short distance above Grafton, was founded in the fall of 1860 by Philip Klingensmith. It was appropriately called Adventure.<sup>35</sup>

Of the men who either worked or lived in the upper Virgin River Valley, from the founding of Virgin City in early 1859 until the arrival of the first group of cotton missionaries called by Brigham Young in 1861, twenty-three are known. Some only helped build the road but never established homes there. Others moved their families there after the road was finished. No one historical source has been found that lists all of these men. Table 1, however, provides a list compiled from various sources.

In May of 1861, Brigham Young and a large entourage visited southern Utah.<sup>36</sup> This trip began just after the commencement of the Civil War. With the war came the distinct possibility that cotton previously obtained from the Southern States might no longer be

TABLE 1  
MEN OF THE UPPER VIRGIN RIVER VALLEY SETTLEMENT  
TO DECEMBER 1861

NAME	AGE	BUILT	JHC 1860 MH		SOURCES
	1858	ROAD	PLACE	1859 CENS V G	
BARNEY, HENRY	44		V G	6 5 V	34
BAY, JAMES W.	35	X	V	4 5 V	1234
BRADSHAW, JOHN	62	X	V	2 2 V	
BRADSHAW, SAMUEL	36	X	V	5 V	12 4
BRIMHALL, JOHN	33		V	8	
DAVIS, JAMES			V G	3	34
DAVIS, WILLIAM R.	53		V G	4	34
DODGE, ENOCH E.		X		V	
HASLEM, WILLIAM	44	X	V	3 6 V	234
HIGBEE, JOHN M.	30	X		V	1 4
INGRAM, ALEXANDER J.	56		V	3 2	1 3
JOHNSON, JOEL H.	55		V		1 3
JOHNSON, NEPHI	25	X	V	4 V	1234
JOHNSON, SETH	21	X	V		1234
JOHNSON, SEXTUS	28		V	4	
KLINGENSMITH, PHILIP	41		A	V	1 34
MCFATE, JAMES	52		G	8 G	1 3
PLATT, BENJAMIN	25		G	4 G	1 3
SHIRTS, DON CARLOS	21	X	V G	4 5 V	23
SHIRTS, KING DARIUS	23	X	V G	4 5 V G	123
STRATTON, ANTHONY J.	34	X	V	8 8 V	12 4
TENNY, NATHAN C.	38		V G	9 V G	1 34
WORKMAN, ANDREW J.	24	X	V	4 V	12 4

Key

Name	Alphabetically arranged.
Age	As taken from census records.
Built road	Help build the first road to Virgin City.
Place	Settled in <u>Virgin City</u> , <u>Grafton</u> , or <u>Adventure</u> .
JHC 1859	Number in household as listed in the Journal History April 14, 1859.
1860 Census	Number in household as listed in census.
MH	Residents as listed in the Manuscript Histories of <u>Virgin City</u> and/or <u>Grafton</u> .
Sources	1. Bleak, " <u>Annals of the Southern Mission</u> ," HDC. 2. Bradshaw, <u>Under Dixie Sun</u> . 3. Cleland and Brooks, <u>Diaries of John D. Lee</u> . 4. Larson, <u>I Was Called to Dixie</u> .

available in Utah. The Church leaders returned to Salt Lake City convinced of the practicality of growing cotton as a stable crop and of the need to expand settlement in the area. John Nock Hinton arrived in Utah just in time for the 1861 October semi-annual conference of the Church and heard the first general call for 307 families to grow cotton and other warm weather crops in the "Southern Mission." It was not until the second call in 1862, however, that John and Emma responded as volunteers.

Of the 307 families called in 1861, several settled in the upper valley, although the majority went on down stream to found St. George.<sup>37</sup> Arriving in late November and December, the newcomers had not yet had time to build houses of any kind but were still living in wagon-boxes when the "Great Storm" of January-February 1862 commenced.<sup>38</sup> On January 16, after more than two weeks of steady rain, the Virgin River had risen fifteen feet above the high water mark. The oldest resident Indian could not remember such a flood as that one.<sup>39</sup> The houses of Grafton came floating down the river with the "furniture, clothing, and other possessions of the inhabitants." Barrels of molasses along with other personal belongings were hauled out of the river at Virgin City. The town of Grafton was completely destroyed and much of the soil from the farms of the river bottom land in Virgin City was washed away.<sup>40</sup> Joseph Young, following a visit to the area a few months later reported:

The people of Virgin City, Duncan's Retreat, and Rockville are a little downcast over the loss of their farms, many of which, without any leave, quit claim, or permit, stampeded last winter and when last heard from were making great headway as the rapid current of the Rio Virgin would give them toward the Colorado River."<sup>41</sup>

Jesse N. Smith had been right in 1858 when he predicted heavy flooding along the Virgin in the upper middle valley. Moreover, this was just the beginning. Flooding along the river was to be the nemesis of the people of the Cotton Mission for many decades to come. Sandy banks and quicksand bottoms made the Virgin River almost impossible to tame. Building dams and ditches to bring water on the land for irrigation purposes proved to be very costly and time-consuming.<sup>42</sup> The whole community worked together on these projects. All too often sudden rainstorms in the mountains above town would cause flash floods which destroyed the irrigation system and washed away bottomland fields.

The "Great Flood" did not damage the newly begun upper ditch in Virgin City. This ditch was to bring North Creek water to the uncultivated land on the bench above town. Duncan Chapman had been appointed to survey the route and supervise the construction. After an expenditure of \$1800, it was completed in the latter part of April, 1862.<sup>43</sup> When the water was turned into the ditch the people were heartsick to see that the water would not run. Due to a miscalculation in the surveying, the ditch ran uphill. The incident was immortalized in a

local folk song.

Way down south in Pocketville,  
Where Duncan dug his ditch uphill.<sup>44</sup>

Since this costly mistake left the town completely without water, the people decided to dig another ditch, the Lower Town Ditch, to bring water onto the fields in the south part of town in hopes of saving the orchards and gardens. This new ditch, surveyed by Nephi Johnson and George B. Gardner, was completed by the first of June and no crops were lost.<sup>45</sup>

In September, 1862 Brigham Young and a group of Church leaders again visited Southern Utah and Virgin City. John V. Long, who accompanied the group described the trip from Toquerville to Virgin City.

We talk about mountains and valleys, hills and dales, ravines, gulleys and gorges, rocks, stones, gravel, sand, rivers and creeks, well, they are all here, and such a road, I think does not exist anywhere else from the Atlantic to the Pacific. I have seen twisted files, twisted saws and twisted lumber but I have never seen a twist [Johnson's Twist] as this. But we were rewarded for all [the] unpleasant travelling when we reached the pretty little site on which is being built Virgin City. . . Talk about watermelons, sugar-cane, and cotton, this is the country for them. The people all look cheerful, and appear to enjoy themselves finely in their new locations.<sup>46</sup>

Wilford Woodruff thought that the upper Virgin River Valley was the best place to hide up families and defend them in time of war, for with a few men to oppose it, no army could get into the pockets and openings of the valley.<sup>47</sup> It appears that one goal of the founders of Virgin City, to find isolated homes away from the Iron

County vicinity, had been met. As a result of his observation of the conditions in the southern settlements, Brigham Young made the second call in the following October General Conference, for 224 more families to go to the Southern Cotton Mission.<sup>48</sup> This opportunity must have appealed to John and Emma, for this was when they decided to make their home in Virgin City.

### NOTES TO CHAPTER III

<sup>1</sup>Herbert E. Gregory, "Population of Southern Utah," Economic Geography 21 (January 1945):29.

<sup>2</sup>Andrew Karl Larson, I Was Called To Dixie (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1957), p. 14.

<sup>3</sup>Hazel Bradshaw, ed., Under Dixie Sun (Panguitch, Utah: Garfield County News, 1950), p. 24; and Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 216.

<sup>4</sup>Furness, Mormon Conflict, pp. 62-94, 119-129, 201-201; Allen and Leonard, Story LDS, pp. 298-303; Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, pp. 171-174; and Leonard J. Arrington, Brigham Young: American Moses (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), pp. 250-254.

<sup>5</sup>Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee 1848-1876 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1955), 1:141; and Clifford L. Stott, Search for Sanctuary: Brigham Young and the White Mountain Expedition (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984), p. 39.

<sup>6</sup>Allen and Leonard, Story LDS, pp. 304-305; and Arrington, Brigham Young, pp. 258-259 discuss Mountain Meadow Massacre but the best study of this event is the detailed Juanita Brooks, The Mountain Meadow Massacre (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1950; reprint ed., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962).

<sup>7</sup>Juanita Brooks, "An Historical Epilogue," Utah Historical Quarterly 24 (February 1956) :79; and Stott, Search for Sanctuary, p. 231.

<sup>8</sup>Stott, Search for Sanctuary, p. 28.

<sup>9</sup>Cleland and Brooks, eds., Mormon Chronicle, 1:149.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 1:149; and Larson, Called to Dixie, p. 81.

<sup>11</sup>Stott, Search for Sanctuary is a detailed study of Brigham Young's little known alternative strategy to abandon the settlements of Utah for a refuge in the desert mountain ranges of the Great Basin.



<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 231; and Brooks, "Epilogue," p. 231;

<sup>13</sup>Stott, Search for Sanctuary, p. 116.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 207.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 201-201, 214-217.

<sup>17</sup>Nephi Johnson, "Autobiography," HDC, p. 7. Nephi Johnson was on the scene of Mountain Meadow Massacre and with the White Mountain Expedition; James G. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," BYU, Book A p. 42; and Larson, Called to Dixie, p. 65. The part of the Virgin River Valley, including what is now Zion Canyon and westward to where the Hurricane Fault drops down to LaVerkin Flat, will be designated here as the Upper Virgin River Valley. That part of the river above this area will be called the East Fork of the Virgin River and Long Valley. Orderville, Mt. Carmel, and Glendale in Kane County are today located in Long Valley.

<sup>18</sup>Brigham Young to Isaac C. Haight, October 8, 1858, Brigham Young's outgoing correspondence, HDC.

<sup>19</sup>Oliver R. Smith, ed., The Journal of Jesse Nathaniel Smith (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1970), pp. 32-35.

<sup>20</sup>Journal History, September 21, 1858.

<sup>21</sup>George A. Smith to Jesse N. Smith, October 6, 1858, Historian's Office Journal, HDC. Toquerville Reserve was the short-lived name first given to the upper Virgin River Valley.

<sup>22</sup>"Manuscript History of Virgin City," HDC p. 1; Nephi Johnson, "Autobiography," p. 7; and Bleak, "Annals, Southern Mission," Book A p. 49, BYU.

<sup>23</sup>Journal History, July 27, 1858; and December 18, 1858.

<sup>24</sup>Rufus Wood Leigh, "Naming of the Green, Sevier, and Virgin Rivers," Utah Historical Quarterly, 29 (1961): 146.

<sup>25</sup>"Manuscript History of Virgin City," p. 3, HDC; and Bleak, "Annals, Southern Mission", Book A p. 49, BYU.

<sup>26</sup>"Manuscript History of Virgin City," p. 4, HDC; and Bleak, "Annals, Southern Mission" Book A p. 53, BYU.

<sup>27</sup>1860 Federal Agricultural Census, Washington County, Utah, HDC.

<sup>28</sup>Cleland and Brooks, eds., Mormon Chronicle, 1:196.

<sup>29</sup>"Manuscript History of Virgin City," p. 1, HDC; and Bleak, "Annals, Southern Mission" Book A p. 42, BYU. Toquerville Ward was organized November 18, 1861. Joshua T. Willis was bishop, with Job P. Hall and Nephi Johnson as councilors. Virgin City was attached to this ward as a branch with Nephi Johnson as presiding elder and did not become a ward until May of 1868 when John Parker was appointed bishop with Nephi Johnson and James Jepson councilors.

<sup>30</sup>"Manuscript History of Virgin City," p. 4, BYU.

<sup>31</sup>Bleak, "Annals, Southern Mission" Book A pp. 50-51.

<sup>32</sup>Journal History, April 14, 1859. Listed on Table 1.

<sup>33</sup>Journal History, July 27, 1859; "Manuscript History of Virgin City," p. 3, HDC; "Manuscript History of Grafton," p. 1, HDC; and Bleak, "Annals," Book A p. 47, BYU.

<sup>34</sup>1860 Federal Manuscript Census, GLC, taken July 24. In Cleland and Brooks, eds., Mormon Chronicle John D. Lee called all the Upper Virgin River Valley, Pocketville, making no distinction between the villages.

<sup>35</sup>Bleak, "Annals, Southern Mission," Book A p. 47, BYU.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 62-68, lists all heads of households of the families called. Those on this list later found in the records of Virgin City include: Thomas Burgess, Philestus Davis, Duncan Chapman, George B. Gardner, Augustus and Samuel Hardy, Hugh Hilton, Brigham and Edward Lamb, William Maxwell, James Ranson, and Oliver Stratton. There could have been others not listed who came that year as volunteers.

<sup>38</sup>Larson, Called to Dixie, pp. 26, 111.

<sup>39</sup>"Manuscript History of Virgin City," p. 5, BYU; and "Manuscript History of Grafton," p. 2, HDC.

<sup>40</sup>Deseret News, February 12, 1862.

- <sup>41</sup>Deseret News, May 13, 1862.
- <sup>42</sup>Larson, Called to Dixie, p. 87.
- <sup>43</sup>"Manuscript History of Virgin City," p. 5, HDC.
- <sup>44</sup>Quoted in Larson, Called to Dixie, p. 88.
- <sup>45</sup>"Manuscript History of Virgin City," p. 5, HDC.
- <sup>46</sup>Journal History, September 14, 1862.
- <sup>47</sup>Scott G. Kenney, ed., Wilford Woodruff's Journals  
9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-1985), 5:579.
- <sup>48</sup>Journal History, October 19, 1862.

## CHAPTER IV

### ANOTHER MOVE:

#### LOOKING FOR GREATER ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

It was autumn, 1862, and John Nock Hinton had been a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for over six years. His decision to be baptized had changed the direction of his life. Because of it he left his native land, married Emma Spendlove, and crossed an ocean and half a continent. Yet even at that they had not reached the end of their journey. There was one trek still to make--one that would lead John and Emma to the edge of the frontier where they would become familiar with floods, droughts, grasshoppers, and Indians.

In anticipation of leaving Salt Lake City, John sold everything he could, including the furniture he had made for their home, and the city lot he had purchased expecting to build a house. However, with so many families trying to liquidate their assests, it soon became a buyers' market.<sup>1</sup> Cash money was, and had been, a scarce item among the Mormons, so he bartered for anything useful he could get. He traded a nice bureau to Bob Sharkie, a Main Street tinsmith, for a milk strainer and pans, a

large camp kettle, and coffee mill; all household equipment that served them well in years to come.<sup>2</sup>

A substantial amount of preparation was necessary to get ready for the trip south. They would need a sturdy wagon to withstand the rough roads. As Erastus Snow had counseled earlier, only the barest essentials should be taken. They must have John's cabinet making tools, seeds, farming implements, perhaps some small farm animals, clothing, bedding, cooking utensils, and food. Food was of prime importance to John and Emma for it had to be sufficient to last for almost a year. Even with early planting, no harvest could be expected until midsummer.<sup>3</sup> Emma prepared the needed food much the same as did Elethra Bunker who described it in her biography. "It was customary to . . . bake loaves of bread, cut it in slices and dry them in the oven. These were stored in heavy sacks as it could be kept for long periods of time without spoiling. Corn, squash, berries, peas, beans, fruit, and even tomatoes were dried for food".<sup>4</sup> Wheat for bread and cereal rounded out their fare.

Just as with the previous year's settlers, not all of the cotton missionaries traveled in a single organized company. There were several different groups who went south in late November and December of 1862. John and Emma left Salt Lake City around the first of December and traveled with the George W. Lufkin family.<sup>5</sup> Winter weather throughout Utah is generally cold and often

stormy and so this three week journey was less comfortable than their summer trip across the plains the previous year. On their way, they passed through many established towns including Cottonwood, Lehi, American Fork, Battle Creek (Pleasant Grove), Provo, Springville, Spanish Fork, Payson, Nephi, Holden, Fillmore, Kanosh, Beaver, Parowan, Cedar City, and Harmony. It was more than a half day's drive south from Harmony that they came to the "Black Ridge." Only by hitching extra teams to each wagon were they able to reach the summit. After traveling a short distance over the rocky terrain, John and Emma were able to get their first view of the territory south of the rim of the Great Basin. Immediately in front of them were hills covered with black volcanic rocks and scrub bushes. To their left was the limestone Hurricane Fault extending over a thousand feet high; to their right the high Pine Valley Mountain; and in the distance to the southwest they could see red hills and sand dunes.<sup>6</sup>

As the company moved cautiously and slowly along the narrow dugway leading down the hill, the weather changed, becoming perceptively warmer. After hours of difficult travel, they reached the valley where Pintura now stands. Here the volcanic rocks gave way to roundish gray granite stones. From there to an area they called the "Sandy," a distance of only five miles, the road was often crossed with deep ravines and washes where teams were again doubled to get the heavy wagons through. At

the Sandy the road became even worse and the wagons mired in deep sand. Here again the teams were doubled and the men were required to push the wagons up the sandy slope. They finally descended into the village of Toquerville.<sup>7</sup> After an additional hour's drive south, the group stopped at LaVerkin Creek to give the animals food and rest before venturing up the most crooked and the steepest part of the entire road from Salt Lake City to Virgin City--Johnson's Twist.

Traveling almost directly east and climbing with great difficulty a thousand feet above the valley floor, they finally reached the top of the Hurricane Fault where John and Emma first glimpsed the upper Virgin River Valley. They could see, stretching in all directions, a scenic panorama. To the north was the now familiar Pine Valley Mountains behind the red sandstone cliffs (Silver Reef). Looking west, they could see The West Mountains beyond the Hurricane and LaVerkin Flats, Sand Mountain, and St. George. South, they saw the flat Gooseberry Mountain, the capped volcano, "Mollie's Nipple," and Rock Canyon Mountain. The peaks of Zion Canyon crowned the eastern horizon. Again turning the wagons to the east, the company had some very treacherous road to cover going into Virgin City. They climbed over low sand hills, down to the river bed and upstream until they finally came to the alluvial pocket of the Virgin River where the village was built.<sup>8</sup>

This was Virgin City! It was one of eight small settlements in the upper Virgin River Valley below Zion Canyon. Named for the river,<sup>9</sup> it would be home for John and Emma for the next fifty years. Here they would suffer deprivation, hardship, adversity, and death. Here, also, they would delight in the goodness of life, their family, and their religion. Looking around they saw a small settlement of about twenty-five families, consisting of log houses and dugouts with a few newly arrived families still living in their wagon boxes. The Deseret News of September 17, 1862 reported that Virgin City looked rather poverty stricken. The failure and consequent abandonment of Chapman Duncan's upper town ditch "seemed to have infected the whole place with a sort of stagnation." The lands on the north side of town thus left without water were overgrown with weeds which contributed to the poor appearance. However, the south side of town watered by the lower ditch looked much better.<sup>10</sup>

Several new families moved to Virgin in late 1862. John and the other new settlers found plenty to do--clearing and leveling the land, constructing irrigation ditches, plowing and planting. Additionally, they built some kind of structure in which to house their families. Like most new settlers John built a one-room dugout home. He began by digging a hole in a side-hill, lining the walls with flat rocks, and pounding down the dirt floor. He used cottonwood logs for gables and roof timbers which



he then covered with a thatch of cottonwood brush. Upon this brush he laid a covering of Cottonwood branch or pressed cane, and finished it off with a layer of earth. On one end he built a fireplace of stone for cooking.<sup>11</sup> Thus, he created a dwelling that was ideally suited for the climate, cool in summer and warm in winter, but vastly different from John's home in England.

The contrast between Virgin City and Birmingham could not have been greater. It truly was a new and very different world in which John found himself. He soon discovered that wages in Virgin City were not only lower than in Salt Lake City, but often non-existent. Since there were no industries, farming was the chief occupation, so John set about to wrestle a living from the earth. He had to learn the new skills needed to conquer the desert. Several of the other Virgin City families had also come from England. Many of them, like John Nock Hinton, had come from manufacturing districts in the midlands. Their former lives had not equipped them to deal with the realities of the desert frontier. Nevertheless, having fully embraced this new life they eagerly tackled each new challenge. No doubt, the chores of the stockman were confusing at first to many of the English converts. The neighbors found it "amusing to see city bred Englishmen try to be effective cowboys."<sup>12</sup> They laughed with John Spendlove Jr. when he discovered that he had planted the never-before-seen grapevine cuttings

upside down.<sup>13</sup>

By spring 1863, thirty-five families resided in Virgin City. There were no merchants or stores and no public buildings save one, the one-room school house made of cottonwood logs with a dirt floor. Church, school and all public meetings were held there. Culinary water was hauled in barrels from the river. Very often the barrels would be a quarter full of silt and mud, making it necessary to allow time for it to settle before dippers were slid into the water carefully so the thick stuff on the bottom would be left undisturbed.<sup>14</sup> Again, this was very different from John's English home where culinary water was piped into the house.

Although the upper Virgin River Valley supported several small Mormon settlements, another people also lived there. At the time of Mormon settlement, in the 1860's, there were upwards of a thousand Paiute Indians (locally called Piedades) in several bands camped along the stream near Rockville, Virgin City, Toquerville, Washington Fields, and on the Santa Clara. Each of these bands recognized as leader Chief Tut-se-gavits, head of the Tonaquints living on the Santa Clara. The chief held them all together under regular tribal control. They lived in primitive wickiups and wore sparse clothing consisting of breechclouts, skirts and robes, all made from rabbit skins. Their hunting equipment consisted of bows and arrows supplemented by stone skinning knives.

The Indians raised corn, squash, and beans, but they depended mostly upon fish, birds, wild game, wild fruit, roots, and seeds for food.<sup>15</sup>

Angus M. Woodbury in his History of Southern Utah and Its National Parks, recounts that with the coming of the settlers, the Indian way of life gradually disintegrated. The whites frequently settled on Indian campsites and occupied Indian farmlands. Their livestock grazed on the grass that had formerly supplied seeds, and crowded out the game upon which the Indians had formerly subsisted. This reduction of food supply brought the Indians into economic dependence upon the Mormons. Moreover, within a few years the settlers had more food and clothing than the Indians ever dreamed possible. As it became more difficult for the Indians to maintain themselves, they turned to begging from the Mormons. Another circumstance that reduced the Indian population was the introduction of new and strange "Whiteman" diseases that proved fatal in many cases. Of the thousand Piedades living along the Virgin River in the 1860's, the very last descendent, Peter Harrison, died June 1945.<sup>16</sup> These Indians, even with their diminishing number, exerted a great influence upon the Mormon settlements for several decades.

In Virgin City, early in 1863, some of the newcomers became dissatisfied because of the delay in finishing the upper irrigation ditch that was to bring

water to their town lots, and asked for permission to move their families onto their farming lands. Because their instructions had been to keep the settlers "together for their mutual protection from Indian ravages and to have the advantages of schools, meetings, etc," the local authorities put the question to President Erastus Snow. At length, President Snow gave his consent and John Dalton, James Jepson and a few others moved to their farms a mile and a half above Virgin City. This became the village of Dalton, also a branch of Toquerville Ward.<sup>17</sup>

In late December, 1863, Emma's father and step-mother, John and Maria Spendlove, two brothers, William and John Jr., and John Jr.'s wife Mary arrived in Virgin City from England. It had been two and a half years since Emma had seen them. John Nock Hinton's family in Birmingham had sent with them many useful items that were not available in Southern Utah. Among the things for John and Emma were clothes for baby John from his grandfather Hinton's hosiery warehouse.<sup>18</sup>

The Spendloves moved into the dugout with John and Emma for a short time while they built a dugout for themselves. Eight people, including baby John, in one small room made for crowded quarters indeed. Of these eight people, four were named John. Crowded as they were, Emma was delighted that so many of her family were in Virgin City.<sup>19</sup>

For John and Emma, the first few years in

southern Utah were very difficult. Years later, Joseph S. Black, a fellow-newcomer, recalled those days, "It was a time to try the hearts of men and women."<sup>20</sup> The premise upon which the Cotton Mission was established was that cotton would be grown extensively. Accordingly, in the early 1860's, the residents of Virgin City planted most of their farmland into cotton. They anticipated that they could exchange it in the communities of northern Utah for wheat, foodstuffs, and other needed commodities. However, when the demand for cotton was minimal in Utah, they were unable to sell it or exchange it for wheat and severe food shortages developed.<sup>21</sup> Many times the Hintons had only pigweed and lucerne greens for food. Frequently, when wheat was unavailable, they ground cane and broom seed into flour to use for bread. During these hard times, not only were many families poorly housed in dugouts and log homes, but they also suffered from shortages of food and clothing. When John had left England his mother had made sure he had a "goodly supply" of clothing. When food shortages occurred, this clothing became wealth that he traded for food to last the family until the next harvest.<sup>22</sup>

In the April 20, 1864 session of the Southern Mission Conference, Apostles Orson Pratt and Erastus Snow both counseled the "people south of the rim of the Great Basin to grow more wheat." Thereafter, farmers planted more food crops and the food shortages were gradually

alleviated.<sup>23</sup>

Farms on the upper Virgin were small so it was not a matter of growing both cotton and foodstuffs but an either/or situation. The early land certificates listed in the Kane County Abstract Book, included in the appendix, show that the farms owned by the Virgin City men averaged 8.55 acres. John's North Dalton farm was only slightly smaller than this at 8.26 acres. Only eight men held more than ten acres.

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Table 2

VIRGIN CITY

MEN OWNING MORE THAN TEN ACRES OF LAND

=====	
Andrew J. Workman	76.73
George Lufkin	38.40
Nephi Johnson	37.53
Dennison Harris	17.62
Ira Sutton	13.80
William Beebe	13.40
Lewis Brewer	11.90
Alexander Wright	10.10

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Source: Land Certificates, Kane County Abstract Book, County Courthouse, Kanab, Utah.

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As the people in Virgin City began to build better, more permanent homes, John found sporadic work as a carpenter, but building molasses barrels and coffins was more lucrative.<sup>24</sup> Since little cash money circulated, barter and trade remained the medium of exchange. It was not until several years later that the residents of the

village could afford the fine furniture John was capable of making. John, like the other men, supported his family with subsistence farming.

The Black Hawk Indian War that broke out in San Pete County in 1865 had repercussions for the people living in Washington and Kane Counties.<sup>25</sup> Ute unrest was contagious, and the southern Paiutes were also stirred into an occasional attack. The first incident occurred in late December when a group of Paiutes raided Kanab and made off with some horses. Navajos from across the Colorado River also raided the southern settlements. During the winter, a band of Navajos and Paiutes stole a herd of Dr. James M. Whitmore's sheep and killed Whitmore and his herdsman, Robert McIntyre, in the vicinity of Pipe Springs on the Arizona Strip, southwest of Virgin City. A cavalry detachment of about fifty men from St. George set out in pursuit. Five Indians who had in their possession much of the clothing and personal effects of the murdered men were captured. As the evidence of guilt seemed conclusive, the Indians were turned loose and shot as they attempted to run. The sheep were never recovered. It was assumed that they had been taken across the Colorado River by the Navajos.<sup>26</sup>

The Indian raids continued and members of the Berry family from Long Valley were killed.<sup>27</sup> The menace to the settlers seemed so serious that on May 2, 1866, President Brigham Young declared martial law and issued

instruction for the settlers to concentrate in fortified communities of at least 150 men.<sup>28</sup> On October 6, Virgin City was designated as a "city of refuge" and people from Duncan's Retreat, Dalton, Mountain Dell, Millville, and some from Long Valley moved there.<sup>29</sup> The population increased to about 500.<sup>30</sup> Houses were either built or moved to the center square and faced inward for protection. The cows and other animals were all put into a public corral and guarded day and night.<sup>31</sup> Each day the men would leave the fort and go back to their respective settlements to work in the fields. This was exhausting, time consuming, and a great burden to the people.<sup>32</sup>

One morning during this time, Emma Hinton had just taken her freshly-baked bread from the oven when four or five large Navajo Indians came rushing into the dugout frightening her very much. She could not understand what they said but as they talked to one another, they pointed to the hot bread sitting on the table. When she concluded that it was only the bread they wanted, she gave it all to them and was very much relieved when they quickly left her in peace.<sup>33</sup>

By the end of 1867, the Indian troubles on the Upper Virgin River subsided and the people were able to move back to their former homes.<sup>34</sup> However, it was not until late 1870 that all hostilities ceased and peace was officially agreed upon by the Indians and the settlers.<sup>35</sup>

The residents of Virgin City continued making



improvements on their lands and property. Like them, John farmed a little, raised a good garden, and had an orchard with all kinds of fruit. He tested out many new varieties of grapes and peaches, including the Elberta Peach.<sup>36</sup> The molasses they made from cane became one of the principal items of trade for the town. John would take molasses, eggs, butter, fruits and chickens to peddle in Pioche, a mining town in southeastern Nevada. This trip took almost a week, but was usually profitable and was one of the few opportunities to sell for cash.<sup>37</sup>

Early in the spring of 1868, John sold the dugout home for molasses to Joseph Hopkins, who had married Emma's aunt, Ann Spendlove. The Hinton family then moved to Mountain Dell, an even smaller village four miles north of Virgin City. A year later when the Hopkins family moved to Glendale in Long Valley, John bought back the dugout, and the Hintons returned to Virgin City.<sup>38</sup>

From its beginning, leaders of the Church had admonished the members to be self-sufficient, to grow or produce everything they used. Disapproving of gentile profit seeking, Brigham Young constantly warned his followers about becoming slaves to gentile merchants, and expected the Saints to trade only with one another. Brigham Young and other church leaders sought a solution to the threat that the coming of the railroad in 1868 posed to Mormon trade sovereignty.<sup>39</sup> Lorenzo Snow organized the Brigham City Cooperative Institution in

1864. This was used as a basis for the organization of the entire economy of the community to develop all of the necessary industries to make Brigham City self-sufficient.<sup>40</sup> This became a model for other communities in Utah. In 1869, the cooperative movement took hold in Virgin City. In April, a Mercantile Cooperative Association was organized with the wards of Rockville, Virgin City, Harrisburg, and Toquerville.<sup>41</sup> The Virgin City co-op store was operated by Bishop John Parker and his family. The porch of their home was enclosed to provide the necessary room. On a trip to Salt Lake City, \$1000.00 worth of goods was purchased and \$100.00 worth was sold the first day the store was opened.<sup>42</sup> Later, endeavoring to make the ward self-sufficient, they also organized a Cooperative Wool Growing Association and the Cooperative Cattle Association, with the Blue Springs Ranch on Kolob Mountain as their rangeland. The co-op herd became known as the Kolob Herd.<sup>43</sup> John Nock Hinton invested in at least the last named enterprise.<sup>44</sup>

By the end of 1870, John and Emma had five children. Besides John Jr., there were three daughters, Agnes, Marian, and Emma, and a second son, Atkins, born that year. They were still living in the little dugout home that was becoming over-crowded and they were looking forward to soon improving their housing situation.

The Hintons heard the news that a Temple was to be built in St. George soon after Brigham Young made the

announcement in April, 1871.<sup>45</sup> There were certain sacred ordinances and blessings, including marriage for time and eternity, that could be obtained by the faithful only in a building dedicated especially for that purpose. In Salt Lake City a temple was in the process of being built while the Endowment House there served as an interim substitute. Should any of the Saints south of the rim of the Great Basin desire these blessings, it was necessary for them to make the difficult and time consuming trip to Salt Lake City.

Construction on the St. George Temple began on November 9, 1871, the afternoon of the same day the ground was dedicated. President Young directed that all the tithing from Beaver and all the wards south be used to construct the temple.<sup>46</sup> Many of the men living in the mission helped build it. Some of the labor was donated, but most workers were paid in commodities distributed by the Tithing Office. This building project was a real boon to the economy of the Cotton Mission, whose resources had so often been depleted by drought, floods, and insects.<sup>47</sup>

In 1872, ten years after arriving in Virgin City, John Hinton bought the sixteen by eighteen-foot log house that had previously been used as a public building, but, recently had been replaced by a larger one. He moved it onto his lot and fixed it up for a residence. By this time there were six children in the family, and the little dugout was just too small. Later, when more rooms were

added to the home, the log part became the kitchen.<sup>48</sup>

Emma was a fastidious housekeeper. Her home was the epitome of cleanliness and her food preparation was immaculate. City-bred John never learned to milk a cow, so Emma did it. When the boys were old enough to take over the job, she still would not allow it because they did not keep the milk clean enough for her. Even giving birth to children did not keep her from doing it. The day after a child was born she would insist on doing the milking again.<sup>49</sup> One morning as she went to milk the cow, she opened the chicken coop door to check on the chickens. There was a wild cat in the corner and nearly all the chickens were dead on the floor. The wild cat "was so full of blood sucked from the chickens that it could not move." Oliver Stratton, their neighbor from across the street, came over and shot the cat. He and his brother, Albert, traded live chickens for the dead ones which they took home and fed to their families.<sup>50</sup>

Brigham Young called the cooperative movement of the late 1860's "only a stepping stone to what is called the Order of Enoch, but what is in reality the order of Heaven."<sup>51</sup> When Brigham Young arrived in St. George for his winter visit of 1873-1874, he found the area was in need of economic revitalization. The Panic of 1873 had shut down the mines of the Pioche, Nevada area, thus cutting off the lucrative market for local produce and labor. Grasshoppers, periodic drouths, and the repeated

flooding of the Virgin River had lessened their crops and depleted their stores, bringing the southern communities to the verge of destitution. On February 9, 1874, President Young presented to the local leaders the idea of establishing the United Order of Enoch in the St. George Stake. Finding them receptive, the Order was organized and its officers elected.<sup>52</sup> With this organization in place, President Young publicly presented the new movement. The people responded favorably and some 300 came forward and placed their names upon the United Order roll. Very soon, a United Order was established in each of the southern settlements.

In Virgin City, the United Order was organized on March 5, 1874, by Brigham Young, George A. Smith, and John W. Young. The officers were John Parker, President; Jefferson Wright and Andrew J. Stratton, Vice presidents; George Isom, Secretary; LeRoy Beebe, treasurer; George B. Gardner, Samuel Bradshaw, James Humphries, Moses Gibson, and William Pratt, appraisers.<sup>53</sup> Although there were several different kinds of Orders, the one in Virgin City was patterned after the St. George Order. In this type, persons in the community contributed all of their property to the Order and received differential wages and dividends depending upon their labor and property contribution. Increased specialization of labor and cooperative farming would increase economic gains of all the people.<sup>54</sup> Like most of those living in Virgin City, John and Emma

joined. They turned over their horses, harnesses and wagon, as well as the building material on hand with which they planned to build an addition onto their house.<sup>55</sup>

In November, working for the Order, John Hinton and James Jepson Jr. made a trip to Salt Lake City with a wagon-load of dried peaches to sell or trade. They had prepared the peaches by first cutting them in half and then laying them on large scaffolds to dry in the sun. After loading the wagon, John and James started the trip that would take six weeks. As they were crossing Ash Creek, the king bolt on the wagon broke, letting the wagon box down into a foot of water. They replaced the bolt and continued on their journey. They feared the peaches would be spoiled or moldy when they got to Salt Lake City, but such was not the case; the only difference was that the load then weighed more than when they left Virgin. On the return trip, they brought back a load of merchandise for the Co-op store and a mowing machine for the United Order.<sup>56</sup>

Many of the United Orders failed after the first year of operation. Problems arose, and there were disagreements in administrating the plan. In other instances, antagonisms arose when not everyone in each community joined the Order. In some places, there were those who did not turn over all their property. There were also places where individuals with property lacked confidence in the local Order officers. In still others,

the industrious were reluctant to share with the idolent.<sup>57</sup> The United Order of Virgin City remained in operation for two growing seasons before it was dissolved. A neighbor of the Hinton family, Alice Isom, years later in her "Memoirs," speculated about the causes of its demise. "We were not prepared to live it, or for some reason we went back to the old way. To us it seemed better."<sup>58</sup> When the Virgin City United Order failed, John had nothing left but some land and a team of horses. He had to make a new beginning.<sup>59</sup>

Once the Order was dissolved, John spent much of the following winter (1875-1876) working on the St. George Temple, "donating the greater part of his time."<sup>60</sup> His skills in cabinet making and woodworking were a valuable contribution to the beautiful building. About this time, John concluded that the people of Virgin City and the other communities on the upper Virgin River were finally economically able to purchase the furniture they had done without for so long. He sold his farmland and his team for capital to finance a cabinet-making shop. He began building a large frame building on the south end of town to house a turning wheel and circular saw, turned by a water wheel in the river.<sup>61</sup> John was looking forward to being able to make a living at long last, solely from his chosen profession.

It took John several months to complete the two-story building. He had some difficulty in obtaining the

right kind of machinery to run the equipment. After some time he was able to "master the difficulties."<sup>62</sup> John Jr. was a great help in building the shop and was fast becoming a skilled cabinet maker in his own right.

Nine-year-old Atkins loved to play and "help" in the shop. One day, he was standing near the water wheel which protruded from the floor, talking to his father John. His foot slipped and was caught in the trap door which led to the machinery below.<sup>63</sup> This threw him into the water wheel. His left leg caught in the belt on the wheel, which took him around two or three times. John was finally able to free him, but only after the leg had been broken in three places. There was only one doctor in the Upper Virgin Valley, a Dr. Allred in Springdale, who lived eighteen miles away. A neighbor from Virgin rode horseback to Springdale to get the doctor and the doctor had to use the same mode of transportation to return to Virgin City. The leg was finally set but it took many weeks to heal. As a result of this accident, Atkins' always walked with a slight limp because the left leg was shorter than the right one.<sup>64</sup>

John and Emma had prospered over the ten years between 1870 and 1880. Their family had increased. Four more children, Thomas Maurice, Annie, Joel, and Bernard Bulmer, had been born. However, Joel died when he was only three days old in 1877. This death brought grief to the whole family. All of the other children reached



maturity, married and raised families. Conditions were improving for the Hintons. They had a larger home for their family and John had the furniture shop running smoothly. The business had done well and they decided to expand it. John sold everything he owned except the house, lot, and shop to purchase lumber to make into additional furniture.<sup>65</sup>

The federal census returns provide some interesting information about changes in the population of Virgin City over a period of twenty years.<sup>66</sup> Table 3, shows that the influx of new settlers between 1860 and 1870 nearly tripled the total population of the town. With floods decreasing farmland acreage, population growth for the next ten years (1870-1880) was more modest. Over this period of time, the occupations in Virgin City diversified. In 1860, all of the men worked in farming occupations, but twenty years later when economic conditions in the area improved, only half of them farmed exclusively. Many of the men's occupations listed in the census returns were those for which they had been trained. In actuality, they were of necessity only part-time endeavors because the population of Virgin City was so small. Most men like John Nock Hinton had to rely on agriculture and related pursuits for the major part of their livelihood. Simon Anderson listed as a carpenter in 1870, gave his occupation as farmer in 1880 which was probably a more accurate description. John was the only

cabinet maker listed in these three census. Interestingly, the Hinton family was not listed in Virgin in the

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Table 3

VIRGIN CITY

OCCUPATIONS OF HEADS OF HOUSHOLDS

	1860	1870	1880
TOTAL POPULATION	79	224	254*
TOTAL WORK FORCE	16	35	47
Farm Occupations	16 (100%)	28 (80 %)	24 (51.1%)
Carpenters		1 ( 2.9%)	2 ( 4.3%)
Cabinet makers			1 ( 2.1%)
Blacksmiths		3 ( 8.6%)	1 ( 2.1%)
Gristmillers		1 ( 2.9%)	1 ( 2.1%)
"Keeps House"		1 ( 2.9%)	6 (12.8%)
Coopers			6 (12.8%)
Herders		1 ( 2.9%)	
Masons			3 ( 6.4%)
Brickmakers			1 ( 2.1%)
Teamsters			1 ( 2.1%)
Miners			1 ( 2.1%)
Shoemaker			1 ( 2.1%)
School Teacher			1 ( 2.1%)
Undesignated			2 ( 2.4%)

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\*Includes Mountain Dell, Millville and Workman's Ranch as they were part of the Virgin City L.D.S. Ward.

Sources: 1860, 1870, 1880 Federal Manuscript Census for Utah. Genealogical Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

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1870 Census, which was taken on July 13. However, ward records give evidence that he and his family were living there at that time for they show that son Atkins was born in Virgin on July 15.<sup>66</sup> The Hinton family is recorded in the 1880 Census.

Table 4 shows the origins of the people. Given the fact that the principal reason for the settlement of Virgin City was to grow cotton, it may be surprising to some to find a predominance of British born men.

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Table 4

VIRGIN CITY

BIRTHPLACE OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

	1860	1870	1880
TOTAL HEADS	16	35	47*
England	4 (25 %)	15 (42.8%)	14 (29.8%)
Other British	1 (6.3%)	1 (2.9%)	1 (2.1%)
Scandinavia		3 (8.6%)	3 (6.4%)
U.S. Northern States	9 (56.3%)	8 (22.8%)	10 (21.3%)
U.S. Southern States	2 (12.5%)	8 (22.8%)	6 (12.8%)
U.S. no other designation			9 (19.1%)

\*Includes Mountain Dell, Millville, and Workman's Ranch as they were part of the Virgin City L.D.S. Ward.

Sources: 1860, 1870, 1880 Federal Manuscript Census for Utah. Genealogical Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

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This however, only symbolizes the nature of Mormon pioneering in the West. While it may not be correct to describe Virgin City as a British enclave, John and Emma gratefully had the association of many of their fellow countrymen.

At this point in his life when his affairs were

prospering, John wrote an interesting letter to his parents. It seems to have caused the family in England much distress. His letter was either lost or destroyed, but a reply written by his brother Atkins still exists and it indicates what John must have said. John's letter was evidently a defense of the Mormon doctrine of plural wives. Atkins' reply refuted John's commentary point by point and inferred the basis of John's argument. Among the things he apparently stressed was (1) that polygamy was revealed by God to his prophets on earth and compliance to this doctrine was prerequisite for the highest form of salvation. (2) More than one wife would make it possible for a worthy man to have a large number of children which was also desirable to populate a new land. (3) Polygamy would do away with spinsterhood, allowing all women to have their own families. (4) The women themselves favored the practice and were not forced to live it against their will. After expressing strong disapproval of the concept of plural marriage, Atkins' letter concluded:

We trust that the remarks in your letter are not the prelude to any steps you may be taking in that direction, but if it be so, be kind enough never to mention it in your letters <sup>67</sup> here if you have the least regard for Father and Mother.

It is not known if John's motive for writing the letter was a "prelude to any steps" he may have been planning, but it is known that he never took a plural wife. Later, events at the death of his mother

demonstrated just how deeply his family felt about this matter.

Back in Virgin in 1881, all the lumber John purchased with proceeds from the sale of his property was soon made into furniture, ready to be sold. The future of the Hinton family looked bright. Then on that fateful day in June, 1881, the fire destroyed it all.<sup>68</sup>

John did not know quite what to do. Gratefully, he had no debts. He had financed the shop and inventory by the sale of his land, team, and stock in the Kolob Herd and the Co-op Store. If only he still had his tools, but they, too, were gone and he had no capital to replace them. Finally, almost in desperation, he wrote and asked his mother in England for a loan of five pounds to replace the tools. Her reply gives an indication of the desperation he was feeling.

The sad news in your letter has troubled me much. To lose all your life's work in one short hour was enough to stun you and almost take away your senses. It is no use to tell you not to be cast down, you cannot help it at present. But I believe after awhile you will be able to praise Him for His mercy in sparing your wife and children to you. . . May God bless you and<sup>69</sup> cause his face to shine upon you and give you peace.

Because John's father had passed away the previous April, his mother's financial affairs were in turmoil and were likely to remain so for some months, so she did not immediately have the resources to spare him anything. However, as soon as the estate of John's father was settled she said she would send him the

money.<sup>70</sup>

It is not known if this money ever arrived, but John realized he could not wait to begin again--immediate action was necessary. He decided to go to Salt Lake City, find work, and stay there as long as it took to earn enough for a fresh start.

John and Emma had been in Virgin City just short of twenty years. Although in the early years they had suffered poverty, they had eventually prospered and made for themselves and their children a homeland in Zion. They invested all of their financial resources in a business only to have it all destroyed by fire. By tapping their inner resources of fortitude and perserverance, the Hinton family set to work to rebuild their financial security with the same determination John Emma had demonstrated when they left their home in England for a new country and a new faith.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

<sup>1</sup>A. Karl Larson and Katherine Miles Larson, eds., The Diary of Charles Lowell Walker, 2 vols. (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1980), 1:240.

<sup>2</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Charles B. Petty, The Albert Petty Family (Salt Lake City: Desert News Press, 1954-55), p. 115.

<sup>4</sup>Andrew Karl Larson, Erastus Snow (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971), quoted on p. 325.

<sup>5</sup>Hazel Bradshaw, ed., Under Dixie Sun (Panguitch, Utah: Garfield County News Press, 1950), p. 271; Jane Maria Lufkin Hailstone, "Life Story of Martha Ann Townsend," typescript in possession of T. Eugene Lufkin, Mesa, Arizona, photocopy in possession of author, p. 1-2 also gives details on the life of George W. Lufkin, husband of Martha Ann. He was a cabinet maker in Salt Lake City when John Nock Hinton arrived there. They went to southern Utah together in 1862. Lufkin left the upper Virgin at the time of the Indian problems. After living for a time in St. George, Utah, Panaca, Nevada, and Salt Lake City, the Lufkin family moved to Logan, Utah where George died in 1922.

<sup>6</sup>Petty, Petty Family, p. 117.

<sup>7</sup>Larson, Called to Dixie, p. 107.

<sup>8</sup>Petty, Petty Family, pp. 117-120; Alice Parker Isom, "Life Story of John Parker," Washington County Library, St. George, Utah, hereafter cited as WCL, p. 8.

<sup>9</sup>"Manuscript History of Virgin City," HDC, p. 4.

<sup>10</sup>Deseret News, September 17, 1862.

<sup>11</sup>George Isom, "Memoirs," WCL, p. 9; John Alfred Spendlove, "Autobiography," p. 2, BYU.

<sup>12</sup>Eugene Hilton, Hugh, the First Hilton Mormon (Oakland, California: Hugh Hilton Genealogical Society, 1964), p. 87.

- <sup>13</sup>J.A. Spendlove, "Autobiography," p. 2, BYU.
- <sup>14</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 3.
- <sup>15</sup>Angus M. Woodbury, A History of Southern Utah and Its National Parks (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1950), p. 121.
- <sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 115-122.
- <sup>17</sup>"Manuscript History of Virgin City," HDC, p. 7.
- <sup>18</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 4; J. Dewey Spendlove, "Memoirs, John Spendlove," p. 7.
- <sup>19</sup>J.D. Spendlove, "Memoirs, John Spendlove," p. 7.
- <sup>20</sup>Joseph Smith Black, "Personal Diary," GLC, p. 15.
- <sup>21</sup>Larson, Called to Dixie, pp. 122-123.
- <sup>22</sup>Kate B. Carter, comp., Our Pioneer Heritage (Salt Lake City; Utah Printing Company, 1962), 5:183.
- <sup>23</sup>Bleak, "Annals, Southern Mission" Book A, p. 154, BYU.
- <sup>24</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 2.
- <sup>25</sup>Bleak, "Annals, Southern Mission," p. 194, BYU. On January 10, 1866 county boundry lines were changed and the upper Virgin Valley settlements were placed in Kane County.
- <sup>26</sup>Woodbury, Southern Utah, p. 168.
- <sup>27</sup>Journal History, April 8, 1866. Nephi Johnson said the arrows used in the killing looked like those of the Piedes.
- <sup>28</sup>Journal History, May 2, 1866.
- <sup>29</sup>"Manuscript History of Virgin City," p. 8, HDC.
- <sup>30</sup>Bradshaw, Dixie Sun, p. 277.
- <sup>31</sup>Lorine Isabel Lamb Higbee, "Autobiography," GLC, p.6.
- <sup>32</sup>Joseph Wright to Hannah Wright, June 1, 1866,



photocopy in possession of author and Norman E. Wright, Orem, Utah.

<sup>33</sup>Wallace Wright, "Memories of John Nock Hinton and Emma Spendlove," photocopy in possession of author, p. 8.

<sup>34</sup>"Manuscript History of Virgin City," p. 8, HDC.

<sup>35</sup>Woodbury, Southern Utah, p. 177.

<sup>36</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 5.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>Wright, "Memories, John Nock Hinton" p. 9.

<sup>39</sup>Arrington, Great Basin, p. 294.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 324; Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, Dean L. May, Building the City of God: Community & Cooperation Among the Mormons (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), p. 112.

<sup>41</sup>Bleak, "Annals, Southern Mission" Book A, p. 267, BYU.

<sup>42</sup>Isom, "Life Story of John Parker," p. 9. WCL.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.; Wayne H. Hinton, "Soil and Water Conservation in Washington County," (Master of Science Thesis, University of Utah, 1961), p. 27.

<sup>44</sup>Wright, "Memories, John Nock Hinton" p. 13.

<sup>45</sup>Larson, Called to Dixie, p. 578.

<sup>46</sup>Nels Anderson, Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 235-236.

<sup>47</sup>Larson, Called to Dixie, p. 568.

<sup>48</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 6.

<sup>49</sup>Interview with Lucille Hinton Gubler, Bountiful, Utah, June 15, 1986.

<sup>50</sup>Wright, "Memories, John Nock Hinton" p. 11.

<sup>51</sup>Deseret News, June 26, 1869.

<sup>52</sup>Bleak, "Annals, Southern Mission," Book B, p.

208, BYU; Arrington, et al., City of God, pp. 15-40 for a complete background on the origin of the United Order movement.

<sup>53</sup>Bleak, "Annals, Southern Mission" p. 218, BYU; Arrington, et al., City of God, pp. 155-175 for more details on the St. George United Order.

<sup>54</sup>Arrington, Great Basin, p. 330.

<sup>55</sup>Gibson, "Biography," p. 6.

<sup>56</sup>Wright, "Memories," p. 11; James Jepson, "Autobiography," Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah, p. 22.

<sup>57</sup>Arrington, Great Basin, p. 331.

<sup>58</sup>Alice P. Isom, "Memoirs," p. 11, WCL.

<sup>59</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 6.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>61</sup>Journal History, August 25, 1877.

<sup>62</sup>Agnes Maurice Hinton to John Nock Hinton, November 27, 1879, VHB.

<sup>63</sup>Wright, "Memories, John Nock Hinton" pp. 12-13.

<sup>64</sup>Vernell Hinton Carr, ed., "Memories of Atkins Hinton," typescript copy in possession of author, p. 1.

<sup>65</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 5.

<sup>66</sup>Virgin City is too small to have the one hundred cases which are required to make a demographic study viable. However, tables 3 and 4 are included because of the depth they add to the study by showing change over time.

<sup>67</sup>Virgin City Ward Records, GLC.

<sup>68</sup>Atkins Hinton to John Nock Hinton, March 10, 1881, VHB.

<sup>69</sup>"Manuscript History of Virgin City," p. 13, HDC.

<sup>70</sup>Agnes Maurice Hinton to John Nock Hinton, July 21, 1881, VHB.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

## CHAPTER V

### RECOVERY AND THE LATER YEARS

In the immediate aftermath of the June 1881 fire that destroyed the furniture shop, John Nock Hinton was stunned almost to the point of inaction, but not for long. With a family of nine children ranging in age from three months to nineteen years, and with no other discernible alternative, he decided to go to Salt Lake City to seek employment as a cabinet maker.<sup>1</sup> Because of a much larger market there, he would be able to work for wages. With cash in hand, he could then purchase new tools, and upon returning home, buy additional farm land to make a new beginning. It was difficult for him to leave his family in Virgin City, but there was comfort in knowing that the older children would be of help to Emma during his absence. In Salt Lake City, John found the work he sought. It took him six months to earn the needed cash and he was able to return to Virgin City just before Christmas. He had been lonely away from his family so long and was very glad to be home.<sup>2</sup>

The Hinton family, determined to make a living, soon bought farm land and planted it into orchards and

vineyards. It took a few years for the fruit to mature and produce, at which time the family fortunes improved. The fruit not only helped to feed the large family, but the surplus, either fresh or dried, was peddled in the northern communities. John also continued to do carpenter work and to make furniture. He never again had a separate shop, but there was always a small room in the back of the house which he used for his work.<sup>3</sup>

It had been their acceptance of and commitment to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints that brought John and Emma to America. This commitment never faltered, but influenced every aspect of their lives. They were always actively engaged in some kind of Church work. Emma held positions in Relief Society, Primary, and Sunday School.<sup>4</sup> For years John was a "block" teacher.<sup>5</sup> He had become the Sunday School Superintendent by January 1878<sup>6</sup> and served in that capacity for ten years. The minutes of the Sunday School show how the meetings were conducted. Among other things, previously assigned youth speakers gave short "exercises" (talks) each week, and at the conclusion of the opening services, Superintendent Hinton usually made a few remarks. John often spoke on the theme of serious study and improvement of the mind and memory. One Sunday, John's fifteen-year-old son Atkins was not prepared so did not give the talk he had been assigned. John's annoyance was obvious in his closing remarks.

We should read slowly and remember what we read so we could speak upon it if called on to do so. We are the wisest people on earth and we must prepare ourselves for it through study, etc. I wish those who are appointed exercise to get them and not come unprepared or perhaps not come at all.

John was Superintendent of the Sunday School for an additional two years, during which time the minutes never again listed Atkins among the Sunday School speakers. As an adult, however, he became a frequent speaker in Church meetings.

John's longest tenure in Church office, other than block teaching, was the thirty years he spent as director of the Virgin City ward choir. Music had been a part of John's life since childhood when his family gathered around the piano to sing. There he learned to read music. He sang tenor, and Emma sang soprano. John directed the choir long before the ward had an organ or piano. He would "do-re-me" the notes to teach the singers their different parts and strike a tuning fork to give them their pitches.<sup>8</sup> Alice Isom, a long-time member of the choir wrote that John had "refined taste and always chose [music] pieces appropriate to the occasion and the Virgin Choir was considered one of the best in Southern Utah."<sup>9</sup> The ward members finally collected enough money to buy an organ and ordered it from Montgomery Ward in Chicago. After it arrived John's daughter, Edith, played it for the choir, and the "old tuning fork was laid aside."<sup>10</sup>

John's other Church activities included the previously mentioned winter's labor building the St. George Temple. The Temple was dedicated January 1, 1877 and vicarious work for the dead commenced on January 9.<sup>11</sup> John and Emma first did work for their deceased ancestors on May 23, 1877.<sup>12</sup> To get the necessary information to do Temple work for his ancestors, John wrote to his mother in England. She was tolerant of his beliefs even though she did not share them, and in gathering the data John needed, she developed a real interest in genealogy and collected family history invaluable to her descendants which she compiled into a small booklet she titled "Family Memorandums". This has since become the basis of all ancestral research done by the family. Each time John's mother sent more information about his ancestors, John and Emma took it to the temple to complete the holy ordinances.

A religious highlight not only for John but also for nineteen other men holding the Melchizedek Priesthood in Virgin City, was the organization of a "Prayer Circle," in 1880. The St. George Stake President, John D.T. McAllister with other stake officials spent two days in the village giving instructions and conducting meetings. "The Manuscript History of Virgin City" does not say how long this organization was in effect, but the written account of its formation indicates it was considered an important event.<sup>13</sup>

The minutes of the sacrament meetings in Virgin City, and later in Hurricane, record numerous times John gave testimony of his faith. In one meeting, he related a "dream or flash of inspiration" which had come to him as a boy in England and which he did not understand at the time. It showed him that he would become an outcast in his father's family, but now he knew that he could become "as a savior" to them by teaching them the Gospel and completing their temple work.<sup>14</sup>

Even with all the financial reverses the Hinton family suffered, the sustaining force in their lives was their faith. Their continued Church activity bore witness of their desire to "build up the Kingdom in Zion."<sup>15</sup>

John Hinton and the people of Virgin City had to make their own amusements. The most common was dancing on the rough floor of the meetinghouse and both the young and old participated. Often on holidays a children's dance was held in the afternoon and another one for adults in the evening. They usually danced quadrills and reels to the music of a violin and a guitar or an organ. There were picnics on Easter Sunday and May Day. May Day was celebrated with a large festival and a queen. The queen was crowned with a wreath of garden or wild flowers. After crowning the queen and enjoying a program in the meetinghouse, everyone went "to the fields" for a picnic and children's games. The Fourth and Twenty-fourth of July were always celebrated much the same as May Day but

without a queen. Christmas was also a community celebration. A large cedar tree was set up in one corner of the stand in the meetinghouse with homemade decorations on it. A program of songs, poems, and "dialogues" preceded the treats of candy, nuts, and cookies for the children. Virgin City was somewhat isolated but its people provided for themselves cultural and recreational activities.<sup>16</sup>

By the end of 1885, the four oldest Hinton children were married and John and Emma's first grandchildren were born. Although their quality of life had improved, the Virgin River continued to flood and change its course, frequently washing away more and more of the already scarce farmland. Between sixty and seventy acres of the best land at Duncan's Retreat and Virgin City had washed out during the past year of 1884.<sup>17</sup> Cattle and sheep overgrazed in the highlands above the valley. With the natural vegetation gone, water from storms no longer soaked into the mountain soil but rushed down the mountain side, causing increased flash flooding in the river.<sup>18</sup> With the establishment of the original settlements in the 1860's, all arable land was soon occupied. With the loss to flooding of already scarce farmlands, the second generation, now reaching adulthood found insufficient acreage available to provide a living for their families. Between 1888 and 1893 many of these families moved to the newly developing communities in



Millard County. Among them were John and Emma's daughter Emma, her husband John M. Wright and their family.<sup>19</sup>

Many of the families living on the upper Virgin did not want to move away from the warm "Dixie" country. The early settlers had looked for additional farmland in the fertile Hurricane Valley, which lies hundreds of feet above the river, and had wished for a way to bring water to it. As early as 1865, surveys had been made to see if a canal could be built. This and several subsequent surveys found the project infeasible.<sup>20</sup> As land problems worsened on the upper Virgin River, a new survey was made in July of 1893 by a committee of local men. They were somewhat discouraged with the prospects; however, in the face of the desperate farmland situation, they made a report favorable to building a canal, knowing there would be many difficulties.<sup>21</sup> The Hurricane Canal Company was incorporated on September 1, 1893, listing fifty-two shareholders. Each share of stock entitled the holder to one acre of land with water rights, and equity in a town lot. To ensure that there would be no large land owners, a limit of twenty shares per man was imposed. Toward the end of the year the actual work on the canal started. Most of it had to be done between November and March because during the summer months the men tended their crops and herds to maintain their families. As winter returned the men went back to work on the canal.<sup>22</sup>

John Hinton was one of the original Hurricane

Canal stockholders, but for some reason he did not stay with the project to its completion. However, his sons, Atkins, Maurice, and Bernard, and sons-in-law, Ira Bradshaw and Thomas Isom, did, and eventually settled in Hurricane on land they had earned. The oldest son, John Maurice, did not live to participate in the building of the canal.<sup>23</sup>

John's mother passed away in England on March 28, 1893.<sup>24</sup> He had not expected to see her or any of his family again when he left England thirty-two years earlier. He was therefore delightfully surprised the following summer by a visit from his brother, Atkins, who arrived in July 1893, and described their meeting.

. . . and as hand clasped hand the features of my father's eldest son stood out quite plain, in the handsome face of the sturdy backwoodsman. The words of welcome were short and earnest as we stood upon the desert sand, beneath the radiant sunshine of a cloudless sky. It was a<sup>25</sup> circumstance in one's short life that cannot be erased.

Atkins was warmly welcomed by all of Virgin City. "Had I been the Prince of Wales, I could not have had a warmer welcome."<sup>26</sup> In a series of newspaper articles which he wrote after his return to England, he described the trip and his impressions of Utah, Virgin City, and the Mormons. Atkins wrote these articles after newspapers and lecturers throughout the Black Country had continually disparaged the Mormons. He felt that these were inaccurate and unfair. To right the record, he wrote an account of his experiences in Utah. His account was more

balanced and basically positive. These articles in their entirety are included in the appendix.

Virgin, he said, was a city "in embryo" with fifty houses, mostly wooden and one story dwellings. The stables, outhouses, and barns had a "well-to-do," comfortable appearance. Atkins enjoyed sitting on the porch of John's home. It was a cool, quiet, contemplative place with honeysuckle, clematis, and roses growing on it. The townspeople had turned a desert into a "paradise." They had "apples, pears, apricots, peaches, melons, plums, and grapes of every variety. . . all growing to perfection without one single tree of forbidden fruit." With all the vegetables available Atkins did not mind being a vegetarian because of the "eggs, butter, cheese, and bacon thrown in". He seemed a little surprised when the Bishop asked him, a Methodist local preacher, to speak in Sacrament Meeting. After the Church meetings were over for the day, "the young people were so jolly it almost shocked my Sabbatarian notions."<sup>27</sup>

Evidence suggests that Atkins had a compelling reason to travel thousands of miles to Virgin City: to see if John was a polygamist. In his letter in 1881, Atkins had said, in behalf of the whole family, that if John was planning to enter into polygamy, "be kind enough never once to name it in your letters here, if you have the least regard for father and mother."<sup>28</sup> Atkins was handling the details of probate for his parents' estate.

In the midst of these proceedings, he made a trip to Utah. As he later wrote in his newspaper articles, friends in England tried to persuade him not to go, but, Atkins had felt he must for there were "some family matters that required [sic] to be settled."<sup>29</sup> Atkins had not changed his views on polygamy, and he and John had several lively discussions about it. He was relieved to find John monogamous. "All your friends in England are glad you have not tarnished the family name by committing the crime of polygamy."<sup>30</sup>

After returning to England, all of the legalities surrounding the parents' probate were settled in a matter of weeks. By October, John received an account of the distribution of the estate and shared equally in the inheritance with his brothers and sisters. The inheritance of 120 pounds that John received from his parents provided him and Emma with a degree of comfort in their later years.<sup>31</sup> He invested it in the Cedar City Mercantile Cooperative which gave them a security they did not previously have.<sup>32</sup>

Education was always important to the Hintons. In Virgin, school was held only five months out of the year and the children kept going year after year until they were grown or were needed to help on the farms. As the Hinton family finances improved, with increased farm production and the newly received inheritance, John and Emma found they could provide better educational

opportunities for the younger children. Emma took Bernard, Edith, and Catherine to Cedar City to attend the Branch Normal College for two years around the turn of the century. Emma stayed with them during the winter when school was in session and they all returned to Virgin in the summer. Edith completed teacher's training and taught school for three years before retiring to get married.<sup>33</sup>

The Hurricane Canal progressed slowly. Stations of four rods long were marked off on the entire length of the canal. Stockholders contracted to complete certain stations for which they received work-credit to pay for their stock in the company.<sup>34</sup> Work-credit for the different stations varied depending on the difficulty of the construction. The work was slow and hard with only horse drawn equipment. As the projected construction time of four years stretched to eleven, some of the original stockholders quit the project. After delays and disappointments, the canal itself was finally completed and water flowed onto Hurricane Bench in August 1904. It took two more years to clear the land of greasewood, chaparral, cockle burr, and slippery elm before crops could be planted and homes built.<sup>35</sup> Among the first families to move there in March 1906, was the Maurice Hinton family. Others followed as permanent homes and community buildings were constructed. By 1907 Hurricane was large enough to be made into an L.D.S. ward.<sup>36</sup>

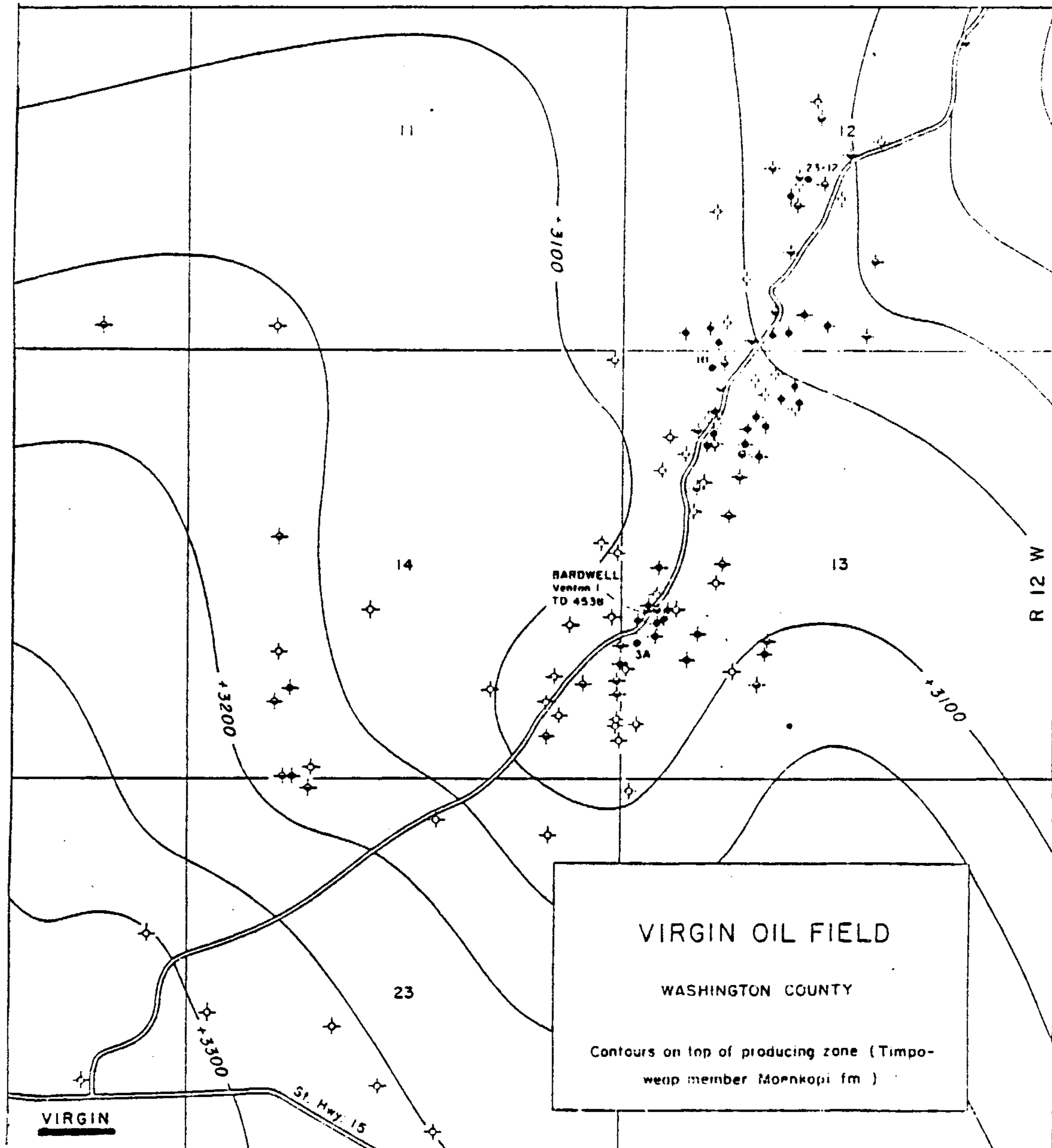
About this time, there was much excitement in

Virgin City. Local people had long been aware that crude oil was underground. Surface oil seeps prompted the first drilling in the narrow valley of North Creek northeast of town. Production began in 1907 making it the first producing oil field in Utah.<sup>37</sup> Suddenly, Virgin City was a boomtown.

Almost overnight the population swelled to nearly five thousand. There were two large tent hotels, four saloons, and "two houses, or rather, tents of ill fame."<sup>38</sup> New cafes and stores were opened and two newspapers had short lives there.<sup>39</sup> James Jepson told how one of the saloonkeepers, a Mr. Fee, had enraged the townspeople by committing "a crime so nefarious that there were no words in the English language strong enough to express it." When Mr. Fee's business license was about to expire, the Justice of the Peace wrote a letter on behalf of the citizens to the County Commissioners requesting that the license not be renewed. The commissioners complied and a group of "forty men formed ourselves into a vigilance committee." They suggested to Mr. Fee that he arrange his affairs and leave Virgin no later than the following Thursday. Mr. Fee threatened to retain a lawyer to defend him, but was advised that his health would be better if he were elsewhere by Thursday morning. He was, and earned the distinction of being, run out of Virgin City, Utah.<sup>40</sup>

Upwards of twenty wells were drilled before the

Map 2



Source: E. B. Heylman, "Virgin Field, Washington County," A Symposium of the Oil and Gas Fields of Utah (Salt Lake City: Intermountain Association of Petroleum Geologists, 1961).

panic of late 1907 cut the source of ready capital and brought the project to a halt the same year production had begun. So ended Virgin City's boomtown days. Although intermittently, throughout the years, speculators have shown interest in the field and have drilled some 140 wells, it has never been termed "commercial."<sup>41</sup>

By 1908 John and Emma Hinton found themselves alone in the old home in Virgin. Their children were all married and gone, and many of their old friends had moved away. There were no family members in town to call in case of an emergency, and no grandchildren to run errands for them. As John got older, it was difficult for him to haul the household water from the river so Lorenzo Spendlove volunteered to do it for him. When Lorenzo moved to Hurricane, John and Emma, after living in Virgin forty-seven years, decided to sell their property and move there, too.<sup>42</sup> Their son Atkins had two lots in Hurricane extending a full block on the west side of First West Street between Second and Third South. He was planning to build on the north lot but offered the south lot to John and Emma. In 1909 when John was almost seventy years old, he built Emma a new four-room frame home with electricity and running water--things they had never had before.<sup>43</sup> Here they spent the last years of their lives surrounded by old friends and family.

John had a shop in a room at the back of the house where he still did small jobs, such as repairing



household articles and making window screens and coffins. Over the years he had made hundreds of coffins. They were all made in about the same way--narrow at the head, wide at the chest and hip, and then narrow again for the feet. Adjustments were made when necessary to accomodate the girth of the deceased. After the wooden parts were assembled, the sisters of the Relief Society padded and lined the inside. Some years before he died, John completed his own coffin and stored it on a high shelf in his shop, ready when needed.<sup>44</sup>

Thanks to his inheritance and prudent investment, John and Emma were able to live comfortably independent in their latter years. In his last ten years, John became very feeble and almost blind. In good health with a good appetite, but unable to work, he spent most of his time contentedly walking around the neighborhood and sitting in his easy chair dozing. Emma did her own house work and washing until after she was eighty-five.<sup>45</sup>

John and Emma celebrated their sixty-fifth wedding anniversary on May 19, 1926 surrounded by family and friends. When they had been married on board the Underwriter no family members were in attendance, but on their sixty-fifth anniversary, 107 of their descendants were there. The festivities included dinner, followed by visiting and a program of music and speeches. Later in the day, ice cream and other refreshments were served.<sup>46</sup>

Two years later on the morning of August 17,

1928, while getting out of bed, John fell and could not get up off the floor by himself. He was helped into bed, where he remained, sleeping most of the time, until he died a week later on August 25 at the age of eighty-nine years and ten months. He had outlived all of his brothers and sisters in England and left a posterity of seventy-nine grandchildren and about 125 great-grandchildren.<sup>47</sup>

After John's death, Emma became restless. She would stay with one of the children for a short while and then, discontented, go to another's home. She seemed to lose her usual happy and contented disposition that had characterized all her life. She lived only nine months longer than John, and like him, was confined to her bed for only a few days, where she seemed to sleep from life to death.<sup>48</sup>

John Hinton had made a commitment to his Church and his God many years before. He had come to Utah because his Church leaders had called him. In England his occupation as a cabinet maker would have provided him and his family with a comfortable living. In Utah, however, the financial reverses of frontier life had kept them near the poverty level for many years. Only his inheritance from his parents in England allowed him to live in comparative ease in his declining years. Nevertheless, John must have been content, for his reasons for emigrating were to live with the Saints in Zion and to

raise his children under the influence of his chosen Church. This he was able to do. This was his legacy to them. It was enough!

## NOTES TO CHAPTER V

<sup>1</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Wright, "Memories," p. 14.

<sup>3</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch", p. 7.

<sup>4</sup>"Manuscript History of Virgin City," HDC, pp. 19-21.

<sup>5</sup>Block teachers are currently called home teachers. Bruce R. McConkie, Mormon Doctrine, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966;), p. 363; and Gary L. Phelps, "Home Teaching--Attempts by the Latter-day Saints to Establish an Effective Program During the Nineteenth Century," M. S. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1975, p. 3. Home teachers are members of the priesthood who visit certain assigned families each month. They were to "preach, teach, expound, exhort; . . . to watch over the Church always, and be with and strengthen them." Doctrine and Covenants 20:42-53. They go in pairs, and every family in the Church should be visited at least once a month.

<sup>6</sup>Sunday School Minutes, Virgin City Ward, HDC, January 13, 1878.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., March 28, 1886.

<sup>8</sup>Wright, "Memories," p. 14.

<sup>9</sup>Alice Parker Isom, "Memories of Alice Parker Isom," WCL, p. 29.

<sup>10</sup>Edith Alice Hinton Gibson, "Short Story of My Life," photocopy in possession of author, original in possession of M. Karl Gibson, Provo, Utah, pp. 5-7.

<sup>11</sup>Bleak, "Annals," Book B, pp. 487, 511, BYU.

<sup>12</sup>John Nock Hinton's Temple Record Book, photocopy in possession of author, original VHB.

<sup>13</sup>"Manuscript History of Virgin City," HDC, p. 13.

The men present were: Bishop John Parker, His counselors, James Jepson, Sr., and LeRoy W. Beebe; High Priests: Simon Anderson, William Haslem, John Spendlove, Horace B. Owens and Jonathan B. Pratt; Seventies: Jefferson Wright, Andrew J. Workman, James Humphries, Horace B. Owens, Jr., and Thomas Burgess; and Elders: John Hinton, Estelvin Owens, James Jepson, Jr., Richard Parkinson, George Isom, David B. Ott, and Adam R. Campbell. D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circle," Brigham Young University Studies 19 (Fall 1978): 79-105, traces the history of this rite.

<sup>14</sup>Minutes of Meetings, Hurricane Ward, HDC, June 5, 1910.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., August 27, 1911.

<sup>16</sup>Gibson, "Story My Life," pp. 5-7.

<sup>17</sup>Water Records Index, HDC, July 27, 1884.

<sup>18</sup>Wayne Hinton, "Thesis," pp. 34-35.

<sup>19</sup>Deseret News, April 3, 1896, which said that over half of the original settlers of Hinkley had come from the "Dixie Country" because flooding on the Virgin River had washed away their farmland.

<sup>20</sup>Richard L. Evans, "When Water Came to Hurricane," The Improvement Era 40 (August 1937): 492; Wilhelmina Hinton, "History of the Hurricane Canal," photocopy in possession of author, manuscript copy in possession of Lucille Gubler, Bountiful, Utah, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup>"Record Book," Hurricane Canal Company, Hurricane, Utah, August 25, 1893.

<sup>22</sup>Wilhelmina Hinton, "Hurricane Canal," p. 1.

<sup>23</sup>"Record," Hurricane Canal, September 1, 1893; and Deseret News, January 19, 1891. John M. Hinton was listed as one of the original shareholders but since he died in 1891, two years before incorporation, the entry must have referred to John Nock Hinton, the only other John Hinton in the vicinity. The death of John M. was perhaps the most difficult trial John and Emma had to experience. On January 9, he passed away of "inflammation of the bladder, aged 28 years, nine months, and two days."

<sup>24</sup>Death Certificate for Agnes Maurice Hinton, General Register Office, London, England.

<sup>25</sup>Atkins Hinton, "Tiptonian's Travels", number 3, VHB.

- <sup>26</sup>Ibid., number 5.
- <sup>27</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>28</sup>Atkins Hinton to John Nock Hinton, March 10, 1881, VHB.
- <sup>29</sup>Atkins Hinton, "Tiptonian's Travels", number 1, VHB.
- <sup>30</sup>Ibid., number 5.
- <sup>31</sup>Thomas M. Hinton to John Nock Hinton, October 27, 1893, VHB. John's brother Thomas was an accountant and as such, he was the one who sent him the financial details of the inheritance. Frank Smith, "Interview," Salt Lake City, Utah, March 7, 1987. In 1893, 120 pounds was roughly equivalent to a year's wages for an English laborer.
- <sup>32</sup>Joseph Hinton, "Interview," Hurricane, Utah, July 31, 1984.
- <sup>33</sup>Gibson, "Story My Life," p. 13.
- <sup>34</sup>Evans, "Water Came," p. 495.
- <sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 521-522; and Manuscript History of Hurricane, HDC, p. 2-3.
- <sup>36</sup>Manuscript History of Hurricane, HDC, p. 3.
- <sup>37</sup>Osmond L. Harline, "Utah's Black Gold: The Petroleum Industry," Utah State Historical Quarterly 31 (1963): 295.
- <sup>38</sup>Jepson, "Memories," WCL, p. 34; Sylvester Earl, "Life Story," GLC, p. 4.
- <sup>39</sup>J. Cecil Alter, Early Journalism in Utah, (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1938), pp. 270-271.
- <sup>40</sup>Jepson, "Memories," WLC, p. 34-35.
- <sup>41</sup>Edgar B. Heylmum, "Virgin Field, Washington County," A Symposium of the Oil and Gas Fields of Utah (Salt Lake City: Intermountain Association of Petroleum Geologists, 1961), p. 11.
- <sup>42</sup>Wright, "Memories," p. 16-17.
- <sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 15; and Joseph Hinton, "Interview," 1984.

<sup>44</sup>Joseph Hinton, "Interview," 1984.

<sup>45</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 8.

<sup>46</sup>Deseret News, May 26, 1926.

<sup>47</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," pp. 8-9; Wright, "Memories," p. 18-19; and Washington County News, August 30, 1928, John Nock Hinton's obituary which is included in the appendix.

<sup>48</sup>Gibson, "Life Sketch," p. 9; and Wright, "Memories," p. 19.

## CONCLUSION

One contribution of a study such as this biography of John Nock Hinton is that it demonstrates the possibility of reconstructing the life of an individual even though he did not leave any personal writings. The lack of a single major source of information necessitated the use of many historical sources of various kinds. Incidents relating to the family life of the Hinton's were gleaned from family records. Especially helpful were Agnes Maurice Hinton's booklet, "Family Memorandums"; the collection of letters written by family members in England to various members of the family in Southern Utah during a period of 126 years; six newspaper articles written by Atkins Hinton after his trip to Virgin City in 1893; two brief life sketches of John written by his daughter and a grandson; and the autobiographies and biographies of his children and neighbors.

To place John within the context of the history of Virgin City, and to provide a basis upon which to make some presumptions about what he was doing, original community records proved invaluable. The history of the development and growth of the town was detailed in the "Manuscript History of Virgin City", the minutes of the



Virgin City Ward meetings, James G. Bleak's "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission", and entries concerning Virgin City in the Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Land, water, and tax records of Kane and Washington Counties furnished information about the size of land holdings and who owned them. Lists compiled from these records are included in the appendix. The United States Federal Manuscript Census returns for 1860, 1870, and 1880 specified the resident households for those years, and gave details about members of each family, their ages, occupations, and birthplaces. This information made possible an analysis of the population on the basis of occupation and origin, thus placing John in the demographic pattern of his neighborhood. Because the population of Virgin City was small, lists of heads of households with some data are also included in the appendix. Many published sources on the doctrine and history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints provided the framework for John's religious convictions.

From other published sources, more general background information was obtained about the social, political, religious, and economic history of Washington County, and Utah, as well as Birmingham, Warwickshire, and Great Britian. Information pertaining to John Nock Hinton and the communities in which he lived was integrated to reconstruct a creditable biography. This same scenario could be followed in writing biographies of other

individuals who left little or no personal record.

The details of the life of John Nock Hinton have shown his triumphs, his mistakes, his talent and versatility, his perseverance in the face of adversity, and his devotion and dedication to his religion. He was a frontiersman in the true sense of the word. He was one who lived in "the farthest part of a settled country, where the wilds begin."<sup>1</sup> Raised in a large, progressive city, John had to adapt from this urban setting to an almost primitive rural environment. He came from England, a lush green country with a moderate climate, and settled in Virgin City, surrounded by the barren landscape of a hot, semi-arid desert.

John's love of growing ornamental plants acquired in his father's English conservatory served him well as he learned to grow food crops and cotton. He also learned to raise chickens, cows, and horses so necessary for food and transportation. Living on the frontier also made demands on his skill as a cabinet maker. He modified those procedures to build houses, coffins, molasses barrels, and washing machines, as well as to rebuild wagons, and repair all kinds of household and farm equipment. Adjusting to change became a constant in his life.

John Nock Hinton was a patriarch, not in the sense that he held the office of a "Patriarch" in the Church giving blessings to those in his stake, but rather, he was a patriarch to his own family standing at the head

of his posterity. His patriarchal blessing promised that he would have an "exceeding[ly] numerous" posterity.<sup>2</sup> At the time of his death his descendants numbered about 215. They were numerous indeed when compared to his brother Atkins' thirty-two and sister Agnes' six at their respective deaths.<sup>3</sup>

John Nock Hinton left his posterity several valuable legacies: (1) the maintainance of strong family ties, not only with the immediate family in Virgin but with the extended family in England. Correspondence and occasional visits between the English and American branches of the family have continued almost uninterrupted for the past 126 years since John left for Utah in 1861. A sense of family responsibility was evident in his concern to provide the necessities of life for his immediate family despite floods, fire, and depressions. He believed that through hard work, perseverance and frugality anything could be accomplished. However, there were many things in life more important to John than the accumulation of the wealth of this world. (2) John's sons learned from him innovative skills in woodworking which they used in their own pioneering efforts as they helped settle the new community of Hurricane. (3) His talent and love for music and singing was also passed on to his descendants. Many clear tenor voices have been heard in the men of his family to the third and fourth generation. (4) John's appreciation of and commitment to education and

lifelong learning can be seen in his descendants, many of whom have completed advanced academic and professional degrees. (5) The legacy that John thought was the most important was that of his faith in and his dedication to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He had a strong conviction that the Church was the literal kingdom of God on the earth, that its leaders were God's oracles and its mission was a divinely appointed work for the last dispensation on the earth, to usher in the millennium and the second coming of Jesus Christ. His duty as he saw it was to labor unceasingly to help accomplish that mission, to work out his own salvation, and to teach his children the doctrines of the faith.

Looking over his life and seeing the happiness and grief, the moments of trial, the light-hearted incidents, as well as the sacred times, and realizing all he passed through and how well he measured up should instill in his posterity a sense of respect and affection for John Nock Hinton.

## NOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

<sup>1</sup>World Book Dictionary (Chicago: Field Enterprise Educational Corporation, 1972), 1:846.

<sup>2</sup>Patriarchal Blessing of John Nock Hinton given by Emer Harris at Virgin City on December 13, 1863. Photocopy in possession of author, original VHB. There is no copy of this blessing in HDC.

<sup>3</sup>Family group sheets by Camilla Hinton Hastings. Photocopy in possession of author, original VHB. John's other brother and sisters never married.

## APPENDIX A

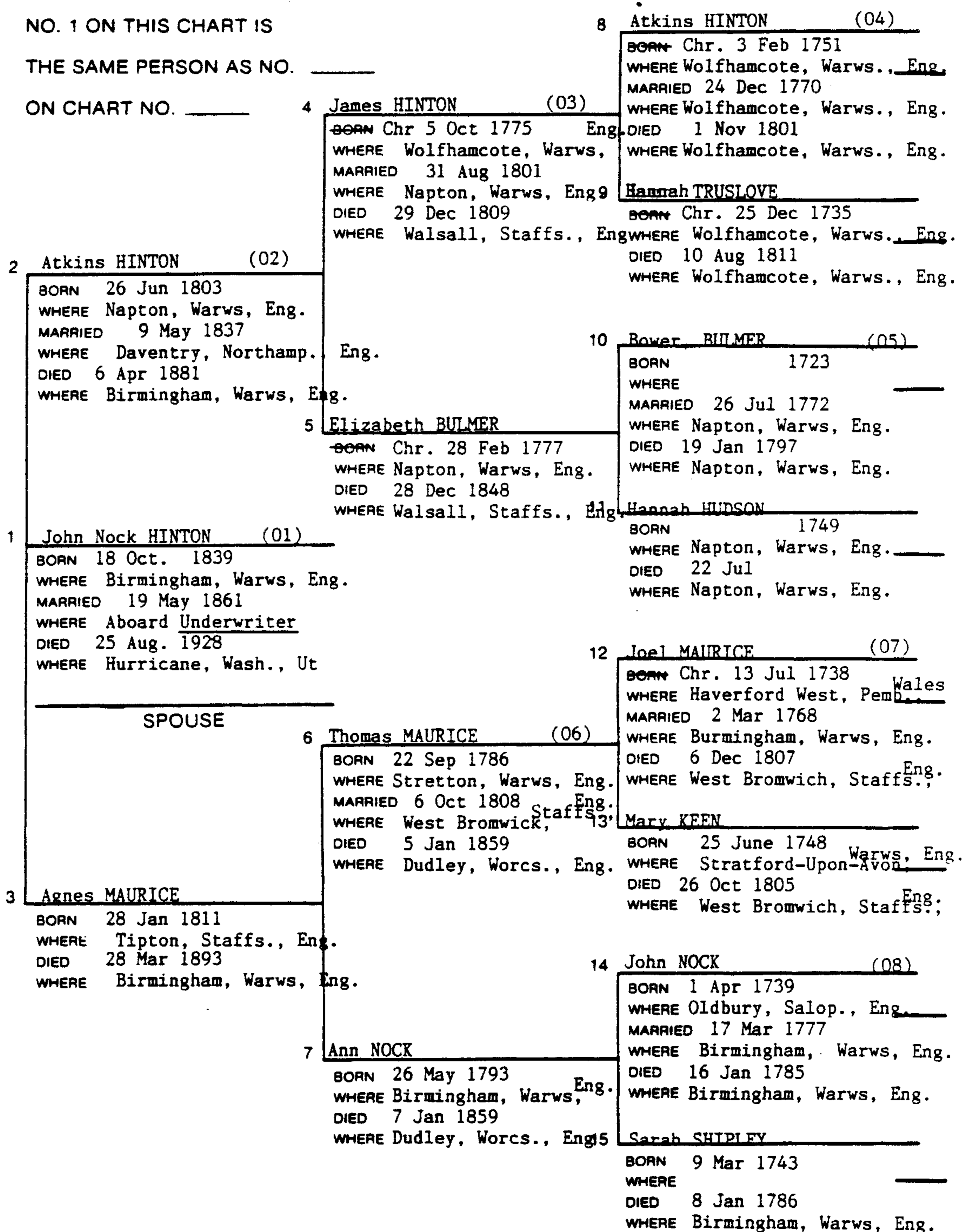
### HINTON FAMILY HISTORY

The impact of family on John Nock Hinton reached back several generations. In order to fully demonstrate the depth of this influence, how life values and expectations observable in John's character can also be seen in the lives of his immediate ancestors, it is necessary to present a fuller account of them than was possible in the body of this biography. For that reason, this section of Hinton family history has been included. First, there is a four generation pedigree. Second, there are family group sheets with the genealogical records of each of these ancestral families. Finally, there are details of the history of certain of these families selected because of the impact of their lives on John Nock Hinton.

# PEDIGREE CHART

CHART NO. \_\_\_\_\_

NO. 1 ON THIS CHART IS  
THE SAME PERSON AS NO. \_\_\_\_\_  
ON CHART NO. \_\_\_\_\_



<b>HUSBAND</b>		John Nock HINTON (01)		Occupation	
Born	18 Oct 1839	Place	Aston, Birmingham Warws, Eng		
Chr.		Place			
Marr.	19 May 1861	Place	Ship Underwriter Atlantic Ocean		
Died	25 Aug 1928	Place	Hurricane, Washington, Utah		
Bur.	27 Aug 1928	Place	Hurricane, Washington, Utah		
Father	Atkins HINTON	Mother	Agnes MAURICE		
Other Wives					
<b>WIFE</b> Emma SPENDLOVE					
Born	29 Jan 1842	Place	Cosby, Leicestershire, Eng		
Chr.	20 Feb 1842	Place	Cosby, Leicestershire, Eng		
Died	5 May 1929	Place	St. Thomas, Clark, Nevada		
Bur.	7 May 1929	Place	Hurricane, Washington, Utah		
Father	John SPENDLOVE	Mother	Elizabeth HARRISON		
Other Husbands					
Children	Sex	When Born When Died	Where Born Where Died	Marriage Date & Place To Whom	
1 John Maurice HINTON	M	7 Apr 1862 9 Jan 1891	Salt Lake City, SLC, Ut	25 Nov 1885 Nancy Alice Nutter	STANWORTH
2 Agnes Elizabeth HINTON	F	9 Jun 1864 15 Jul 1911	Virgin, Kane, Utah	31 Jan 1883 Ianthus Parker RICHARDS	
3 Marain HINTON	F	27 Apr 1866 19 Feb 1924	Virgin, Kane, Utah	25 Apr 1883 Ira Elsev BRADSHAW	
4 Emma HINTON	F	27 May 1868 24 Apr 1932	Virgin, Kane, Utah	16 Jun 1885 John Moroni WRIGHT	
5 Atkins HINTON	M	15 Jul 1870 27 Dec 1940	Virgin, Wash, Utah	27 Apr 1897 Sarah Elzira SANDERS	
6 Thomas Maurice HINTON	M	8 Oct 1872 29 Feb 1948	Virgin, Wash, Utah	5 Oct 1898 Wilhelmina Barbara WALKER	
7 Annie HINTON	F	24 Sep 1874 16 Jul 1938	Virgin, Wash, Utah	17 Dec 1895 Thomas ISOM	
8 Joel HINTON	M	19 Aug 1877 22 Aug 1877	Virgin, Wash, Utah Virgin, Wash, Utah		
9 Bernard Bulmer HINTON	M	29 Jan 1879 3 Sep 1969	Virgin, Wash, Utah	25 Apr 1906 Isabel HINTON	
10 Edith Alice HINTON	F	23 Mar 1881 22 Aug 1964	Virgin, Wash, Utah	14 Jun 1906 Robert Orson GIBSON	
11 Catherine HINTON	F	18 Apr 1884 8 Jan 1967	Virgin, Wash, Utah	17 Oct 1905 Samuel Webster LEIGH	
12					
13					
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15					
Sources of Information				Other Marriages	
GS #295842 1880 Census, Virgin, Wash, Utah					
GS #1241688 1900 Census, Virgin, Wash, Utah					
GS #621785 LDS Church Census Records 1914, 1920, 1925, 1930, 1935					
GS #38335 p.4, 8 European Emigration Card Index					
Hurricane Utah Tombstone					
John Nock Hinton Temple Record Book					
Agnes Maurice Hinton's Notebook of family history.					



<b>HUSBAND</b>		Atkins HINTON (02)		Occupation	Writing Clerk
Born	26 Jun 1803	Place	Napton-on-the-Hill, Warws, Eng.		
Chr.	14 Aug 1803	Place	Wolverhampton, Staffs, Eng.		
Marr.	9 May 1837	Place	Aston Birmingham, Warws, Eng.		
Died	6 Apr 1881	Place	Birmingham, Warws, Eng.		
Bur.		Place			
Father	James HINTON		Mother	Elizabeth BULMER	
Other Wives	(1) Ann BUCKNELL, 8 Sep 1826				
<b>WIFE</b>		(2) Agnes MAURICE			
Born	28 Jan 1811	Place	Tipton, Staffs, Eng.		
Chr.	20 Feb 1811	Place	Dudley, Worcs, Eng.		
Died	6 Apr 1811	Place	Birmingham, Warws, Eng.		
Bur.		Place			
Father	Thomas MAURICE		Mother	Ann NOCK	
<b>Other Husbands</b>					
<b>Children</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>When Born When Died</b>	<b>Where Born Where Diec</b>	<b>Marriage Date &amp; Place To Whom</b>	
1 Agnes HINTON	F	21 Jun 1838 8 Oct 1913	Birmingham, Warws, Eng.	Bernard THOMAS	
2 John Nock HINTON	M	18 Oct 1839 25 Aug 1928	Birmingham, Warws, Eng.	19 May 1861 Emma SPENDLOVE	
3 Atkins HINTON	M	3 Jan 1841 27 Nov 1932	Birmingham, Warws, Eng.	28 Jan 1863 (1) Elizabeth HIGGINS	
4 HINTON Thomas Maurice	M	6 May 1844 May 1913	Birmingham, Warws, Eng.	Unmarried	
5 Hannab HINTON	F	23 May 1845 24 Dec 1917	Birmingham, Warws, Eng.	Unmarried	
6 Elizabeth HINTON	F	3 Apr 1853 18 May 1929	Birmingham, Warws, Eng.	Unmarried	
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<b>Sources of Information</b>				<b>Other Marriages</b>	
1. John Nock Hinton's Temple record book and Agnes Maurice Hinton's note book				child #3 Atkins, md	
2. 1851 Census of Aston Birmingham, Warws, Eng. at 37 Ashted Road.				(2) May 1907, Marian RUBY	
3. Letters from Agnes Hinton to John Nock Hinton.					
4. Temple St. Ind. Chapel, Wolverhampton Reg Staff 60 Vol. I.				Somerset House, London	
5. Will of Elizabeth Bulmer Hinton, dated 28 Dec 1848, proved Court of Leichfield 5 May 1849 (14329) pt 1515				at Episcopal Consistory	
6. Non Conformist Records of Dudley, Wrcstr, Eng. WRCS D1 pg 37					
7. Birth & Death Certificates					

<b>HUSBAND</b>		Atkins HINTON (02)		Occupation Accountant
Born	26 Jun 1803	Place	Napton-on-the-Hill, Warws, Eng.	
Chr.	14 Aug 1803	Place	Wolverhampton, Staffs, Eng.	
Marr.	8 Sep 1826	Place		
Died	6 Apr 1881	Place	Birmingham, Warws, Eng.	
Bur.		Place		
Father	James HINTON		Mother	Elizabeth BULMER
Other Wives	(2) Agnes MAURICE 8 May 1837			
<b>WIFE</b>		(1) Ann BUCKNELL		
Born	abt. 1805	Place	of Birmingham, Warws, Eng.	
Chr.		Place		
Died	30 Aug 1830	Place		
Bur.		Place		
Father	William BUCKNELL		Mother	
Other Husbands				
<b>Children</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>When Born When Died</b>	<b>Where Born Where Died</b>	<b>Marriage Date &amp; Place To Whom</b>
1 HINTON James Atkins	M	2 Jun 1827 Jul 1827	Birmingham, Warws, Eng	
2 Mary Ann HINTON	F	3 Nov 1828 10 Aug 1898	Birmingham, Warws, Eng	
3 HINTON Sarah Elizabeth	F	19 Aug 1830 25 Oct 1845	Birmingham, Warws, Eng	
4 Caroline HINTON	F	19 Aug 1830 Sep 1830	Birmingham, Warws, Eng	
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<b>Sources of Information</b>				<b>Other Marriages</b>
1. John Nock Hinton's Temple record book and Agnes Maurice Hinton's note book.				
2. 1851 Census of Aston Birmingham, Warws, Eng. at 37 Ashted Road.				
3. Letters from Agnes Hinton to John Nock Hinton.				
4. Temple St. Ind. Chapel, Wolverhampton Reg Staff 60 Vol. I				Somerset House, London.
5. Will of Elizabeth Bulmer Hinton, dated 28 Dec 1848, proved at Episcopal Consistory Court of Leichfield 5 May 1849 (14328) pr 1515.				
6. Non Conformist Records of Dudley, Worcs, Eng. WRCS D1 pg 87.				

<b>HUSBAND</b> James HINTON (03)		Occupation Officer of Excise			
Born	26 Jun 1775	Place	Napton-on-the-Hill, Warws, Eng.		
Chr.	5 Oct 1775	Place	Wolfhamcote, Warws, Eng.		
Marr.	31 Aug 1801 by lic	Place	Napton-on-the-Hill, Warws, Eng.		
Died	29 Dec 1809	Place	Walsall, Staffs, Eng.		
Bur.		Place			
Father	Atkins HINTON	Mother	Hannah TRUSLOVE		
Other Wives					
<b>WIFE</b> Elizabeth BULMER					
Born		Place			
Chr.	28 Feb 1777	Place	Napton-on-the-Hill, Warws, Eng.		
Died	28 Dec 1848	Place	Walsall, Staffs., Eng.		
Bur.		Place			
Father	Bower BULMER	Mother	Hannah HUDSON		
Other Husbands					
Children	Sex	When Born When Died	Where Born Where Died	Marriage Date & Place To Whom	
1 Atkins HINTON	M	26 Jun 1803 6 Apr 1881	Napton-on-the-Hill, Warws, Eng.	8 Sep 1826 Ann BUCKNELL	
2 Bower HINTON	M	26 Nov 1805			
3 James HINTON	M	17 Aug 1808			
4 Anna or Hannah HINTON	F	29 Jun 1810		Unmarried	
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Sources of Information		John Nock Hinton's Temple Rec Book.		Other Marriages	
Agnes Maurice Hinton's notebook on Family data, dated 1862.		Par Reg of Napton, Wrvcks, Eng. by corrs Doc 1955 & 10 Dec 1958. Bridge St, Inc, Chapel, Walsall, Reg no. Staffs. 60 vol. 1. at Somerset House, London by Corr 24 Feb 1959. Temple St, Inc Chapel, Wolverhampton, Reg no. Staffs. 69 at Somerset House, London by Corrs 14 Mar 1960. The records of the Office of the Commiss. of Customs and Excise, Kings Beam House, Mark Lane, Lond E.C. 3 by corrs 23 Dec 1958. Will of Elizabeth (Bulmer) Hinton dated 28 Dec 1848 proved the ECC of Litchfield 5 May 1849 #14328 pt 1515. Death cert of Elizabeth Hinton from Somerset House dated 1 Jan 1849. 1851 Census of Walsall (F Eng 15 pt 123 #13672 pg 470)		Child #1 md (2) 9 May 1837 Agnes MAURICE	

### JAMES HINTON AND HANNAH BULMER

James Hinton, John Nock Hinton's grandfather, was born in 1775, in Flecknoe, a village in the parish of Wolfhamcote, Warwickshire, the son of Atkins Hinton and Hannah Truslove. Although he inherited some land from his father, he chose a career with the Inland Revenue Service as a Customs and Excise Officer.<sup>1</sup> To have obtained this position as a civil servant, James would have had to have many references attesting to his honesty and integrity. His character had to be above reproach because the nature of the job made him subject to bribes. If the commissioners found any irregularities in the way he performed his work, James could be prosecuted and imprisoned or at the very least dismissed from his position. Furthermore, James needed an above-average education in reading and writing, as well as skills in accounting and bookkeeping. A knowledge of the taxation laws and penalties was also required. Customs and Excise Officers were responsible for collecting taxes and duties on such items as alcoholic beverages, tea, silk, cotton, woolens, sugar, paper, glass, hats, windows, horses, linen, calico, candles, bricks, tiles, licenses, shooting certificates, hackney coaches, gold, and silver plate as

well as taxes on postage and the importation and exportation of certain goods.<sup>2</sup>

James Hinton, at the age of twenty-three, began his six month training as an assistant Excise Officer in June 1798 at Bromley division, ten miles southeast of London. Upon completion of his training, he was transferred in December as a full officer to Kimbolton, Huntingdonshire.<sup>3</sup> While at that division, he married Elizabeth Bulmer, August 31, 1801, at her home parish of Napton-on-the-Hill, Warwickshire only a few miles from Flecknoe, his home village.<sup>4</sup> Just three months prior to the birth of their first child, in April 1803, James was transferred to the much larger office at Wolverhampton, Staffordshire.<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth apparently did not follow James immediately but chose, rather, to stay with her mother in Napton until after the birth of her baby on June 26.<sup>6</sup> The baby, christened Atkins, was baptized at the Temple Street Independent Chapel in Wolverhampton. While the Hinton family lived in this city, two more sons, Bower and James were born. James, however, died in infancy.<sup>7</sup>

The Commissioners of Customs and Excise did not want the officers to become too familiar with the persons with whom they associated in their work because of the ever present risk of bribery. Thus officers were often transferred. James Hinton next transferred in 1808 to Walsall, eight miles east of Wolverhampton. He had served there only eighteen months when he died in December 1809

at age thirty-four.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps anticipating his death, he had written a will six weeks previous. In it he provided for his wife, two sons and another child yet unborn. The ". . . dwelling house with yard, garden, orchard . . . in Flecknoe . . . now in the occupatin of my mother, Hannah Hinton . . . "that had been given to him by his father's will, was to go to his wife Elizabeth during her lifetime. After Elizabeth died, it would then become the property of the eldest son, Atkins, upon his paying thirty pounds to the other son, Bower. Of the remaining money and securities, fifty pounds was to go to his wife "to better enable her to educate and apprentice out my children." Everything else was to be Elizabeth's for life and then at her death divided equally among the children.<sup>8</sup>

Left a widow at the age of thirty-two with two small sons, Elizabeth expected another child in six months. This child, a girl, was baptized Hannah after both of her grandmothers in the Bridge Street Independent Chapel.<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth and her family remained in Walsall, where the children received their education and were apprenticed. Atkins obtained training as an accountant while Bower prepared to be a grocer and Hannah a milliner. Elizabeth died in 1848, when her grandson, John Nock Hinton, was nine years old.

<b>HUSBAND</b>		Atkins HINTON		(04)	Occupation Taylor
<b>Born</b>		<b>Place</b>	Sawbridge, Wolfhamcote, Warws, Eng		
<b>Chr.</b>	3 Feb 1751	<b>Place</b>	Wolfhamcote, Warws, Eng		
<b>Marr.</b>	24 Dec 1770	<b>Place</b>	Wolfhamcote, Warws, Eng		
<b>Died</b>	1 Nov 1801	<b>Place</b>	Flecknoe, Wolfhamcote, Warws, Eng		
<b>Bur.</b>	11 Nov 1801	<b>Place</b>	Wolfhamcote, Warws, Eng		
<b>Father</b>	James HINTON		<b>Mother</b>	Ester GALLOWAY	
<b>Other Wives</b>					
<b>WIFE</b>					
		Hannah TRUSLOVE			
<b>Born</b>	1735	<b>Place</b>			
<b>Chr.</b>	25 Dec 1735	<b>Place</b>	Wolfhamcote, Warws, Eng		
<b>Died</b>	10 Aug 1811	<b>Place</b>	Flecknow, Wolfhamcote, Warws, Eng		
<b>Bur.</b>	10 Aug 1811	<b>Place</b>	Wolfhamcote, Warws, Eng		
<b>Father</b>	Henry TRUSLOVE		<b>Mother</b>	Hannah	
<b>Other Husbands</b>					
<b>Children</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>When Born When Died</b>	<b>Where Born Where Died</b>	<b>Marriage Date &amp; Place To Whom</b>	
1 Hannah HINTON	Chr F	20_Sep_1773	Wolfhamcote, Warws, Eng		
2 James HINTON	Chr M	15_Oct_1775 29 Dec 1809	Wolfhamcote, Warws, Eng	31 Aug 1801 Elizabeth BUMER	
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<b>Sources of Information</b>		John Nock Hinton's Temple Record Book.			<b>Other Marriages</b>
		Death Records by T. M. Hinton. Wolfhamcote Par Reg (Warws.			
		w 5 a pt 1) and by corrs. 1959, 1964, 1961. Will of			
		Atkins Hinton. Agnes Maurice Hinton's notebook of family			
		data dated 1862.			

### ATKINS HINTON AND HANNAH TRUSLOVE

Atkins Hinton, the great-grandfather of John Nock Hinton, was born in 1751 at Wolfhamcote, Warwickshire. He was the son of James Hinton and his wife, Esther Galloway.<sup>10</sup>

Atkins Hinton was a tailor and would therefore have begun by being apprenticed to a master tailor. Seven years was the most common term and could have been served locally or as far away as London where there was a large, influential community of tailors.

If he followed the standard pattern, Atkins commenced his apprenticeship by doing such menial tasks as sweeping out the shop, running errands, and putting away tools. Upon learning the rules and procedures of the shop, the cutting, sewing, and fitting of the garments ensued. A tailor's work was limited to men's clothing and could include mending and altering. The female counterpart was the dressmaker. Much of the clothing was made by the people in their homes and only those individuals who could afford, and had a need for, specially made clothes, would patronize a tailor or dressmaker.<sup>11</sup>

Like his father before him, Atkins married a woman older than himself. On the day before Christmas



1770, at the age of twenty, he married thirty-five year old Hannah Truslove.<sup>12</sup> They lived in the hamlet of Flecknoe, the largest and principal village in Wolfhamcote. There he owned a "dwelling house" with yard, garden and orchard.<sup>13</sup> Hannah and Atkins had two children, a daughter Hannah born in 1773, and James, a son born in 1775 who would become John Nock Hinton's grandfather.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, little else is known about this couple, except that when Atkins died in 1801 at the age of fifty he left a will disposing an estate consisting of his house, orchard, and garden.<sup>15</sup>

<b>HUSBAND</b>		Bower BULMER (05)		Occupation	
Born	1723	Place	of Napton-on-the-Hill, Warws, Eng		
Chr.		Place			
Marr.	26 Jul 1772	Place	Napton-on-the-Hill, Warws, Eng		
Died	19 Jan 1797	Place	Napton-on-the-Hill, Warws, Eng		
Bur.	23 Jan 1797	Place	Napton-on-the-Hill, Warws, Eng		
Father		Mother			
Other Wives	(1) Elizabeth ALIBOND 24 Oct 1758				
<b>WIFE</b>	(2) Hannah HUDSON				
Born	1749	Place	Napton-on-the-Hill, Warws, Eng		
Chr.	20 Aug 1749	Place	Napton-on-the-Hill, Warws, Eng		
Died	22 Jul 1822	Place	Napton-on-the-Hill, Warws, Eng		
Bur.		Place			
Father	Robert HUDSON		Mother	Anne EALES	
Other Husbands					
Children	Sex	When Born When Died	Where Born Where Died	Marriage Date & Place To Whom	
1 Hannah BULMER	Chr F	26 Jul 1772	Napton-on-the-Hill, Warws, Eng	Unmarried	
2 Bower BULMER	Chr M	21 Dec 1774 Bur 7 Feb 1794	Napton-on-the-Hill, Warws, Eng		
3 Elizabeth BULMER	Chr F	28 Feb 1777 5 Jul 1852	Napton-on-the-Hill, Warws, Eng	31 Aug 1801 Lic James HINTON	
4 Matther BULMER	Chr M	2 May 1781 Bur 5 Jul 1852	Napton-on-the-Hill, Warws, Eng	21 May 1807 Edith DODD	
5 James BULMER	Chr M	19 Apr 1787 1851	Napton-on-the-Hill, Warws, Eng	15 Mar 1813 Elizabeth HUGHES	
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Sources of Information	John Nock Hinton's Temple Rec Book.			Other Marriages	
	Agnes Maurice Hinton's notebook on family data dated 1862.				
	Paris Reg of Napton recd Dec 1955 and 10 Dec 1958. D/C of				
	Elizabeth Hinton from Somerset House. Md lic for both mds				
	from Close, Litchfield. Will of Bower Bulmer from Diocean				
	Registry Litchfield, Staff, for corrs. Will of Elizabeth				
	Hinton (F Staffs 2 pt. 1515)				

<b>HUSBAND</b>		Thomas MAURICE (06)		Occupation Writing Clerk	
Born	28 Sep 1785	Place	Stratton-under-Foss, Warws, Eng		
Chr.		Place			
Marr.	6 Oct 1808	Place	Old Church, West Bromwich, Staff, Eng		
Died	5 Jan 1859	Place	Dudley, Worcs, Eng		
Bur.		Place			
Father	Joel MAURICE		Mother	Mary KEEN	
Other Wives					
<b>WIFE</b>		Ann NOCK			
Born	26 May 1783	Place	Birmingham, Warws, Eng		
Chr.		Place			
Died	7 Jan 1859	Place	Dudley, Worcs, Eng		
Bur.		Place			
Father	John NOCK		Mother	Sarah SHIPLEY	
Other Husbands					
<b>Children</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>When Born</b> <b>When Died</b>	<b>Where Born</b> <b>Where Died</b>	<b>Marriage Date &amp; Place</b> <b>To Whom</b>	
1 Joel MAURICE	M	3 Jul 1809 1 Feb 1875	Tipton, Staffs, Eng	Mariah	
2 Agnes MAURICE	F	28 Jan 1811 28 Mar 1893	Tipton, Staffs, Eng	9 May 1837 Atkins HINTON	
3 Sarah Nock MAURICE	F	26 Dec 1813	Dudley, Worcs, Eng	1838 Anthony DAWES	
4 Mary Ann MAURICE	F	10 Oct 1815 26 Oct 1853	Dudley, Worcs, Eng		
5 Emma MAURICE	Chr F	21 Aug 1817 Aug 1894	Dudley, Worcs, Eng	15 Mar 1846 William GEAST	
6 Elizabeth MAURICE	F	21 Dec 1819 9 Sep 1890	Kingswinford, Staffs, Eng		
7 Thomas MAURICE	M	5 Jun 1822	Kingswinford, Staffs, Eng		
8 Caroline MAURICE	F	19 Feb 1826 1888	Kingswinford, Staffs, Eng	3 Dec 1857 Joseph CORBETT	
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<b>Sources of Information</b>				<b>John NOck Hinton's Record of Temple</b>	
Work. Agnes Maurice Hinton's NOtebook on family data, dated 1862. Non-Conformist Reg of Dudley, Worcs, Eng. (Worcs D 1 pg 37-38) High St. Ind. Chapel Reg recd by corrs 15 Aug 1966. Death Records sent to J.N.H. by his brother, Thomas M. Hinton.				<b>Other Marriages</b>	

### THOMAS MAURICE AND ANN NOCK

Thomas Maurice, John Nock Hinton's maternal grandfather, invested his legacy into some kind of business, perhaps in button making.<sup>16</sup> By 1815 the War of 1812 with the United States and the Great War with France had ended. England suffered economic depression as demand for military supplies abruptly ceased and the Continental markets were unable to absorb the accumulated inventories of British manufactured goods. This economic depression likely contributed to Thomas losing his business and entire investment.<sup>17</sup>

Thereafter, he lived in several different places in the heavily industrialized area of the midlands where he worked as a writing clerk, an accountant, or in a related commercial occupation. After Thomas Maurice's marriage in 1808 to Ann Nock, the family lived in Tipton, Kingswinford, Dudley, and Stourbridge until 1833. During this time, Thomas and Ann's children were born. John Nock Hinton's mother, Agnes, was the second child and eldest daughter in a family of eight children, all of whom survived childhood.<sup>18</sup>

Even though the family lived in four different towns, the children were all baptized in the Independent

Old Meeting House in Dudley. Moreover, the chapel register indicates that in 1828, Thomas Maurice, gentleman, served as a trustee to the congregation, continuing the family custom of active participation in religious affairs.<sup>19</sup>

In 1833, Thomas Maurice moved his family to Varteage near Pontypool, Monmouthshire on the borders of Wales, where he was employed as an ironmasters clerk for the British Mining Company. Here the children continued to grow up much the same as they had done in the Midlands. Also, there was an Independent Chapel for their religious worship.<sup>20</sup>

The Maurice family returned to Staffordshire in 1841 as the furnaces in Varteage shut down.<sup>21</sup> It was in this locality that the children married and raised their families. However, two daughters, Mary Ann and Elizabeth, remained single.<sup>22</sup>

Little is known about Mary Ann, other than that she was an accomplished artist. There are several pieces of her work still in existence in the family. Her watercolor self-portraits are especially appealing. She died in 1853 at the age of thirty-eight.<sup>23</sup>

Elizabeth, on the other hand, lived until the age of seventy. She was especially close to the family of her sister Agnes Hinton, living with them from time to time, often for periods of several years. John would have been well acquainted with her. She studied in Germany at the

Boydenberg Academy "for the diffusion of philosophical, philological and scientific research, with the study of the 'perfectionnement moral'" in 1855. Two years later she was studying in Berlin.<sup>24</sup>

Prior to her marriage, Caroline, the youngest daughter of Thomas and Ann Maurice, was head mistress of her own girls school in West Bromwich where she had boarding students as well as day students.<sup>25</sup> Although nothing is documented about the education of the other children of Thomas and Ann, they must have received similar educations. Agnes, John Nock Hinton's mother, left an "exercise book" full of family history and many of her letters are extant, all of which witness to a good education.

In 1859, when he was nineteen, both of John Nock Hinton's maternal grandparents died within two days of each other. She was seventy-five and he was seventy-two.<sup>26</sup> These were the only immediate ancestors of John's for whom a probate record could not be found.

HUSBAND		(Rev) Joel MAURICE (07)		Occupation	
Born	1738	Place	Near Fishguard, Pemb, Wales		
Chr.	13 Jul 1738	Place	Haverford West, Pemb, Wales		
Marr.	2 Mar 1768	Place	Sr. Phillips, Birmingham, Warws, Eng.		
Died	26 Dec 1807	Place	West Bromwich, Staffs, Eng.		
Bur.		Place			
Father	William MAURICE		Mother	Elizabeth PERKINS	
Other Wives					
WIFE Mary KEEN					
Born	25 June 1748	Place	Stratford-upon-Avon, Warws, Eng.		
Chr.		Place			
Died	26 Oct 1805	Place	West Bromwich Staffs, Eng.		
Bur.		Place	Ebenezer Chapel, West Bromwich, Staffs, Eng.		
Father	John KEEN		Mother	Elizabeth BRUCE	
Other Husbands					
Children	Sex	When Born When Died	Where Born Where Died	Marriage Date & Place To Whom	
1 Joel MAURICE	M	31 Dec 1768 31 Dec 1768	Stratton-under-Foss, Warws, Eng.		
2 Sarah MAURICE	F	7 Aug 1770 7 Aug 1770	Stratton-under-Foss, Warws, Eng.		
3 Samuel MAURICE	M	10 Jul 1773	Stratton-under-Foss, Warws, Eng.	Miss BACHE	
4 Mary MAURICE	F	8 Apr 1775 8 Apr 1775	Stratton-under-Foss, Warws, Eng.		
5 John MAURICE	M	17 Jan 1777 9 Feb 1802	Stratton-under-Foss, Warws, Eng.		
6 Joel Maurice	M	18 Dec 1778 25 Dec 1846	Stratton-under-Foss, Warws, Eng.	Miss YEOMANS	
7 Elizabeth MAURICE	F	9 Dec 1780 9 Feb 1869	Stratton-under-Foss, Warws, Eng.	23 Feb 1802 Benjamin REDDELL	
8 Mary MAURICE	F	11 Sep 1783 17 Jun 1868	Stratton-under-Foss, Warws, Eng.	John NOCK	
9 Thomas MAURICE	M	28 Sep 1786 5 Jan 1859	Stratton-under-Foss, Warws, Eng.	6 Oct 1805 Ann NOCK	
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12					
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Sources of Information				Other Marriages	
Agnes Maurice Hinton's notebook dated 1862; this includes: 1. Gravestone inscp from (Ind. Chapel West Bromwich, Staffs., 2. Notes copied from the Church Book of Ebenezer Chapel, West Bromwich by Rev. W. Foggath Nov. 1864. 3. "A register of Grandfather's family copied from his own handwriting in a book in Aunt Reddall's poss 2 June 1861". Letter dated 5 Mar 1956 to Camilla Hastings from Levi Fox, Dir of Trustees & Guardians of Shakespeare's birthplace, Stratford-Upon-Avon, Warws., Eng. Joel Maurice's will. Copy of letter dated 1761 from Joseph Maurice to William Torbant Maurice in poss J.N.H. John Nock Hinton's Temple rec book. St George Temple Rec searched by Camilla Hastings 1956. Mary mentioned in her father's will (John Keen) dated 10 Mar 1767 proved May 1791 P.C.C. Md lic of Joel Maurice and Mary Keen recd by corr.					

### JOEL MAURICE AND MARY KEEN

Joel Maurice, the eleventh child of the Reverend William Maurice, was born in 1743 on the family farm of Torbant and was baptized July 13 of that year at St. Mary, Haverforwest, Pembrokeshire, Wales.<sup>27</sup> His father was an ordained Independent minister. Raised in a dissenting religious tradition, Joel chose to follow his father's vocation and he, too, became a student at Carmarthon College to train for the ministry. He was an Independent minister at Stretton-under-Foss, Monks Kirby, Warwickshire, assigned there by the year 1767.<sup>28</sup> The place of his earlier ministry is not known. When he arrived at Stretton the congregation worshipped in an old barn until a new chapel could be built. The people were chiefly farmers and gave only two pounds of the necessary funds. Joel collected all the rest from his friends in London and Wales.<sup>29</sup> At the age of thirty, he married Mary Keen, daughter of John Keen, gentleman, from Stratford-upon-Avon, on March 2, 1768 at St. Phillip's Birmingham.<sup>30</sup> Three of their first four children, a son and two daughters, died the day they were born. High infant mortality effected most families in the second half of the eighteenth century. The other six children lived to



adulthood. Thomas, the youngest of the family and born in 1786, was John Nock Hinton's grandfather.<sup>33</sup>

It was often necessary for Joel to go to London for church conferences and business. He was very fond of bringing gifts from the city to his wife Mary. Once he brought her an umbrella, the first one seen in the village, but Mary "locked it up lest the people should think them proud." Later, when they were going on a horseback journey, Mary rode on a pillion behind Joel. The weather was so rainy that the umbrella was brought out and found to be so useful that it was never locked up again.<sup>32</sup>

At the age of fifty, in 1797, Joel was transferred to the Old Meeting Chapel, West Bromwich, Staffordshire, where he served as pastor until his death in 1807. The inscription on his gravestone in the burial ground at that chapel said

Revd Joel Maurice late Pastor of this Congregation. Also for upwards of 30 years over a numerous Cong at Stretton-under-Foss, his labors will long be remembered by many with affection & gratitude. Having born honorable testimony in his Maker's cause for a period of nearly 50 yrs he could in truth exclaim in these words of the apostle 2 Timothy 4th Chaptr 7th verse being the last text from which he preached, 'I have fought [a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith].' He died Dec. 26th 1807 in his 70th year. Also Mary his wife who died Oct. 28th 1805 aged 57."<sup>33</sup>

Joel Maurice penned his own will. Thomas, the youngest son, received two hundred pounds from the estate. Among other things, the eldest daughter,

Elizabeth Reddell, was given her mother's large family Bible and the youngest daughter, Mary Nock, Joel's own oil portrait. He also distributed fifty books by title to his children

. . . and now having disposed of the principal part of my books amongst my children in hopes they will read them at their leisure with calm and serious attention. I leave the rest of my library to be divided between them as they like best, everyone to choose for himself. Most of my books contain good and excellent instructions for serious minds. . . . Thus, I have endeavored to act towards all my children with tenderness and affection and as far as circumstances could admit have observed impartiality towards them. Would be to God, they may always act toward one another by the same rule and live in peace and harmony."<sup>34</sup>

It is evident that education played a vital role in the family of John Nock Hinton's mother. Not only did the sons inherit books from the father's sizable library but the daughters did as well, and all were expected to read and benefit from their wisdom. This educational tradition in the Maurice family was exhibited in an age when the literacy rate in England was 64 percent for men and 39 percent for women.<sup>35</sup>

HUSBAND		John NOCK		(08)	Occupation	Brassfounder	
Born			Place				
Chr.	1 Apr 1739		Place	Oldbury, Halesowen, Salops, Eng			
Marr.	17 Mar 1777		Place	St. Phillips, Birmingham, Warws, Eng.			
Died	26 Jan 1785		Place	Birmingham, Warws, Eng.			
Bur.			Place				
Father	John NOCK		Mother	Sarah SIMCOX			
Other Wives	(1) Elizabeth Webley, 8 Jun 1771						
WIFE		(2) Sarah SHIPLEY.					
Born	9 Mar 1745		Place of Birmingham, Warws, Eng.				
Chr.			Place				
Died	8 Jan 1786		Place	Birmingham, Warws, Eng.			
Bur.			Place				
Father				Mother			
Other Husbands	(1) James OWEN, 1770						
Children	Sex	When Born When Died	Where Born Where Died	Marriage Date & Place To Whom			
1 Phebe NOCK	F	25 Dec 1777	Birmingham, Warws, Eng.	11 Sep 1797 John BENNETT			
2 Elizabeth NOCK	F	12 Feb 1779 1855	Birmingham, Warws, Eng.	Mr. WOTTON			
3 John NOCK	M	22 Jun 1780 23 Mar 1848	Birmingham, Warws, Eng.	Mary MAIRICE			
4 Ann NOCK	M	26 May 1783 7 Jan 1859	Birmingham, Warws, Eng.	6 Oct 1808 Thomas MAIRICE			
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							
11							
12							
13							
14							
15							
Sources of Information				Other Marriages			
Agnes Maurice Hinton's Notebook on							
family data: John Nock Hinton's Temple Record Book; Will of							
John Nock; 1851 Census of Oakley Well Street, Dudley, Staffrd.							
Eod.: BT's St. Martins, Birmingham #56259, p. 11.							

## NOTES FOR APPENDIX A

<sup>1</sup>Commissioners of Customs and Excise to Lenora A. Meeks, December 23, 1958 (hereafter referred to as Com. of Excise).

<sup>2</sup>Arthur Lyon Cross, A History of England and Greater Britian (New York: MacMillan Company, 1914), pp. 534, 876; and Frederick C. Dietz, A Political and Social History of England (New York: MacMillan Company, 1928) p. 432.

<sup>3</sup>Com. of Excise.

<sup>4</sup>Napton-on-the-Hill Parish Register, GLC.

<sup>5</sup>Com. of Excise.

<sup>6</sup>Hinton, "Memorandums."

<sup>7</sup>Bridge Street Independent Chapel, Walsall, register, GLC.

<sup>7</sup>Com. of Excise.

<sup>8</sup>James Hinton will, November 19, 1809, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, GLC.

<sup>9</sup>Bridge Street Independent Chapel, Walsall, register, GLC.

<sup>10</sup>Wolfhamcote Parish Register, GLC.

<sup>11</sup>Alexander, Retailing in England, pp. 136-138.

<sup>12</sup>Wolfhancote Parish Register, GLC.

<sup>13</sup>Atkins Hinton's Will, October 6, 1801, Episcopal Consistory of Lichfield, GLC.

<sup>14</sup>Wolfhamcote Parish Register, GLC.

<sup>15</sup>Atkins Hinton's will, October 6, 1801, Episcopal Consistory of Lichfield, GLC.

<sup>16</sup>In 1808, Thomas Maurice was listed as a button maker when he and his brothers and sister sold their mother's house in Stratford-upon-Avon. Levi Fox to Camilla Hastings, March 5, 1956. Photocopy in possession of author, original VHB.

<sup>17</sup>William A. Corbett to Edith Gibson, October 21, 1937, VHB.

<sup>18</sup>Hinton, "Memorandums."

<sup>19</sup>Independent Old Meeting House Chapel Register, Dudley, Worcestershire, GLC.

<sup>20</sup>William A. Corbett to Edith Gibson, October 21, 1937, VHB; Hinton, "Memorandums;" and Lewis, Topographical Dictionary, 3:569.

<sup>21</sup>Lewis Topographical Dictionary, 3:569; and Hinton, "Memorandums."

<sup>22</sup>Hinton, "Memorandums."

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Elizabeth Maurice, "Autograph Book," not paged. Photocopy in my possession, original in the possession of Shelia Mellor, Sutton Coldfield, England. The short paragraphs of good wishes are written in English, French and German.

<sup>25</sup>1861 Census, West Bromwich, GLC.

<sup>26</sup>Hinton, "Memorandums."

<sup>27</sup>Haverfordwest Parish Register, GLC.

<sup>28</sup>John Sibree and M. Caston, Independency in Warwickshire (Coventry: G. and F. King, 1855), p. 228.

<sup>29</sup>Hinton, "Memorandums."

<sup>30</sup>St. Phillips, Birmingham, Parish Register, GLC.

<sup>31</sup>Hinton, "Memorandums."

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Joel Maurice will, January 12, 1808, Episcopal Consistory of Lichfield, GLC.

<sup>35</sup>John Lawson and Harold Silver, A Social History of Education in England (London: Methuen & Co Ltd., 1973), p. 236.

## Appendix B

Letter Written to John Nock Hinton  
From His Brother Atkins\*

Tipton  
March 10, 1881

My Dear Brother,

Your letter reached Birmingham on the 1st of March just 3 weeks in coming. We are very glad to hear of your well doing and being. But the sentiments contained in your letter in reference to polygamy we do not like and caused father, Mother and each of us much pain. It seems so unnatural and unreasonable, we cannot understand how any class of men with the slightest pretense to civilization can adopt such principles. Your arguement in reference to a large number of children is without weight. I have never met a man or woman who were not satisfied with 6 or 7 which is a very common occurrence here, our colonies which intend to every quarter of the globe prove that the one wife system is quite sufficient to populate a new country and remember God gave man but one wife to populate a world. As to old maids there are a few in this as in every country, but they are among the most useful and respected of our people and I am proud to know that they would rather die old maids than be second or third wives to any man while the first was living. They prefer freedom to the position of a slave. If they have a great desire to get married they have only to pass over to some of our colonies where the males are in excess of the female population and they will not have to wait long. The girls in your territory, we think anything but particular in submitting to such degradation, although her choice should be worth thousands of pounds. We don't believe in the free consent of the first wife, there may be a reluctant consent when she knows she is powerless to stop it. It is a base insult to the wife of your youth who has borne the burden and heat of the day, to have a young girl brought into the family, to take her place in her husbands affections while she necessarily has to stand on one side or be the drudge of the house. We do not understand good men practicing polygamy but you are quite right in saying that it is the unscrupulus and the deceivers who do such things in England. Polygamy is lowering to human nature, bringing it more to the level of the brute creation. There is nothing of the Angel in it, but much of the animal, nothing of heaven but much of grovelling earth. We trust that the remarks in your letter are not the prelude to any steps you may be taking in that direction, but if it be so, be kind enough to never once mention it in your letters here if you have the least regard for father and mother. We have felt a strong affection for your wife and children and have seemed to know them by name and sight since we have had their likenesses, shall always consider them part of our family, but we shall never acknowledge any other while the present wife is alive.

I am glad to say that my wife and family are very well and although trade is very bad we are getting a living. My eldest son is very useful and does most of the work.

With best love to all from myself and family,

I remain

Your affectionate Brother

A. Hinton

\* Photocopy in possession of author. Original in possession of Virginia H. Baker, Mesa, Arizona.



## Appendix C

Atkins Hinton Newspaper Articles, 1897\*

### A TIPTONIAN'S TRAVELS

#### Life Among the Mormons

##### No. 1

The Mormon People have obtained the reputation the reverse of enviable in this and other lands, while ex-Mormon lecturers have done their level best to stamp as true the terrible things that have been laid to their charge. A few years ago a person named Jarman gave a series of lectures in the towns of the Black Country, which were attended by thousands who listened with rapt attention to his graphic accounts of lawlessness, treachery, violence, and immorality, with which he said the territory of Utah was reaking. Gentiles were boycotted, oppression was rampant, bigotry everywhere, murder walked the streets in broad daylight, and assassinations were of nightly occurrence. Immorality was legalised by polygamy, and men kept troops of women for their sensual pleasure, who were writhing beneath a horrid servitude without the possibility of escape. The personal experience of this wonderful man were of the most thrilling character, he had been abused, insulted, robbed, his young and beautiful wife had been taken from him, and given to another, so that his early dream of domestic bliss had been rudely shattered. He told of his hair-breadth escapes, how three times he had been sentenced to death, but as if by a miracle he had eluded the vigilance of his keepers, made his way to Europe that he might then denounce their iniquities, and so prevent deluded men and silly girls from falling in a snare so sad.

Having a brother in the very south of Utah, and some family matters that required to be settled, I made up my mind to visit that far off land, but with the voice of this ex-Mormonite ringing in my ears my determination was somewhat shaken. It seemed as though I was going to certain peril or something worse. But an Englishman bent on travel and adventure with a definite purpose to accomplish, is not easily turned aside, so the fears were given to the winds, by a determination to face the worst.

Friends who had listened to the language of the lecturer, came to persuade me from taking a journey so perilous, and when they saw I would go at all risks, advised me to provide revolvers and daggers for my defence. This advise was also of no avail, for I had made my Friend the One who sticketh closer than a brother, and in whose defence I was safe.

On July the 1st I was crossing the Rocky Mountains, which form the Eastern boundary to the territory of Utah. It was with mingled feelings I drew near to this worse than heathen land. On the morning of the 2nd

I was descending the western slopes, where beauty beamed at every turn, and by 11 o'clock I was set down in the Mormon city of Provo.

It was the Sabbath, so hoped there would be a little respite from the assassin while I found a hiding place. Moving cautiously along a thoroughfare lined with pretty wood built villas, a substantial building made of stone, came in view. I naturally took it for the Mormon tabernacle, and thought now the Philistines would be down upon me, when to my surprise I read the inscription, Presbyterian Church. I could scarcely believe my eyes, my heart beat with a strange joy, and as I approached a Methodist church, my fears vanished, and I said to myself old Jarman must have told the truth upside down.

So breathing more freely I took stock of the place. It was not a city from an architectural point of view, but like most of the towns of Utah it had a suburban appearance. The streets were broad and laid out with an eye to the future. On either side streams of clear water, grass grown and rural formed a pleasing feature of the roadway. Luxuriant cotton trees spanned the side walks, making a grateful shelter from the brilliance of the sun. The homesteads were not magnificent, but comfortable, for the most part built of wood and surrounded by garden, orchard, and corn patches.

To the North and East were mountains, whose highest peaks were white with driven snow. To the South there lay the prairie, while in the West there shimmered a large fresh water lake, nine miles by four. The prospect was a pleasing one, and every step I took was reassuring.

The Sabbath, at least, was kept, and on the gentle breeze was borne the song of praises from the house of prayer. I was destined to stay in this place till next day, and where to go and what to do I did not know. Seeing an old man coming along the opposite sidewalk, I crossed over to meet him, while he stretched out his hand to welcome me as though I had been his friend. I asked him about the tabernacle and the time of service.

"The tabernacle," said he, "is the corner of the second block, in 4th Street, and the service at 2 o'clock. You are a stranger here?"

"Yes, a little strange," I replied, "you have a nice city. What is that large stone building at the foot of the mountain?"

"That is the college of the saints, and is six miles from the mountain. We board the students at our house, but it is now the vacation, so we are rather quiet."

Intuitively I gathered that my friend was a Mormon, and a simple hearted citizen, so I replied, "Perhaps you could put me up for the next 24 hours as your rooms are vacant?"

"I guess you can come round and see my missus." So I found them

comfortably situated in the midst of garden, orchard, and flower beds, with streams of water running round for irrigation, and a fountain playing on the lawn, which kept it green and beautiful, although it was 90 degrees in the shade.

On being introduced to the lady of the house, she said the best they had was at my disposal, they would do their utmost to make me comfortable, and hoped I should make myself at home. This I did, and in about 30 minutes was partaking of a sumptuous and many sided American dinner, then retired to my room and wrote in peace my message home. I chatted to these people about religion, morals, manners, polygamy, etc. We took a walk to the College, an imposing building as large as the one at Handsworth. In the evening my host accompanied me to the Methodist Church--so much for Mormon bigotry--then, when the evening meal was over and the sun was setting in the west, we bowed our knees together, while I implored our common Father to bless the homestead where we rested and the loved ones far away, then with a peace which I cannot describe, retired to rest and to sleep. My bedroom opened on to the lawn, and the breath of the rose and mignonetta pervaded the apartment in the early morning.

All the doors of the houses were wide open, and the only protection from without was a mosquito curtain. I enquired if they never locked their doors at night, as was informed there was no need, for robbery was a thing they seldom heard of unless some gentile from other states paid them an unwelcome visit. Life in Provo was not to be despised. 6,000 inhabitants, each homestead standing on its own lot, semi-tropical climate; an abundant supply of pure water from the melting snows of the magnificent mountains near; a system of irrigation that supplied the life of every fruit tree and the fertility of every furrow. A city without a public-house; without poverty; without a workhouse; without policemen; and where every man can worship God under his own vine and fig tree, none daring to make him afraid.

## No. 2

The next morning I took a train to Nephi, and in two hours I was standing at the door of John Adams. I was happy to see some old faces, and they were also glad to shake hands once more with Tipton, to hear of friends and neighbours, as I related to them the accumulated romances of our family life. The Adams family, except the second son, had joined the saints, and I can only say of them that in matters religious they were much more attentive than I had even known them in this country.

The day following was the 4th of July, on which day all America celebrates her independence, when she fights her battles over again, when revelry runs riot, and moral safeguards are withdrawn, when sober men are drunk, and holy men are powerless to stem the storm. How will Utah act? Will the Mormon men of Nephi justify the good opinion I had formed, or would they show the cloven foot that reputation stamped upon them.

In the early morning guns were firing, flags were flying, stores were closed, every face spoke of joy, and every sound was an expectation. Arriving with my friends at Central Park, a joyful time awaited us. Awning had been erected over a large area to give protection from the burning sun. A capacious platform had been erected, and a well dressed, happy people were filling up the seats provided, while programmes were being handed round. The mayor had taken his place in the chair, and the members of the band were ready for action. A young man from one of the stores was chaplain for the day, and gave out an appropriate hymn, which was heartily joined in by the whole company to the tune of our national anthem, and in the refrain I sang "God save our gracious Queen." Then the chaplain petitioned the Father of Spirits to bless, protect, and guide the "land of the West and the free." An entertainment, chiefly musical, followed, solos, duets, glees, and band choruses. While the performance was going on I put down mental notes. Here was a gathering of the whole city, from the infant in arms to the hoary patriarch, there was not one shabbily dressed sister or a seedy looking brother in the whole company, not a rag, not a tatter, not a poverty-pinched face, the street arab and the gutter children were non-existent, but joy sat on every countenance, and glee flashed from every eye. There were many dons among the gentlemen, and the ladies would have done credit to one of our garden parties.

I said to my friend Adams, "Where are the poor?" and he proudly answered.

"Sir, we have none, and the poorhouse and the relieving officer are unknown in these parts."

I said to myself, "Where is the assassin? Where is the man of blood? Where are the women driven about like slaves? And what of the bigotry that brought together Mormon, Presbyterian, and Methodists, to join their voices in the same hymns of praise, and bow together at the same throne of grace." My feeling of fear had vanished, while peace and tranquility reigned in its place. I had sympathy with Ruth when she said, "This people is my people, and their God my God." There was an enchantment, a fascination about the place that was seductive, the clear atmosphere, the blue sky, the brilliant sunshine, the grand old Rockies, with Nebo, and Pisga, and Sinai, like snow capped sentinels, watching the triumphs of peace.

But there was another motive that sped me onwards, and in describing life among the Mormons I must speak of other things. The physical geography of Utah is striking, and consists of mountain chain crossing mountain chain, with valleys and sandy plateaus between, from 6 to 30 miles in extent, forming the prairie of scanty grass and bushwood, providing a cover for the deer, antelope, wolf, wild dog, rabbit, squirrel, snake and lizzard. Thousands of horses, cattle and sheep find a bare subsistence. Here the Indian plants his wigwam, and hunts his trembling game. Here the ranchman, and cowboy ply their adventurous calling. Upon the mountain grow a stunted cedar, while cactuses of various kinds, the prickly pear, and strange wild flowers break the

monotony of the desert. In the neighbourhood of mountain stream, or river, cities similar to those I have described flourish.

From April to September they have little or no rain, but a burning tropical sun, so that vegetation left to itself is of the poorest kind. But give this people a tiny stream, and they will turn this desert into a garden of flowers, and the wilderness into vineyards, orchards, and waving fields of corn. Their pastures of corn yield four or five crops in the season.

Traveling 100 miles south, I reached Millford, my last stage by rail, and the appointed meeting place between my brother and myself. After about 5,000 miles travel, I alighted and eagerly looked for my brother, whom I had not seen for 33 years. And sore was the disappointment when no brother could be seen. I had sent a telegram a week before to say I should be there and yet no friendly hand, and friendly eye was there to greet me. Making enquiries I found that he was known, but had not been seen for months, and a feeling of loneliness and dejection came over me, as I stood on the edge of the desert of burning and blinding sand. The air seemed to tremble like the heat of a furnace while the verdure was gone. Between this point and my brother's home lay 100 miles of trackless waste and unknown dangers. But finding a caravan, consisting of two waggons, was going within ten miles of my destination, I decided to accompany them. Milford was a dreary place, a trading post and mining camp, some two dozen houses and a wooden hall, where I spent the night. We were in the midst of gold, silver, and copper mines. My host had a cabinet filled with specimens of various kinds which were interesting, and valued at 200 dollars. I realised that my brother was known and respected, and I got invitations to visit many of the homes. But at 10 o'clock I took my seat upon the waggon and started for Virgin City.

### No. 3

My travelling companions were young men used to desert life, and the time sped cheerily as we chatted cheerfully about the place and People I had come to visit. The first waggon contained a returned missionary and his wife, the latter appearing to be in the last stage of consumption, and was tenderly cared for, a feather bed being placed in the waggon to obviate the absence of springs, and mitigate the torture of the journey. At mid-day, we reached Coalville, our first stage, where a tabernacle, a store, and ten cottages is dignified as a city, with a bishop, whose acquaintance we made. One of my companions attended to the horses, the other collected bits of wood and made a fire, and with the aid of a kettle, a frying pan, and a tea pot, we made a substantial meal. Getting under weigh again, we crossed the scorching sand. The horses ploughing through this yielding substance sent up clouds of dust which continually encircled us, and our bodies perspiring at every pore seemed to have a peculiar attraction for this pitiless sand.

Scanning the scenery, or rather, want of it across the plain, I was

attracted by tall spiral columns moving slowly along. I enquired what the phenomenon was, and was informed they were only whirlwinds. We were seldom out of sight of some of those spiral sand spectors moving gracefully along. Occasionally they would cross our path, break over our waggon, and treat us to a hot shower more blinding than beautiful.

After an hour's monotonous travel, we were cheered by the sight of a cloud of dust a mile away, which my companion assured me was a waggon. It excited an interest as when a ship meets a ship at sea, and when within half a mile, he declared it was my brother. My heart beat fast, and the golden hours of childhood flashed before me like a dream, when our kites we flew together to giddy heights or chased from flower to flower the pretty butterfly.

Now face to face our waggons halted, and my brother cried out, is it Atkins? We both alighted and as hand grasped hand the features of my father's eldest son stood out quite plain in the handsome face of the sturdy backwoodsman. The words of welcome and greeting were short and earnest as we stood upon the desert sand, beneath the radiant sunshine of a cloudless sky. It was a circumstance in one's short life that cannot be erased.

My brother had business at Milford, so I at once decided to return with him. I stayed at Coalville for the night, slept on a bed of clover in the bishop's barn, a place where there were 20 sheep folded, and in my dream they seemed to inspire welcomes to the weary ones, but early in the morning their bleating cry broke in upon the sweet repose that waited on the tired bones.

Resuming our journey, some varied scenes awaited me. Traveling in Utah is perhaps the most unpleasant part of a long journey. The scarcity of railroads, or of any road whatever, the cumbersome waggons, in which your bones are shaken to shivers, and your flesh to a jelly; the bump, bump of the springless wheels as you traverse the almost trackless desert, the cloud of dust that continually encircles your caravan, in the open plain, and the fear that overtakes you as you slowly wind round the turns and twists of the precipitous rocky gorge or the perpendicular granite walls of the storm riven canyons, all of which make it very difficult to keep your strong language and spontaneous ejaculations within the cover of Walker's dictionary. Life upon these Morman ways was not all that could be desired. But even here it had its compensations. Who has not gone a gipsying a long time ago? Here we had it to perfection. We gathered our wood from the desert bush, kindled our fire with cedar bark, filled our kettle from the ditch, then opened our grub box for ham, jam and cucumber. Oh how delightful were these banquets in the bush, "where good digestion waited quick upon the appetite." It is true an ever growing cloud of flies was always buzzing round, and doing their little best to share the dainties of the feast. Both flies and dust are of little count when nature's cravings are supplied. So gathering up our trays, we repack our box, tether the team, and start once more.

Our goal is in the distance, seeming a little spot of green some seventeen miles away. The horses tug and toil, we wag and roll at every turn until the sun had left the after glow, and the pale moon had got one eye out above the mountain peak, and bright stars one by one, were blinking in the blue above before we reach our resting place.

The place was Johnson's Springs, and half a dozen homesteads glowed with light, and life beauty. Here we prepared our evening meal, ham and eggs would "squeak and bubble" within the frying pan, when lo a figure, tall, with long grey beard, solemn as a judge, came near. "Bishop Jones," my brother said. He then introduced me as his long expected brother from the Old Country. We bowed acknowledgments, and hand struck hand for friendship's sake.

"And so you are come to see the land of every land the best?"  
"Yes," I quietly replied.

"Do you know that I am a Mormon of the Mormonites?"

"Indeed," said I, "and I am a Methodist of the Methodists." I just as proudly said.

"Ah! I'll soon knock that darned nonsense out of you. A Methodist! Just tell me what it is to be a Methodist."

Not having my catechism at hand, I defined my position thus. "A Methodist is a man who is trusting in God for salvation through Christ, who is endeavouring to live a holy life and doing his best to make others holy, too."

"That," said my mentor, "appears to be very good, but---"

"But," said I, "fair play is a jewel, question for question, just tell me what it is to be a Mormonite."

"No, no, I'll answer that question just now. I know your history. Methodism sprang from the Church of England, the Church of England sprang from Rome, Rome is the scarlet lady of revelations, therefore you are descended from the Roman harlot."

Getting a word in edgeways, I again asked, "What is Mormonism?"

"I am coming to that." He held himself erect, while his arms went up and down like a windmill. "It is the revelation of God in these latter days, through his prophet Joseph Smith, to the nations of the world. The true witnesses of God were all slaughtered at the end of the second century, since then the world has been lying in the arms of Antichrist." Then he trotted out his golden spectacles, the book of Mormon, and Old Testament prophecy.

Pulling him short, I replied, "And do you mean to tell me you have no better foundation for your religion than old wives fables. I am

astounded at your credulity, that wonder is that any sane man could be found to rest his soul on such a slender thread for his salvation."

Then he shook his head, stamped his foot, clenched his fist, and made his rugged voice resound across the rolling prairie as he declared that I belonged to a creeping, crawling, hypocritical Methodist crew, while upon his hands had rested the hands of one of the Lord's twelve apostles. "I have," said he, "preached the gospel to Gentiles in foreign lands. I have converted hundreds to the true faith of Latter Day Saints. I have two of the best wives in the world, and more than a score of children. I have suffered persecution for the Lord's sake, and have been in the pen for two years, which is my glory."

"You appear to me," I replied, "to be expert in sounding your own trumpet and condemning all else who have too much common sense to believe in your newly found dogmas."

#### No. 4

My brother was annoyed at our contention, and called us to order and to rest. But the Bishop's words ran like a torrent, while his adjectives became more pointed and personal. "D--- hypocrite. D--- liar. Son of the devil," etc. etc, were some of the gems from his vocabulary, and the muscularity of his oratory brought his pointed knuckles within the thirty-second of an inch of my countenance.

At 12:30 we had retired from the contest. The moon had risen high above us, and the last sounds I heard was the croaking of the big bull frogs in the marsh near by. At 5:30 a.m. we were astir, my companion looking after the cattle. I was lighting the fire when my great antagonist was down upon me, with a pile of books beneath his arm, to back and clench his arguments. While the fire was burning, the water boiling, the ham and eggs frizzling, our friend had it all his own way, until the horses were harnessed up and we were about to start, then I took a parting shot.

"My friend," said I with emphasis, "I arrived in Utah last Sunday, and have lived among and conversed with your coreligionists, and had formed the best opinion of the place, people and professions of the Mormonites, but you have dashed to pieces my brightest hopes and early convictions. I begin to believe that the awful charges brought against you in my own country are true, and that I am surrounded by a bigotry that would make some blush. If such men as you had the power (pointing to the fire) you would roast us over slow fires till life was no more."

The shot told, and as he held my hand at parting, he hoped I would forgive him for the wrong he had done, and if he had said anything unkind, and that did not become a gentleman, he was exceedingly sorry; and thus we parted.

It took my brother all next morning to make excuses for a man he said was hardly sane when religious matters were mentioned. I have also



good reasons to believe that he was a fanatic. I have rubbed against and dined with the humble farmer class, taken a good square meal with the well-to-do tradesmen and fruit grower, and have "hobnobbed" with the millionaires of Salt Lake City, but nowhere did I find a foe unfair on one that tried to take a mean advantage from one that sojourned with them for a season. Next night we outspanned beneath the mulberry trees, with a stream of sparkling water by our side, and we slept under the vigil of the full orbed moon, and to the lullaby of the night owl, and the wizzing of the leathern bats as they skimmed low to catch their evening meal. Next morning as we jogged quietly along, I said that we are glad that the Mormons have given up polygamy.

"Well," said my brother, "I can tell you we are not, it is one of the best of our institutions, and the most distinguishing features of our family life."

"Yes, but you must admit that it was fraught with strife, and contention in every home where it was practised."

"Certainly not," said he, "for happier homes and more contented families Europe has never known, though I don't pretend to say that there has been no friction on the entrance of a new wife. A storm in a teapot is soon over."

"Do you mean to tell me," I replied, "that the first wife would black your boots and starch your collars that you might go courting some pretty maid to take her place, you know that the new love would have to be done by stealth, and this would fill with woe and hatred the breast of the one you promised to love. Why should you be made happy at the expense of your wife's misery?"

"But," said my brother, "you don't understand the institutions of our church. At the first marriage it is understood, though not talked about, that a second wife may be added in after years, and with the knowledge before her the hardship is not so great as you imagine, and is it not true that more than half the homes of Europe are filled with wretchedness where one wife reigns. Our Mormon homes will compare very favourably with the boasted happy homes of England."

Not making much headway with regard to happy homes, I said, "In Europe we find it quite as much as we can manage to provide for one wife, and children number nine, and it would make confusion worse confounded to bring wife number two upon the scene."

Then with a contemptuous smile he said, "In a used up country like England no doubt this is the case, but with us it does not count. The larger the family the more fortunate the happy possessor. I point to the extension of lands where the olive and the vine should flourish."

"Again," said he, "is it not the best possible policy for a good man to have the most numerous household, that he may guide them in the right path and bring them in the narrow way."

"But" I replied, "is not all scripture against you?"

"On the contrary all the old testament saints practiced polygamy, and were our examples in righteousness, after God's own heart, we don't want to better them. Besides, you can't give me a proof text from the new testament that condemns it."

I replied that our Saviour condemns it when he says, "That for this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and cleave unto his wife," and again, "If a man look upon another woman to lust after her he committeth adultery with her in his own heart."

He said I was putting a construction on his words they would not bear, and declared that there was no country so moral as Utah. The class of women known in Europe as unfortunates does not exist amongst the Mormons, and asked me what I had to say to that.

"Say to that," I replied, "we call your system legalised immorality, bigamy, slavery and cruelty. You have no fallen women? All your women are fallen to submit to the slavery of lust for a time, and then to be turned aside for the next pretty face that appears on the scene. A woman's love is the holiest thing our fallen nature owns, and instead of cherishing it till death do part, you torture it with rival, you crush it, by cowardly connivance with others, and kill it by tearing it from your breast and your bed, and then you would have us to believe it was a Christian virtue, instead of which you are placing yourselves on a level with the most degraded nation of mankind, who practice polygamy till their effeminate degeneration has retarded the progress of the world."

"Come, not so fast," said my brother, "do you see that large building over there, it has a curious history. The man who built it was not a man beloved, though wealthy he had not many friends, but he had a numerous family. Seven wives and troops of children, and he sought this quiet pretty spot just skirting the vale where lay in peace his acres broad and fruitful. His old barns gave way for greater ones, and here he planned to build a mansion high and fair, and where he might live for ever and enjoy the labours of his hands, and revel in domestic bliss untold. He dug his cellars deep to store his vintage year by year. The walls you see are high and with many rooms and windows that he might portion out to his various wives and children, and here he thought to rule and reign in almost regal state. But the Philistines were upon him. The Government at Washington had decreed against polygamy, writs were out for his apprehension, so he fled the country, his house remains unfinished, and his land is running wild. I have shown you here polygamy at its worst side, and this was a rare exception. But you see we have had to give it up, most unwillingly though, I must admit."

No. 5

"All your friends in England are glad you have not tarnished the family name by committing the crime of polygamy."

"What you call a crime we call a virtue, and although I had never entered into that state of perfection, it was no fault of my own, but as matters have turned out it has been all for the best. For this cause the saints of God have been sorely persecuted, hunted as partridges upon the mountain, have been imprisoned, and charged with all manner of evil falsely, until our church authorities have thought it expedient to bend to the storm, and have decreed its abolition, so that our most distinguishing feature is gone, and perhaps for ever."

I replied that it was the very best thing they could possibly have done, as it would put them on a line with the best principles that ever governed the church of the world.

Our conversation was somewhat abruptly terminated by the roughness of the road, which was strewn with unnumberable boulders as big and bigger than one's head, and it was more than my brother could do to drive the team so as to dodge the petrified puddings, especially as we were going down a declivity with a broad stream of water at the bottom, and what appeared to be a perpendicular ridge on the other side. Keeping one's seat was impossible, so I stood up holding to the top of the waggon. The horses plunged into the river, stopping in the middle to quench their thirst, and there they continued to stop, for all the coaxing a backwood's man was capable of failed to make them budge from their quarters, so cool and satisfying, until with a sharp application of the whip, and a tortuous zigzag course up the opposite bank, we were pulled out of the stony ravine on to the smooth and sandy plain.

Noticing a dense smoke issuing from the distant mountains, which at night gave a lurid glare, I was informed that the Indians had fired the forest that they might drive out their four-footed game, for these tribes live by hunting and keep as far away as possible from the advancing tide of civilization.

Now and again we came across a wigwam, though the occupants did not intrude themselves upon our path. My brother said that after thirty years travelling amongst them they had never in any way molested him.

The next morning we were crossing a plain that was well studded with sage bush, a round shrub from two to four feet high, which seems to thrive without water, and upon which cattle of "Pharoah's lean kine" type browsed but scarcely kept their bones within their skins, they had some very fine points indeed.

While we were debating about their poverty stricken and dejected appearance, we were enveloped in the most awful stench you could possibly conceive. My brother said there must be dead cattle near, and soon we came upon the carcasses of three or four beasts, which had succumbed to the privation of the desert, and were rotting and festering in the burning sun. Dead they were though they were terribly alive as a cloud of flies and a flock of buzzards made us painfully aware.

It was noon of the fifth day of desert life when we reached Virgin City, our goal, the end of my journey. Here we met with a warm welcome from the friends I had heard of but never seen--nephews and nieces, with their numerous families. Virgin City derives its name from Virgin River, one of the tributaries of the Rio Grande, or Colorado River, that empties itself into the Gulf of California. This city is only in embryo, its fifty houses are built of wood, and for the most part, one story dwellings. They show signs of additions and portions were built and joined on to meet the requirements of the growing families.

When the early pioneers first reached this delightful vale, their first work was to dig a hole in the sand, covering it with wood and bushes, so making a rough shelter from the burning sun, or driving rain. Over this cellar home they built a log hut or cabin, which was very substantial and remains to be seen today. In a year or two, the hut became too small, and a wooden frame building was added as a kind of parlour, until another member made his appearance in the family, and demanded still larger quarters, when sitting rooms and bed rooms completed the home as I saw it.

There were also stables, outhouses, and barns, having a well-to-do comfortable appearance. A verandah overrun with woodbine and roses, ran round the homestead, and made a delightful shelter from the sunshine, and a luxuriant rest at the close of the day, when one could smoke the pipe of peace in serenity and chat with a neighbour and friend.

About each residence there were gardens, orchards, and vineyards, with cornfields, and clover patches. There was land to be had in plenty for fencing in. The barren desert has been turned into a paradise. There were apples, pears, apricots, peaches, melons, plums, and grapes of every variety, viz., Valentia, Burgundy, muscatels, and sultanas, all growing to perfection without one single tree of forbidden fruit.

Then there were beans, peas, cucumbers, marrows, Indian corn, beets, tomatoes, sugar cane, and every variety of green vegetables. One did not mind being a vegetarian under such circumstances, with egg, butter, cheese and bacon thrown in.

I had long been expected, so everybody knew me, and every house was thrown open to the brother of their best known and trusted friend. If I had been the Prince of Wales I could not have had a warmer welcome. Nor were they frightened of a Methodist local preacher, for the bishop invited me to preach in their tabernacle, which invitation I gladly accepted, and also taught in their Sabbath School. They have school on Sunday morning, service in the afternoon, then gave themselves up to innocent amusements, the young folks were so jolly it almost shocked my Sabbatarian notions.

I saw nothing of polygamy in Virgin City, if there had been second wives they had departed according to the law of the land. I conversed with many of the women of Utah, and not one of them spoke a word against it. They cheerfully accepted things as they found them though I gather from one or two incidents that they were not sorry it is a thing of the past.

I was sitting in the verandah with my niece, a beautiful girl of eighteen summers--in the cool of an August day. The roses were blooming at our feet, while the honeysuckle and clematis were festooning over our heads. The stars twinkled brightly out of a blue sky. Just above the mountain top a fiery comet spread its flowing tail. Amongst the shrubs and foliage there danced the dainty fire fly, while round us played the zephyrs laden with the right perfume of many flowers. I told her stories of Great Britain's glory, beyond the mountains, and beyond the sea.

She spoke of her native land and the people that she loved so well. The past, the present, and the future were well reviewed, as also was her tall, dark, handsome lover, who lives some miles away. When he came to see her he rode a chestnut horse.

Wishing to know what young people thought of duplicated matrimony, I asked her opinion of polygamy, did she believe in it?

"Y-e-s, I believe in it, but it is not suited for everybody, it is only the best of people who should enter into it." And with a sly look she said she was not good enough for that.

I smiled audibly and said, "Suppose your husband should find he was good enough?"

She replied, "Of course you know it is thing of the past, so you need not trouble about it."

Then I heard the hoofs of a distant rider's horse approaching, and she made an excuse to go, saying she thought the garden gate was open, and I saw her no more than evening.

I was at Ogden, the home of another niece, the only wife of a Mr. Richards, a nephew of the late Brigham Young. She had a family of four young children. A cow to be tended, and poultry to be fed, etc., with no one to help her except her husband, when he had done work at night. The orchard was laden with fruit, the raspberries and currants were spilling for someone to gather them. Now would she like a helpmate in the shape of a second wife to her husband? The baby lay cooing in its mother's lap, the other children were playing with paper boats I had made them, and among other things, I asked her if she believed in polygamy. She said she did.

"And can you," I said, "look forward with any peace or comfort to another lady coming to take your place while you may have to play second part?"

"Oh uncle, it would have been an awful trial, but you know there is no fear, second wives are gone, and perhaps for ever."

So I take it the women of Utah are glad polygamy is abolished, and

if they are wise they will take good care that it is never again established amongst them. But I heard no complaints, saw no oppression, peace and happiness reigned everywhere, and an entire absence of the wretchedness, poverty and squallor that is so painfully apparent in our own beloved land.

I have met with several of the women who have been second or third wives under polygamy. Some are married again, some have obtained situations. All of them are well cared for and have the sympathy of the whole community.

Then as to Mormonism; it is Christianity incrustated with some strong and crude dogmas. Baptism by immersion and baptism for the dead are both scriptural, but they make a great point of the latter. Their present President had been baptised for John Wesley, so that he might have a place in paradise, so they believe that it is possible to save all their friends who are outside their pale by being baptised for them. They believe in the gift of tongues and of miracles, and in a case of the latter which I investigated, I am satisfied of an instantaneous cure, if not a miracle, of one who had been bedridden for years, and given up by the hospitals as incurable. They claim the gift of prophecy, with power to predict the future.

The book of Mormon is the revelation of God to Joseph Smith, which is an history of ancient races inhabiting the American Continent. If I may claim the gift of prophecy, I say that Mormonism will pass away, is declining already. I never saw the Book of Mormon once while I was in Utah, but the Bible was everywhere, it is their text book in the tabernacle, the lesson book in the schools, it is their daily portion in the homes, and at the family altar. Its principles are guiding them, and our Saviour in whom we are trusting for salvation is their Saviour too. They also pay tithe by giving a tenth of their income year by year, which the faithful rigidly adhere to. This is expended in the building of temples and tabernacles, the support of the president, or prophet, and distribution amongst the widows and those brought into poverty by accident.

They have no stated ministry to pay, and their preachers are taken from amongst the congregations, who have the powers and ability to be the leaders of men. Their missionaries sent to the States and into foreign lands have to bear their own expenses. I have known men who received a call from the president to go on a mission sell their horses and waggon, that they might have the wherewithal to accomplish the work entrusted to them. They have no lack of self-denying men to enter upon their arduous work.

Their bishops are for the most part worthy men who, with stipend, look after the spiritual necessities of the city or district, and distribute the money to the widows and the needy. Gentiles, as well as saints receive these weekly contributions. There appeared to me to be a brotherliness and christian charity that covered the wants of the whole land, and is often absent in our own country.

When I consider the absence of poverty, wretchedness, and squallor, the general abundance of the necessities of life, the care taken of the aged and infirm, without the gloom of a workhouse, or the dread of a pauper's grave, I do not wonder that their missionaries make converts, and that thousands flock to that promised land.

The men of Utah are Yankee in their characteristics, and inclined to magnify the productiveness of their country. They measure their minerals by the mountains.

"Have you coal in Utah?"

"Oh yes, mountains of coal."

"Have you salt?"

"Yes, a mountain of pure rock salt as clean as glass." To back up the assertion they brought me a sample block of crystal salt, which I have with me now.

I saw with my own eyes a mountain of plaster of Paris, with kilns and mills to burn and reduce it to powder. Our old townsman, Mr. Adams, has a share in this said industry.

They have mountains of gold, silver, copper, lead and precious stones. These I have seen, but I have not seen a mountain of diamonds, or a ridge of rubies, but without any hyperbole, they have magnificent mineral resources, and the plants already put down to work these wonderful mines are superior to anything I have seen in this country, although backed by the wealth of the Earl of Dudley.

There were the same discomforts in crossing the wilderness. One day we had gone as far as tired nature could carry us. It was midnight and not a drop of water near. We had used the old wooden bottle dry to make a cup of tea, and the camp fire failed, we felt the loneliness of desert life.

The moon refused to shine, but the stars in the constant courses, clear and cold, looked down upon us from above, while our heavy ears refused to listen to the croak of the old toad and the click of the locusts' wings. In the very early dawn I was awakened rudely by what sounded to me like the full cry of 1,000 jackals loose upon the prey, and starting up from my bed I cried out. "What in the world is that sound?" My accustomed brother turned himself around and said it was only the wolves, and went to sleep again. But I kept one eye open and one ear alert until in the distance those distracting sounds had died away.

I reached at length Salt Lake City. "The city of the saints. The new Jerusalem. A city of streams of water. Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth." Here too is the temple of God, and the tabernacle of the faithful.

I was the guest of Bishop Empey, who had married a fair Tiptonian, and who is known to many of my readers. I received a hearty welcome to their home, a beautiful villa just away from the principal thoroughfare. The garden was showing its midsummer beauties, and the lawn was brilliant in its verdant green. My new found friends did their utmost for my comfort, and laid themselves out for my entertainment. They drove me out in their buggy to all the places of interest, parks, and public building, then to the foot of the mountains, whose tops were white with snow, their gentle slopes were wooded and green, while rivulets ran down the rocky ravine, and the city lay spread out before us like the painted pictures of some fairy tale, so intermixed with trees, shrubs, and spire.

One day we made excursion to the great Salt Lake, about 16 miles from the city. This is one of nature's wonders. It is 70 miles in length, and 40 miles broad. There are five or six islands, or as they appear from the shore, mountains rising to a great height. The lake shore from the point we saw it, was the reverse of picturesque. It is approached by a flat salt marsh, with but little grass, and white patches encrusted with salt, without shrub or tree, and the desolation of a dead sea prevails. The water is heavy and there was an absence of wave or ripple while I was there. The water is clear, and one can see a long way down, but failed to see any indications of life below the surface.

But where nature has failed, science and art have come to the rescue and brought to bear their energy upon the lake, running a pier three quarters of a mile into the waters, terminating in a grand pavilion, the like of which no English watering place can boast. It rises up three stories, with towers and pinnacles for outlook above those. It is ornamented and fretted like a Chinese pagoda, covers a large area, will accommodate thousands, and provides all sorts of amusements. Their strong point of attraction for the weakly and robust is the splendid provision for bathing with water that works wonders for all kinds of complaints. One large space with dressing rooms all round finds ample accommodation for both sexes.

The aquatic attire is many coloured, pretty and becoming. The temperature of the water was 70 degrees, and it is so heavy that you cannot sink. I was warned against getting my head under the water. Being a duffer at swimming, I cautiously held by the guide rope, when suddenly my feet flew up and my head went down. So unexpected was this somersault that I imbibed much more of this saline mixture than was either pleasant or agreeable. I felt as though my head would burst, and my eyes were on fire, but the noise I made in the effort to regain my breath, which had gone, brought round me a sympathetic crowd of mermaids, who soon got me round, and my tears were turned into joy for they would insist on teaching me to swim, and I submitted to their kind endeavours without a murmur. A few more such lessons under such auspicious conditions would have made me an expert swimmer.

Reluctantly we left the enchanting spot, and traveled back to Salt



Lake City. We were gratified in beholding their temple built of white marble, and in joining in their worship in the tabernacle, a building that will seat 14,000 persons, the largest one roofed building in the world. Their choir of 500 voices gave a grand concert on the Monday. They beautifully rendered the pieces they were to compete with against the world's choirs at the Chicago Exhibition. I was delighted with all I saw and heard, and the kind treatment I received from the bishop and his friends. Were it not for the strong Stratsfordshire magnet, I should have been tempted to make my abode there.

Life among the Mormons is worth living, and if all the climes of the world were as sober, industrious, and righteous as Utah, we should be at least 1,000 years nearer the millenium.

\*The six original articles were sent to Edith Hinton Gibson February 17, 1952. The author has made inquiries to determine the name of the newspaper and the complete dates of publication to the Birmingham Reference Library, Birmingham University Library, the British Library Newspaper Library at Colindale, and the Tipton Public Library but none of these have extant copies of the pertinent newspapers. The author has photocopies of the original articles which are in the possession of Virginia H. Baker, Mesa, Arizona.

APPENDIX D

LAND CERTIFICATES VIRGIN CITY

PP	NAME	DESCRIPTIION	LOCATION	DATE
1	WRIGHT, JOSEPH & ELDER, CLAYBORNE	301.106A	HERD GROUND DALTON FL	04/06/65
1	DAVIS, PHILITUS	3.33A	VC FL	04/09/65
2	HARDY, AGUSTUS	7.10A	DALTON FL	04/09/65
2	BREWER, LEWIS	7.64A	DALTON FL	03/18/65
2	BREWER, LEWIS	4.26A	DALTON FL	04/09/65
2	GIBSON, JOHN M.	5.11A	NORTH CR FL	04/09/65
3	JEPSON, JAMES	6.96A	DALTON FL	04/09/65
3	LUFKIN, G.W.	26.26A	DALTON FL	04/09/65
3	DALTON, JOHN	5.11A	DALTON FL	04/09/65
3	DALTON, JOHN	3.34A	DALTON FL	03/15/65
4	LUFKIN, G.W.	7.39A	N. DALTON FL	04/09/65
4	LUFKIN, G.W.	4.75A	N. DALTON FL	04/09/65
4	MORRELL, LABEN	L3 B6	VIRGIN CITY	03/17/65
5	VC HERD GROUNDS JOHNSON, NEPHI JOHNSON, SIXTUS E. BEEBE, WILLIAM A. HARRISON, DENISON	6669A	SW VC	03/27/65
5	JEPSON, JAMES	1.11A		04/09/65
6	BEEBE, WILLIAM A. & HARRIS, DENISON L.	93.25A	BLUE SP FL	03/27/65
6	BURK, CHARLES	L6 B16	VIRGIN CITY	04/01/65
6	MAXWELL, WILLIAM	5.96A	MAXWELL SPR	03/19/65
7	BEEBE, WILLIAM A.	9.68A	N. DALTON FL	03/19/65
7	BEEBE, WILLIAM A.	3.72A	N. DALTON FL	04/01/65
7	BEEBE, WILLIAM A.	L4 B4	VIRGIN CITY	04/01/65
7	BEEBE, WILLIAM A.	L1 B5	VIRGIN CITY	04/01/65
7	BURK, CHARLES	3.66A	VC FL	04/01/65
8	JOHNSON, NEPHI	28.38A	SVR FL	04/01/65
8	JOHNSON, NEPHI	9.15A	WVC FL	04/01/65
8	JOHNSON, SETH	L4 B7	VIRGIN CITY	04/01/65
8	MADSON, GUSTAVA	3.13A	SVR FL	03/17/65
9	BARNEY, MARY	L1 B5	VIRGIN CITY	03/17/65
9	BARNEY, MARY	L6 B5	VIRGIN CITY	03/17/65
9	BARNEY, MARY	L5 B5	VIRGIN CITY	03/17/65
9	BARNEY, MARY	L2 B12	VIRGIN CITY	03/17/65
10	BURK, CHARLES	L5 B16	VIRGIN CITY	03/17/65
10	ANDERSON, SIMON	L8 B4	VIRGIN CITY	03/17/65
10	BURK, CHARLES	L3 B1	VIRGIN CITY	03/17/65
10	JOHNSON, SIXTUS	L5 B7	VIRGIN CITY	03/17/65
11	HINTON, JOHN	8.26A	N DALTON FL	03/17/65
11	TENNEY, AMON	L1 B10	VIRGIN CITY	03/17/65
11	HILTON, HUGH	L2 B10	VIRGIN CITY	03/17/65

11	SPENDLOVE, JOHN	L7 B16	VIRGIN CITY	03/17/65
12	JOHNSON, NEPHI	L3 B7	VIRGIN CITY	03/17/65
12	WORKMAN, A.J.	76.73A	S DALTON FL	03/15/65
12	HASLEM, WM.	1.1A	N DALTON FL	03/15/65
12	RANDALL, FRANK	2.13A	S VR FL	03/15/65
13	GARDNER, GEORGE B.	L5 B5	VIRGIN CITY	03/15/65
13	GARDNER, GEORGE B.	3.1A	W VC FL	03/15/65
13	GARDNER, GEORGE B.	L7 B11	VIRGIN CITY	03/15/65
13	BEEBE, WILLIAM	8.64A	W VC FL	03/15/65
14	WRIGHT, ALEXANDER & HILTON, HUGH & CLAWSON, MOSES	S E OF LOTS 3&4 TO RIVER	VIRGIN CITY	03/15/65
14	WRIGHT, ALEXANDER	L2 B7	VIRGIN CITY	03/15/65
14	TENNEY, AMON	L4 B6	VIRGIN CITY	03/15/65
15	RANSOM, JAMES	L4 B3	VIRGIN CITY	03/15/65
15	RANSOM, JAMES	9.11A	NW VC FL	03/15/65
15	WORKMAN, ANDREW J.	L1 B16	VIRGIN CITY	03/15/65
15	JOHNSON, WILLIAM D.	L2 B6	VIRGIN CITY	03/15/65
15	HINTON, JOHN	L9 B10	VIRGIN CITY	03/15/65
16	FARNES, THOMAS	3.14A	S VR FL	04/01/65
16	BRADSHAW, JOHN	L1 B3	VIRGIN CITY	04/01/65
16	HASLEM, WM.	5.13A	N DALTON FL	04/01/65
16	HINTON, JOHN	L5 B9	VIRGIN CITY	04/01/65
17	HASLEM, WM.	.5A	S SNOWSHI FL	04/01/65
17	HASLEM, WM.	L4 B2	VIRGIN CITY	04/01/65
17	BRADSHAW, SAMUEL	L3 B3	VIRGIN CITY	04/01/65
17	BRADSHAW, SAMUEL	5.28A	N DALTON FL	04/01/65
18	HILTON, HUGH	8.33A	N DALTON FL	04/01/65
18	HASLEM, WILLIAM	L1 B7	VIRGIN CITY	04/01/65
18	WORKMAN, JACOB	8.13A	S VR FL	04/01/65
18	WILLIAMS, GEORGE	L3 B11	VIRGIN CITY	04/01/65
19	WORKMAN, JACOB L.	4.25A	VC FL	04/01/65
19	WRIGHT, ALEXANDER	10.10A	N DALTON FL	04/01/65
19	ANDERSON, SIMON	5.81A	E VC FL	04/01/65
20	JOHNSON, NEPHI & HARRIS, DENISON L.	1940A	KOLOB HERD GROUND	04/01/65
26	HARRIS, DENISON L.	L2&3 B4	VIRGIN CITY	04/01/65
27	HARRIS, DENISON L.	L2 B5	VIRGIN CITY	04/01/65
27	HARRIS, DENISON L.	30 RDS	W VC FL	04/01/65
27	HARRIS, DENISON L.	17.62A	NW VC FL	04/01/65
29	GARDNER, GEORGE B.	L2 B2	MT DELL	12/07/66
29	GARDNER, GEORGE B.	L1 B1	MT DELL	12/07/66
29	MATHEWS, DANIEL	12.60A	MT DELL FL	08/24/66
29	GARDNER, GEORGE B.	5.1A	DALTON FL	08/24/66
30	ISOM, WILLIAM	L3 B1	MT DELL	08/27/66
30	ISOM, OWEN	5A	MT DELL FL	08/27/66
30	ISOM, OWEN	1A	MT DELL FL	08/27/66
30	ISOM, OWEN	6.12A	MT DELL FL	08/27/66
31	SUTTON, IRA	13.80A	MT DELL FL	01/09/68
133	BAY, JAMES W.	TIMBER LAND 4.78A	S VC	05/07/73

APPENDIX E

VIRGIN CITY 1870 CENSUS

NAME	AGE	NO.	OCCUPATION	BIRTH PLACE	NO.	HOUSE
ANDERSON, SIMON	47	2	CARPENTER	DENMARK		1
BEEBE, LEROY	31	6	BLACKSMITH	IOWA		1
BEEBE, WILLIAM	57	9	BLACKSMITH	NEW YORK		1
BRADSHAW, SAMUEL	47	6	FARMER	ENGLAND		1
BURK, CHARLES	34	6	FARMER	SWEDEN		1
CAMPBEL, RALPH	37	7	FARMER	NEW YORK		1
DALTON, JOHN	70	19	FARMER	PENNSYLVANIA		4
ELDER, CLAYBOURN	43	16	FARMER	TENNESSEE		3
GARDNER, GEORGE	36	10	BLACKSMITH	ENGLAND		2
HASLAM, WILLIAM	56	2	FARMER	ENGLAND		1
HILTON, CHARLES	22	3	FARMER	ENGLAND		1
HILTON, HUGH	49	6	FARMER	ENGLAND		1
HUMPHERY, JAMES	35	3	FARMER	ENGLAND		1
ISOM, GEORGE	25	2	FARMER	ENGLAND		1
ISOM, OWEN	56	5	FARMER	ENGLAND		1
ISOM, WILLIAM	30	6	FARMER	ENGLAND		1
JEPPSON, JAMES	54	5	FARMER	ENGLAND		1
JOHNSON, NEPHI	37	15	FARMER	OHIO		2
JOHNSON, SIXTUS	40	9	HERDER	NEW YORK		2
LANE, LUCINDA	64	1	KEEP. HOUSE	KENTUCKY		1
MATHEWS, DANIEL	45	1	FARMER	ENGLAND		1
PARKER, JOHN	58	5	GARDNER	ENGLAND		2
PARKINSON, RICHARD	59	1	FARM LAB.	ENGLAND		1
PETERSON, CHRISTIAN	40	3	FARMER	DENMARK		1
PRATT, JONATHAN	63	3	FARMER	TENNESSEE		1
SPENDLOVE, JOHN	54	2	FARMER	ENGLAND		1
SPENDLOVE, WILLIAM	23	2	FARMER	ENGLAND		1
STRATTON, ALBERT	26	4	FARM LAB.	ILLINOIS		1
STRATTON, ANTHONY	46	8	FARM LAB.	KENTUCKY		1
STRATTON, OLIVER	52	10	FARMER	TENNESSEE		1
WILSON, THOMAS	56	8	FARMER	LOUISIANA		1
WORKMAN, ANDREW	45	9	FARMER	KENTUCKY		1
WORKMAN, JACOB	58	13	FARMER	TENNESSEE		2
WRIGHT, ALEXANDER	66	8	FARMER	SCOTLAND		1
WRIGHT, JEFFERSON	44	9	GRIST MILL	MASSACHUSETT		1

## APPENDIX F

1880 CENSUS  
FOR VIRGIN CITY, MOUNTAIN DELL, MILLVILLE AND WORKMAN RANCH

NAME	AGE	NO.	OCCUPATION	BIRTH PLACE	NO.	HOUSES
ANDERSON, SIMON	57	2	FARMER	DENMARK		1
BAY, JAMES	60	8		VERMONT		1
BEEBE, LEROY	40	9	BLACKSMITH	IOWA		1
BRADSHAW, SAMUEL	58	7	BRICKMASON	DERBY ENG.		1
BURK, CHARLES	43	6	FARMER	SWEDEN		1
CAMPBELL, ADAM	42	10	COOPER	U.S.		1
CAMPBELL, GEORGE	20	3	COOPER	OGDEN UTAH		1
CAMPBELL, RALF	47	3	CARPENTER	U.S.		1
GARDNER, GEORGE	28	6	FARMER	SALT LAKE UT		2
GROVES, LUCY	73	5	KEEP. HOUSE	MASSACHUSETT		1
HASLAM, WILLIAM	65	7	FARMER	ENGLAND		1
HILTON, JOHN HUGH	22	3	FARMER	SALT LAKE UT		1
HILTON, JOSEPH	20	1	CARPENTER	LEHI UTAH		1
HINTON, JOHN	41	10	CABINET MKR	BH'M ENG.		1
HUMPHRIES, JAMES	48	7	FARMER	WILSHIRE ENG		1
HUNT, GEORGE	30	4	TEAMSTER	SALT LAKE UT		1
ISOM, OWEN	60	4	FARMER	NORTHAMPTON		1
ISOM, WILLIAM	40	10		BH'M ENG.		1
ISOM, GEORGE	34	8	FARMER	ENGLAND		1
JEPSON, JAMES JR	23	4	FARMER	UTAH		1
JEPSON, JAMES	64	2	GRIST MILL	ENGLAND		1
LOWDER, ANN	67	2	HOUSEHOLDER	ENGLAND		1
MALONE, THOMAS F.	30	2	MINER	IRELAND		1
MATHEWS, DANIEL W.	65	8	FARMER	MISSOURI		1
OWEN, ANDEN	29	6	FARMER	MISSOURI		1
OWEN, HORACE	60	5	STONE MASON	PENNSYLVANIA		1
OWENS, HORACE B.	32	5	STONE MASON	MISSOURI		1
QWENS, ELEANOR	20	4	KEEP. HOUSE	UTAH		1
PARKER, JOHN	68	4	GARDNER	ENGLAND		2
PARKINSON, RICH	69	2	FARMER	ENGLAND		1
PARKER, RICHARD	21	2	FARMING	SALT LAKE UT		1
PETERSON, CHRISTIN	50	2	FARMER	DENMARK		1
RICHARDS, MARY ANN	42	9	KEEP. HOUSE	ENGLAND		1
SANDERS, DAVID W.	45	5	FARMER	ILLINOIS		1
SANDERS, JOSEPH M.	42	9	FARMER	MISSOURI		1
SPENDLOVE, JOHN	40	8	FARMER	ENGLAND		1
SPENDLOVE, JOHN	64	2	SHOEMAKER	ENGLAND		1
SPREGUE, EDWARD	40	8	SCHOOL TEAC	U.S.		1
STRATTON, ALBERT J.	36	9	FARMER	ILLINOIS		1
STRATTON, EDWARD	27	5	BRICKMAKER	SALT LAKE UT		1
STRATTON, J ALBERT	36	1	FARMER	TENNESSEE		1
STRATTON, OLIVER	31	3	FARMER	IOWA		1
WILSON, MORRIS	34	5	FARMER	U.S.		1
WORKMAN, ANDREW	56	8	FARMER	KENTUCKY		1
WORKMAN, FANNY	65	4	KEEP. HOUSE	PENNSYLVANIA		1
WORKMAN, REBECCA	46	10	KEEP. HOUSE	MAINE		1
WRIGHT, JEFFERSON	54	8	FARMER	MASSACHUSETT		1

APPENDIX G

WATER CERTIFICATES VIRGIN CITY  
MARCH 7, 1882

PP. NO.	NAME	SHARES	LOCATION
186	212 ANDERSON, SIMON	9/107	NORTH CREEK
186	217 PETERSON, JORGEN	9/107	NORTH CREEK
187	218 ISOM, GEORGE	9/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
188	219 JEPSON, JAMES	12.5/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
188	220 STRATTON, JAMES A.	10/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
189	221 HUMPHRIES, JAMES	8/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
190	223 CAMPBELL, ADAM	3.5/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
190	224 PARKER, JOHN	6/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
191	225 STRATTON, OLIVER	8/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
192	226 SPENDLOVE, JOHN	11/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
192	227 BURKE, CHARLES	6.5/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
193	228 BRADSHAW, SAMUEL	9/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
194	229 HILTON, JOHN	9.5/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
194	230 PARKINSON, RICHARD	.5/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
195	231 WRIGHT, JEFFERSON	3.5/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
196	232 WRIGHT, ALEXANDER	10/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
196	233 SPENDLOVE, JOHN SR	2.5/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
197	234 ANDERSON, SIMON	2.5/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
198	235 WORKMAN, DAVID H.	2/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
198	237 OWENS, HORACE B.	1.5/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
200	238 BEEBE, LEROY W.	1/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
200	239 RICHARDS, IANTHUS	.5/132.5	VC UPPER DITCH
201	240 PARKER, JOHN	6/10	PARKER DITCH
202	241 HUMPHRIES, JAMES	1.5/50	VC LOWER DITCH
202	242 PARKINSON, RICHARD	4/10	PARKER DITCH
203	243 CAMPBELL, ADAM	1/50	VC LOWER DITCH
204	244 PARKER, RICHARD	1/50	VC LOWER DITCH
204	245 BEEBE, LEROY W.	1.25/50	VC LOWER DITCH
205	246 HASLAM, WILLIAM	6/50	VC LOWER DITCH
206	247 MATTHEWS, DANIEL W.	6/50	VC LOWER DITCH
206	248 PRATT, EZEKIEL L.	1/50	VC LOWER DITCH
207	249 CORNELUS, HENRY	.75/50	VC LOWER DITCH
208	250 HILTON, JOSEPH	1/50	VC LOWER DITCH
208	251 LAUDER, ANN	2/50	VC LOWER DITCH
209	252 HINTON, JOHN	1/8	VC LOWER DITCH
210	254 ISOM, OWEN	19/107	NORTH CREEK
210	253 ISOM, WILLIAM	19/107	NORTH CREEK
211	255 ISOM, SAMUEL	7/107	NORTH CREEK
212	256 WILSON, MORRIS	7/107	NORTH CREEK
212	257 SANDERS, JOSEPH M.	30/107	NORTH CREEK
213	258 MATTHEWS, DANIEL W.	7/107	NORTH CREEK
214	276 MALONEY, THOMAS	1/50	VC LOWER DITCH

Source: Kane County Court House, Kanab, Utah.

## Appendix H

Article from Deseret News

Salt Lake City, Utah

May 29, 1926

### Hurricane Couple, Dixie Pioneers, Celebrate 65th Wedding Anniversary

Beaver, May 29. - (Special) - Mr. and Mrs. John N. Hinton of Hurricane, celebrated their 65th wedding anniversary May 19 surrounded by members of their family. The day also was the wedding day of their granddaughter, Miss Regena Isom to Claude L. Johnson of Beaver.

Mr. Hinton was born Oct. 18, 1839, at Birmingham, Warwickshire, England. Emma Spendlove Hinton was born Jan. 29, 1842, at Cardy, Lestershire,\* England. They sailed from Liverpool on the clipper "Underwriter" with 624 Saints on board, in April. 1861.

Mr. and Mrs. Hinton were married on board ship by Pres. Charles W. Penrose\* who was in charge of the emigrant saints.\*

They crossed the plains by ox team in Milo Andrus' company\* with Joseph R. Horne as captain, leaving Florence July 1, 1861,\* arriving in Salt Lake Sept 13.

They remained in Salt Lake a year, their first child being born there. From Salt Lake they moved to Virgin where their first home was a dugout and their main food supply was "greens." The nearest store was at Parowan, and to that point Mr. Hinton would go by ox-team with molasses which he traded for clothing.

Having served seven years apprenticeship as a cabinet maker in England, most of the furniture in Virgin and the first houses, were made by Mr. Hinton. He sold his land and teams, bought a turning lathe and opened a furniture or cabinet shop over the grist mill. While melting glue on the dirt floor, a fire was ignited, destroying a room full of furniture as well as the grist mill.

After living fifty years\* in Virgin Mr and Mrs Hinton moved to Hurricane in 1911 where their comfortable home is furnished with furniture he made from wood hauled from Zion's canyon.

A daughter, Mrs. Thomas Isom, is still using an extension table and rocker made by her father 47 years ago.

Mr. Hinton was leader of the Virgin choir for 40 years, a tuning fork being the only musical instrument they possessed at first. Beside furniture, Mr. Hinton has made hundreds of coffins for the dead and also molasses barrels from pine trees which he split into staves, using willows as hoops.

Mrs. Hinton is still very active despite her eighty-four years, doing her own house work. She recalls early days when she had to go out on the hill sides to gather oose, or soap plant, with which to soften the water. Her first carpet was taken by her daughter in payment for teaching school. Mr. Hinton worked a year on the St. George temple as a carpenter.

Mr. and Mrs. Hinton proudly exhibit an old fashioned coffee mill in which their flour was ground in their early days in Dixie.

They are the parents of 11 children, 10 of whom are living, 83 grand-children and more than 100 great-grand-children.

Ten sons and daughters were at their 65th wedding anniversary dinner.

\* Items of family tradition in this article have been proven erroneous by research into contemporary historical sources.



## Appendix I

Article From Washington County News

St. George, Utah

August 30, 1929

### Funeral Services for John N. Hinton

John Hinton of Hurricane died of old age, August 25, and was buried August 26 at Hurricane. Mr. Hinton was born in Birmingham, England, October 18, 1839, and came to America in 1861, having joined the L.D.S Church a few years previously.

While crossing the ocean on the Underwriter he met and married Miss Emma Spendlove. They came to Dixie in December of 1862 and shared the trials and hardships of the other pioneers of that time. He led the Virgin choir for thirty years and was a Sunday School superintendent for many years. He learned the carpenter trade when a boy in England and after coming to this country built a shop where he made some splendid furniture. There are homes now that can boast of furniture made by Mr. Hinton at that time.

Eleven children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Hinton. One died when a child and three others have passed away since having families of their own. They came to Hurricane in the early part of its history where they have since resided until his death. He is survived by a wife and following children: Atkins, Mrs. Thomas Ison, Maurice and Bernard of Hurricane, Mrs. John W. Wright of Hinckley, Mrs. Robert Gibson of St. Thomas and Mrs. Samuel Leigh of Cedar City, also seventy-nine grandchildren and about 125 great-grandchildren.

Funeral services for Mr. Hinton were held at the public school auditorium August 26, many relatives and friends were in attendance. The room was beautifully decorated.

Councilor Claud Hirschi presided. The ward choir sang, "When First the Glorious Light of Truth." Opening prayer was by Bishop Frank T. Johnson. "Beautiful Home" was sung by Miss Grace Isom and Reed Bradshaw with Olive Reeve at the piano.

Elder Joseph T. Wright spoke of the good qualities of Mr. Hinton. He has raised an ideal family. He fought a good fight.

Elder John Spendlove referred to the exemplary life of the departed. Spoke of his close association with Mr. Hinton in his earlier life.

"Oh My Father" was sung by Elder Frank Barber.

Elder James Jepson feelingly bore testimony to the things that have been said of Mr. Hinton. He first met the departed sixty-six years ago. He was dependable and was always the same man. He did much for the community in which he lived. He was especially gifted along musical lines, was the best tenor singer he had ever heard.

He came from a well-to-do well educated family in England. He was the only member of the family to join the church. He was useful as a carpenter and a choir leader at Virgin. He and his wife have been a faithful couple.

President Joseph K. Nicholes rejoiced in the good things said of the departed. Men and women have been blessed through the association of Mr. Hinton. We have evidences of a past life and a future life. We should rejoice in the philosophy of life. The Lord rejoices in the children who cooperate with him. We have many things to be thankful for.

Mrs. Alice Spendlove said that this wonderful couple lived together sixty seven years and that he built a lumber home at Hurricane at the age of seventy-two years.

The word choir sang "Nearer My God to Thee."

Benediction was by Elder Chauncy Sandberg.

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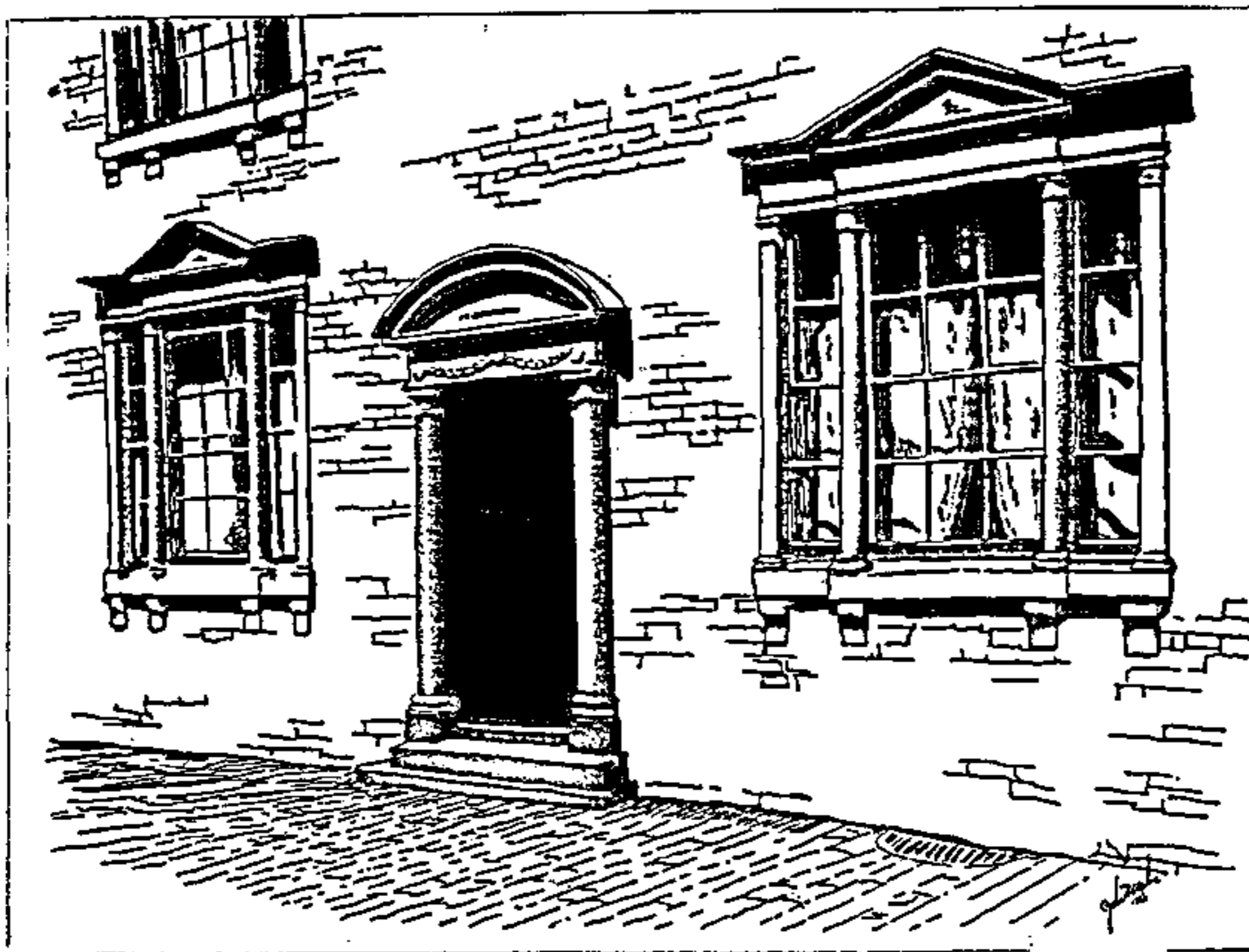


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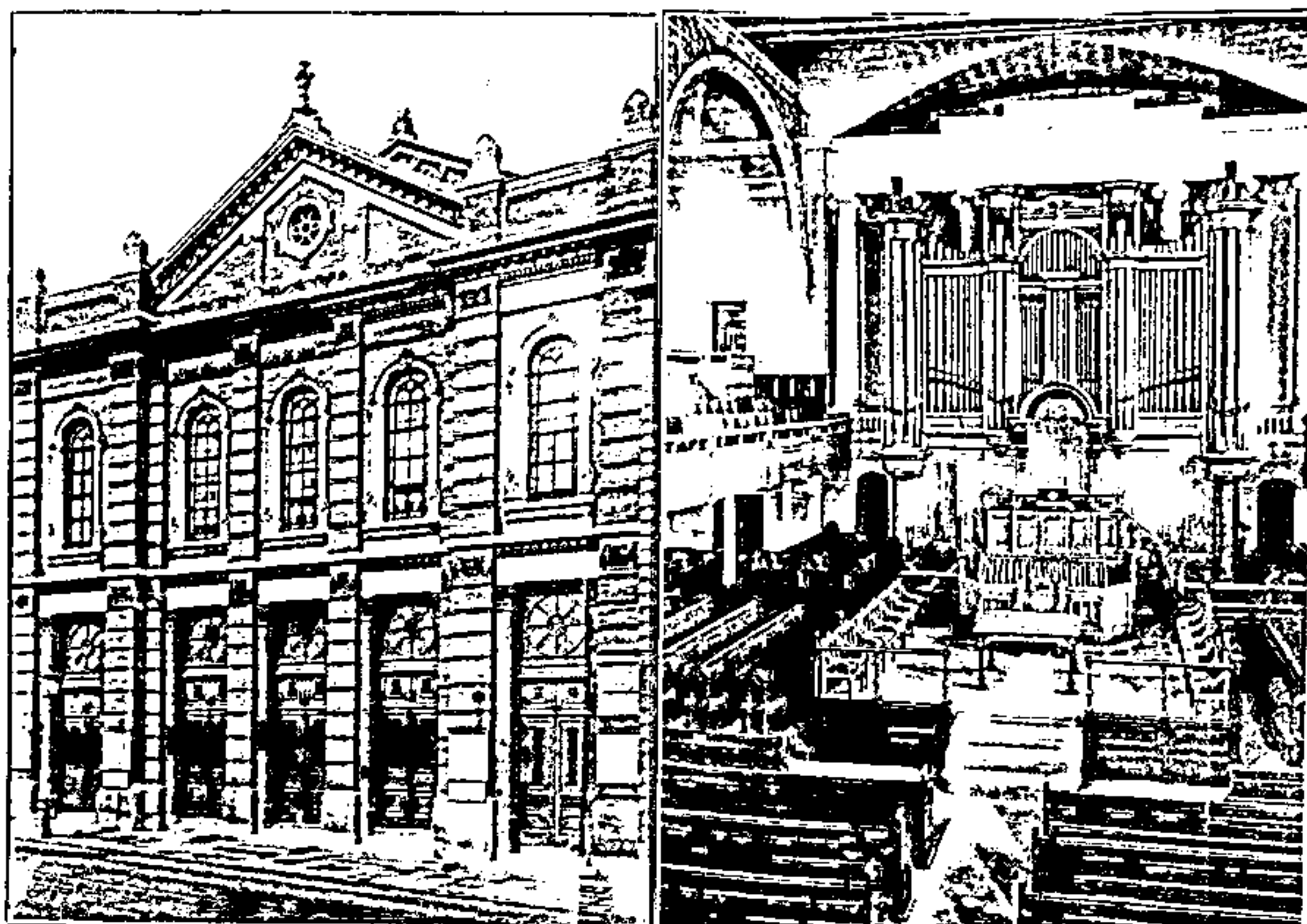
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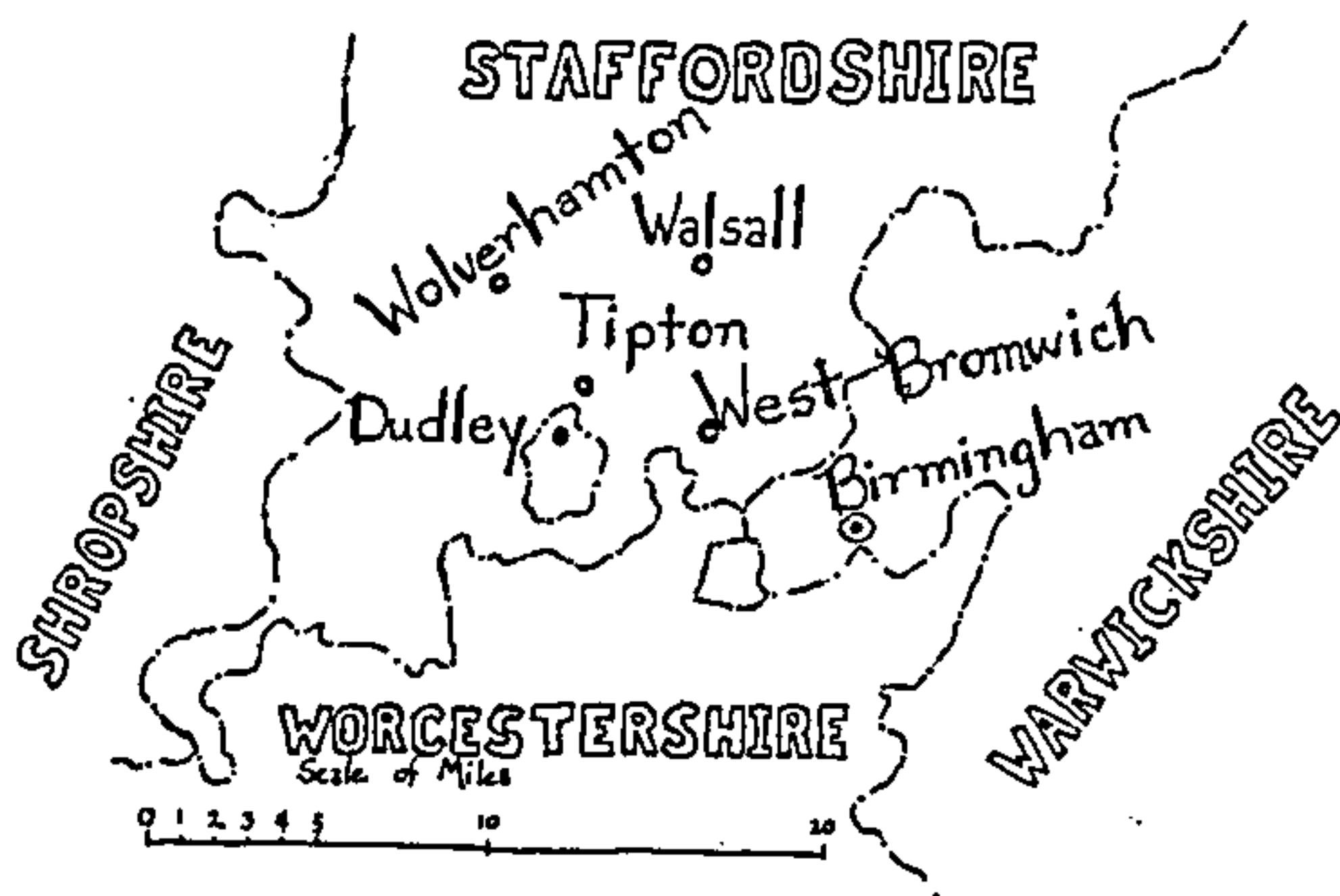
John Nock Hinton's Parents Atkins and Agnes Hinton.



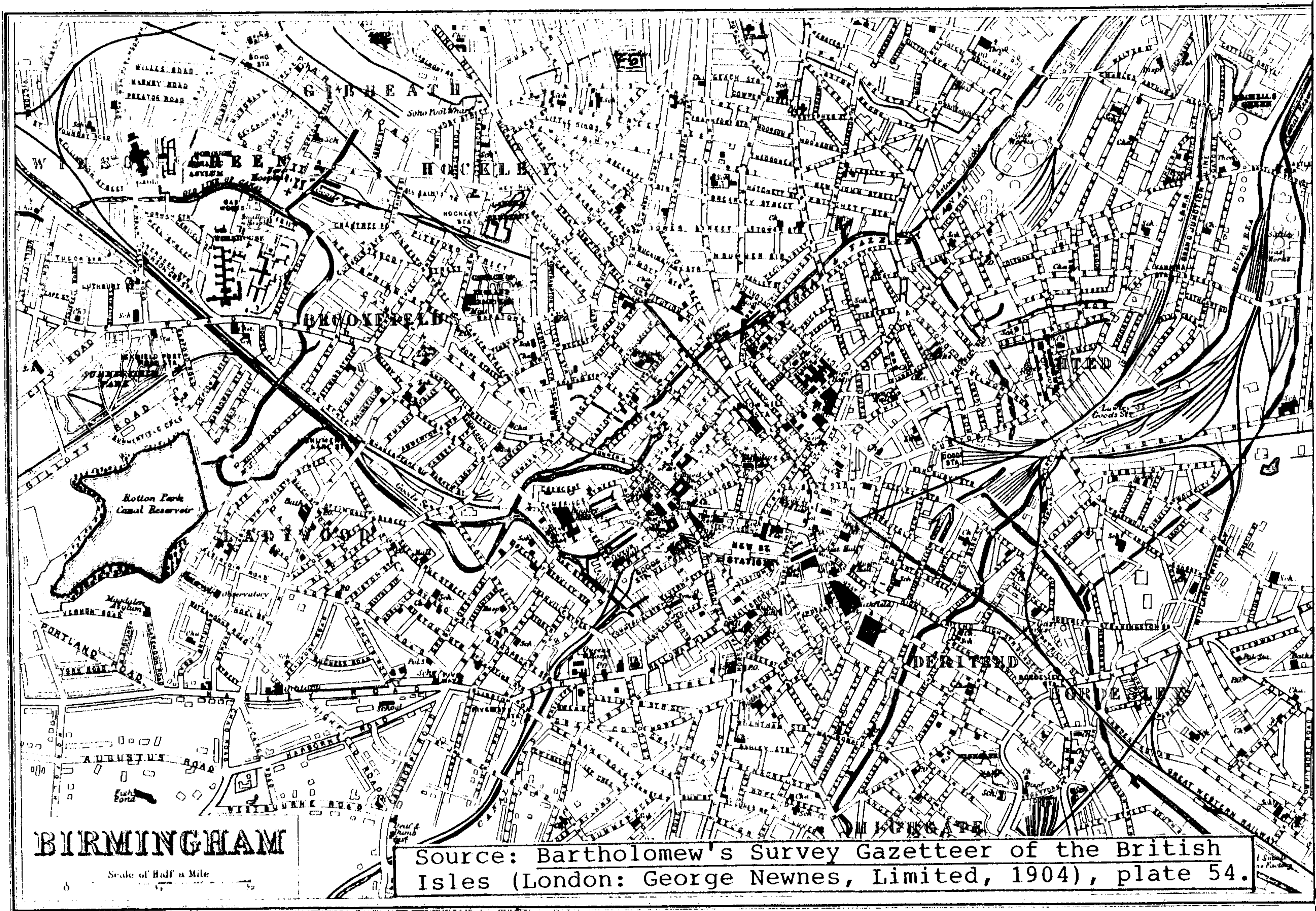
The Hinton Home on Bridge Street, Birmingham, line drawing by John D. Meeks.



Carr's Lane Independent Chapel, Birmingham.



Birmingham, England area, drawn by John D. Meeks.

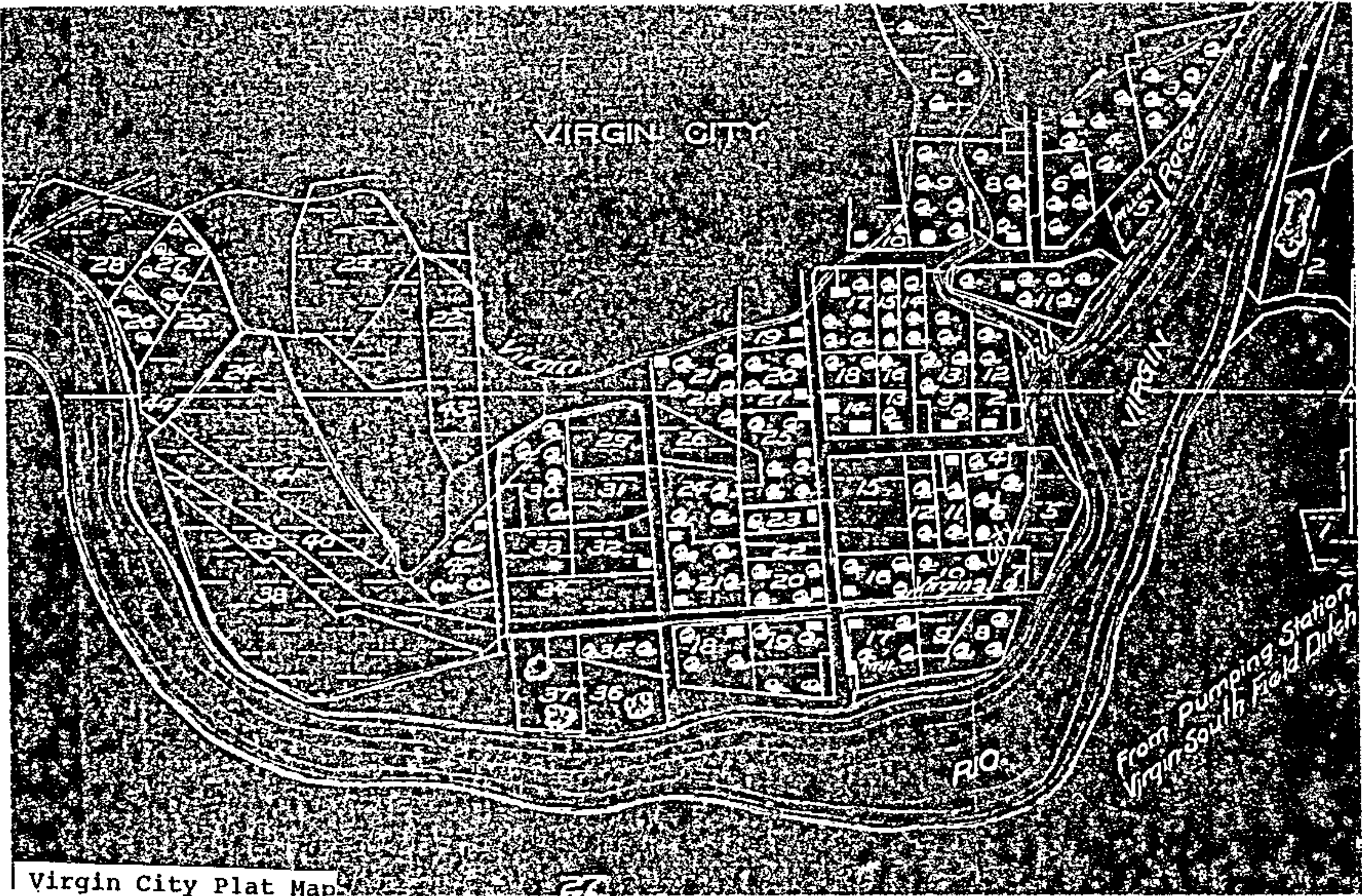


**BIRMINGHAM**

Scale of Half a Mile

Source: Bartholomew's Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles (London: George Newnes, Limited, 1904), plate 54.

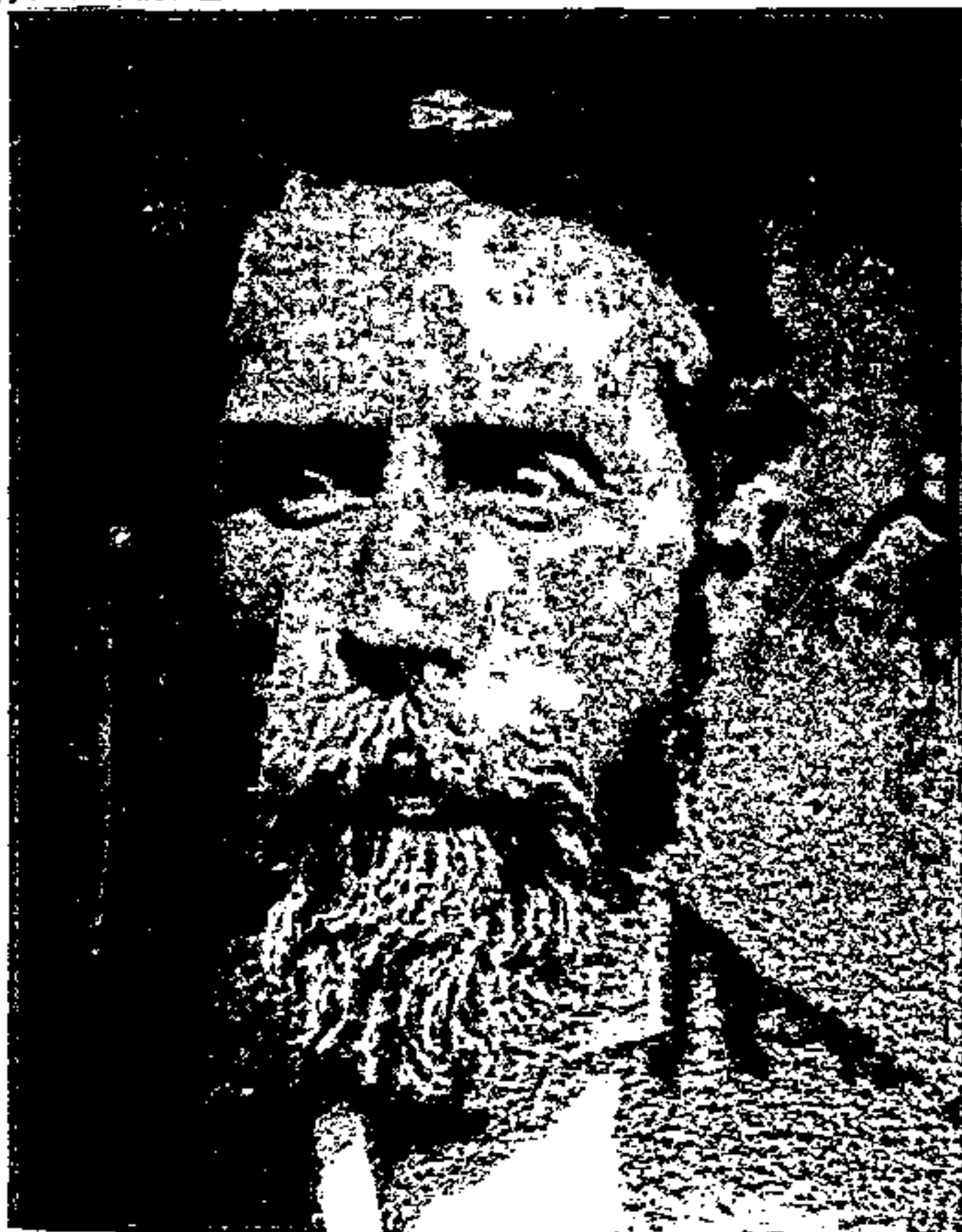
Source: Kane County Courthouse, Kanab, Utah.



Virgin City Plat Map



John and Emma Hinton  
with an unidentified  
daughter, about 1875.

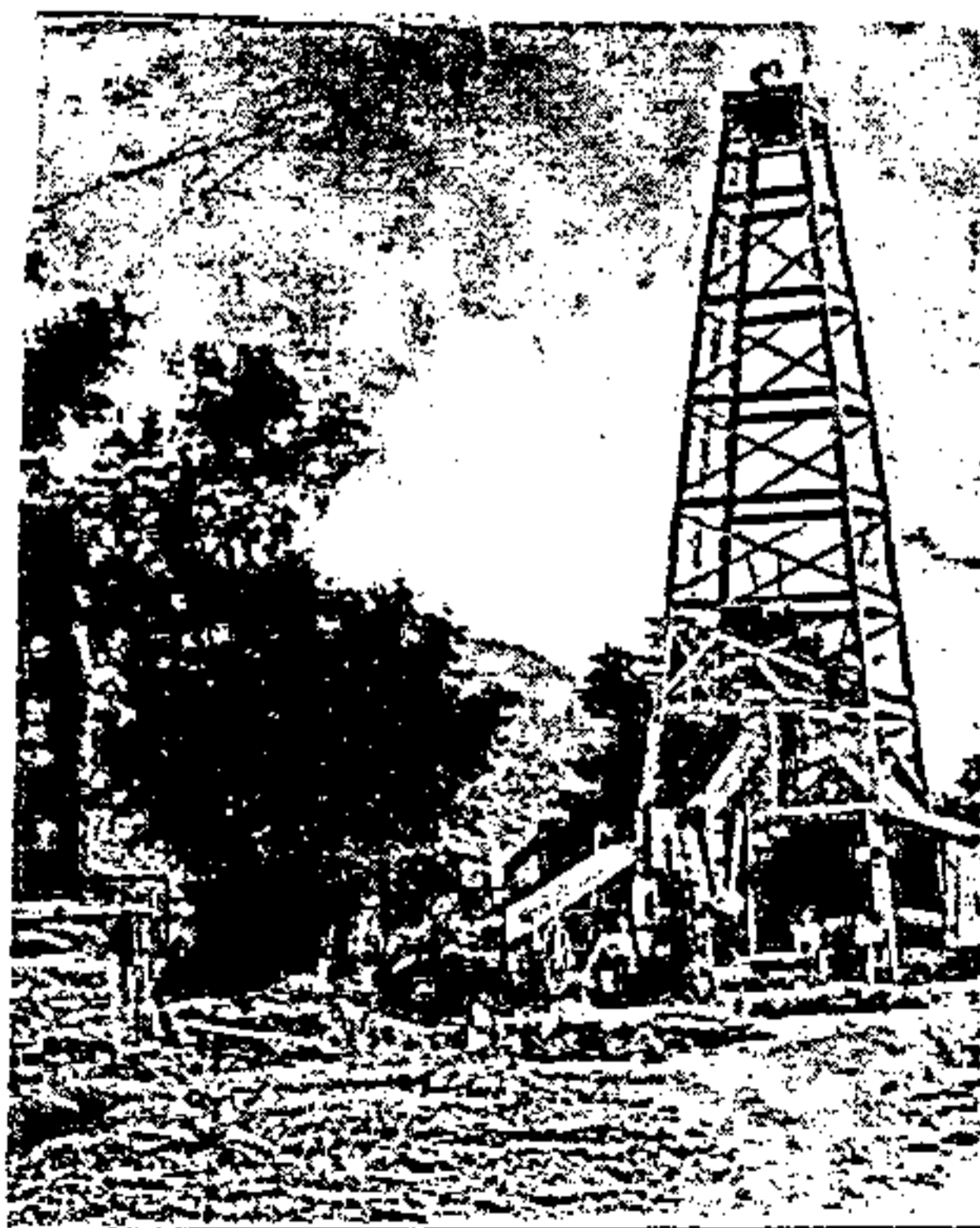


John Hinton  
about 1890.



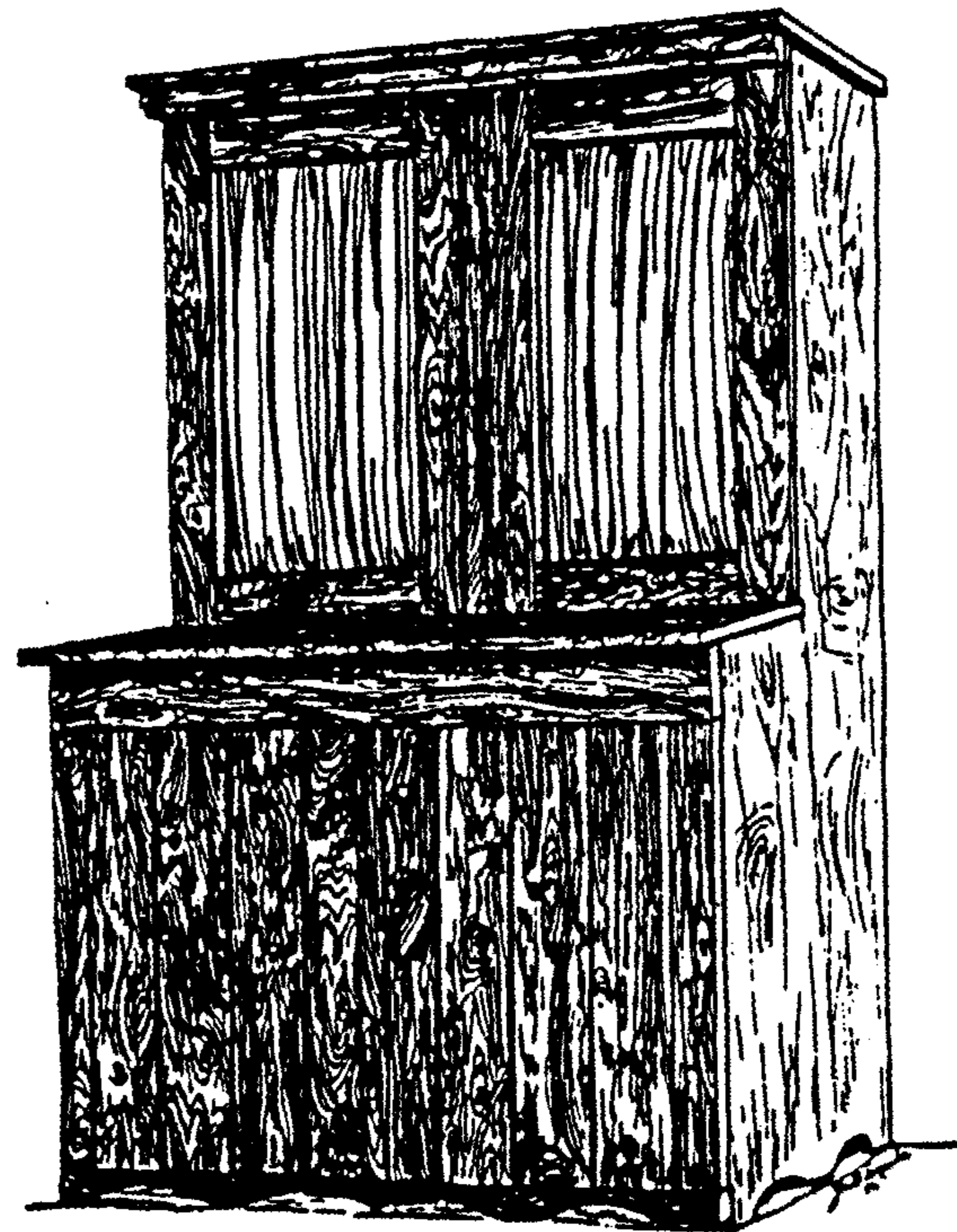
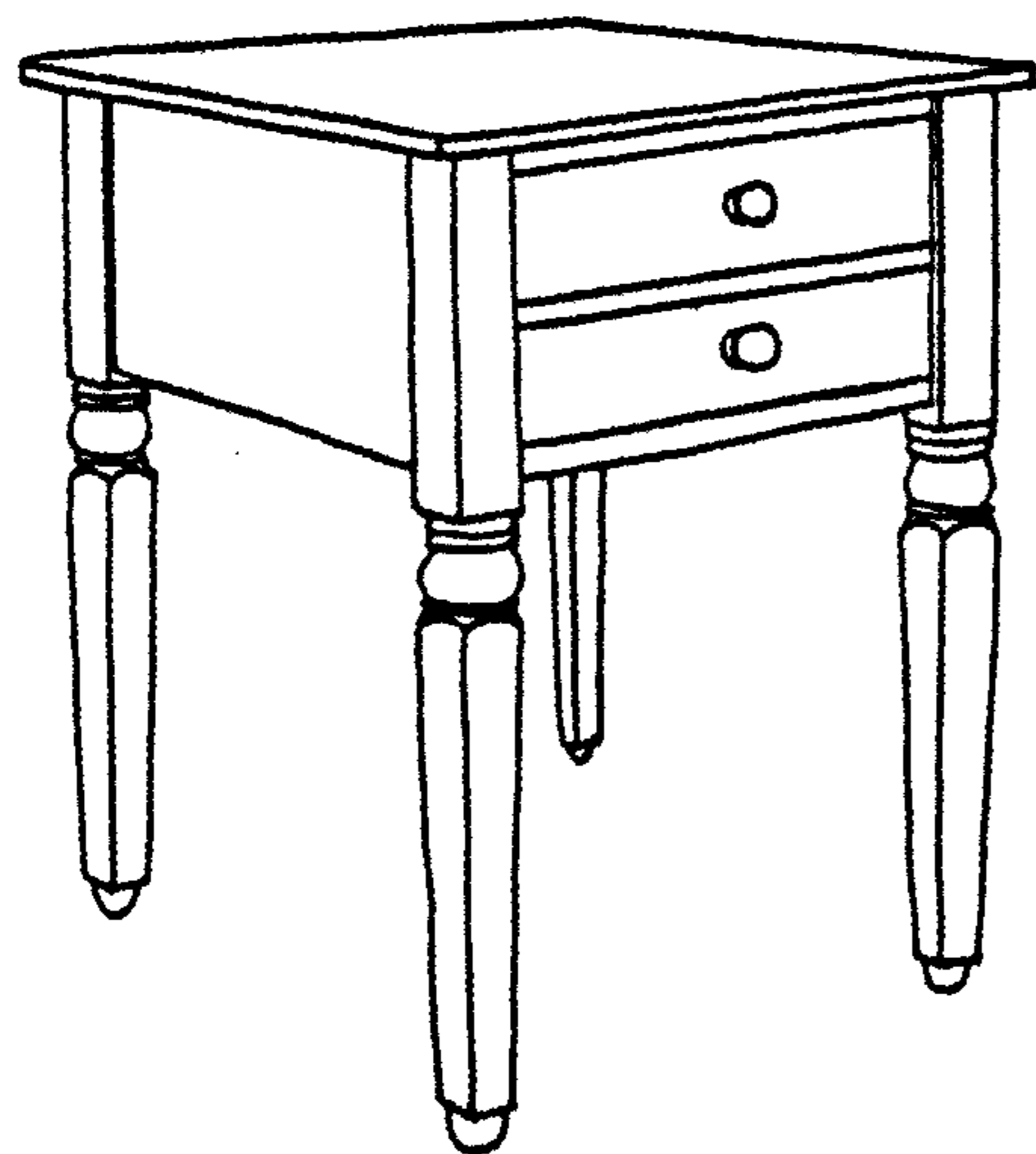
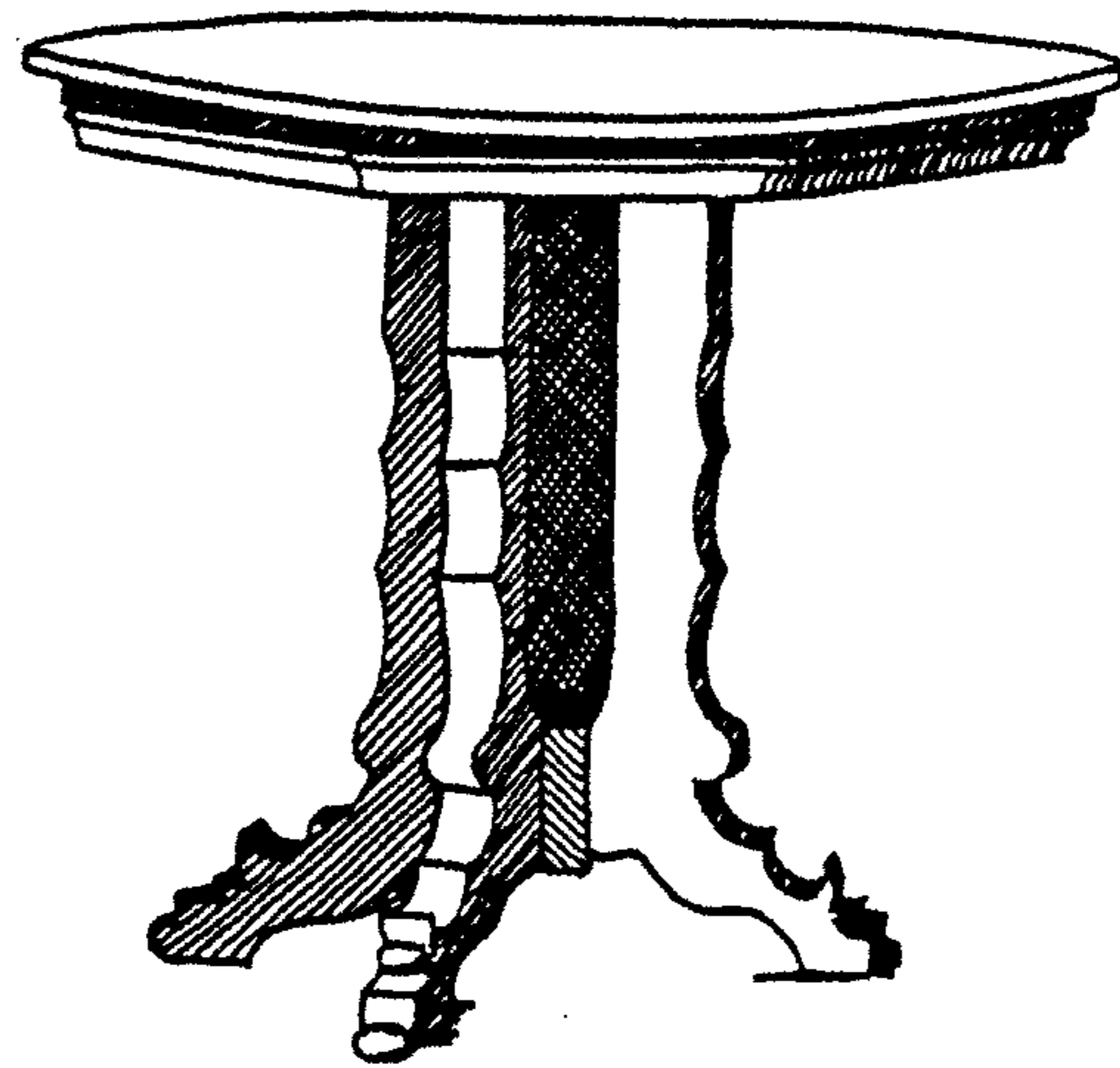
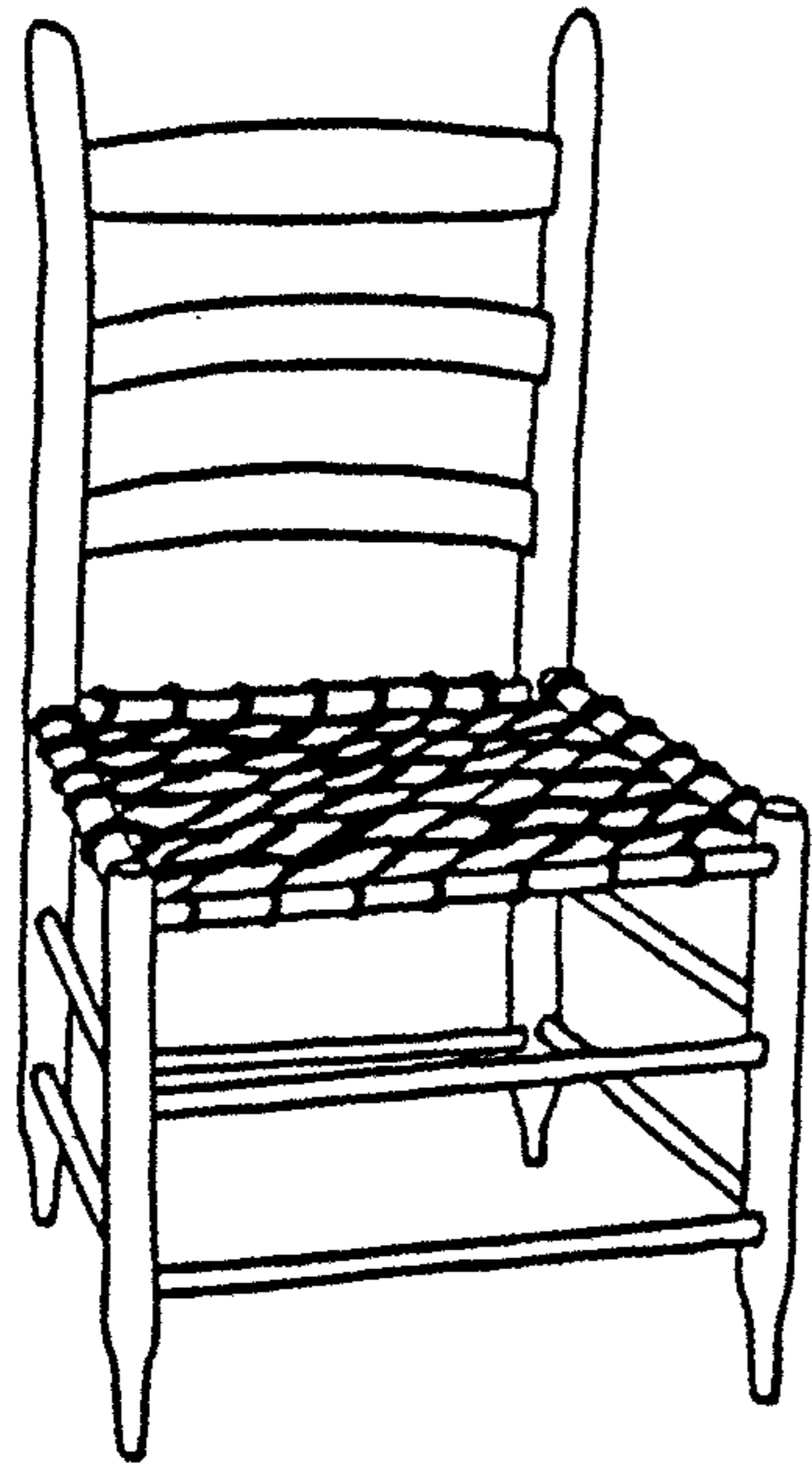
John's brother Atkins  
Hinton and his wife.

Postcard, Oil Well  
near Virgin, Utah.



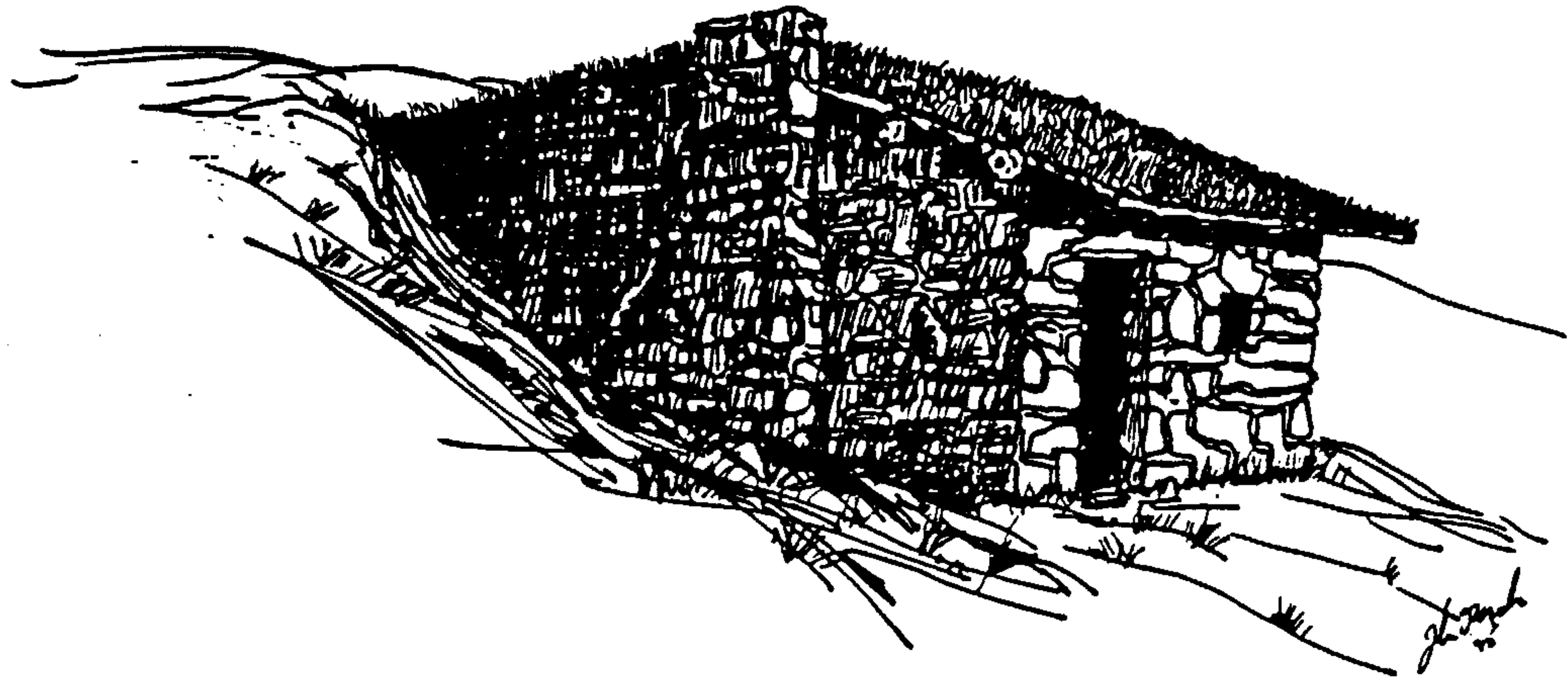
OIL WELL NEAR VIRGIN, UTAH.

RECORD PRINT, CECIL CITY, UTAH

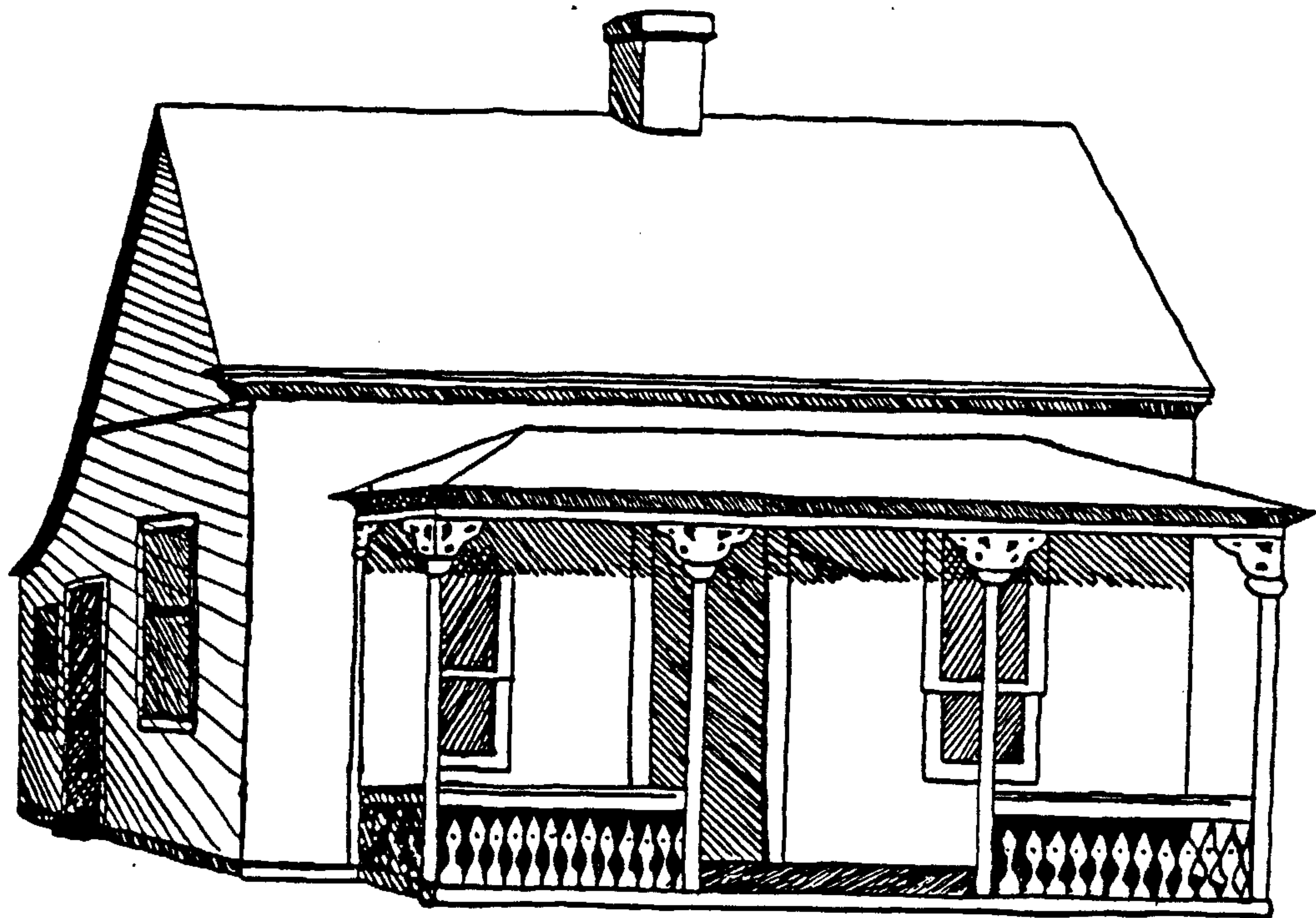


Furniture made by John Nock Hinton, line drawings  
by John D. Meeks.





A typical Virgin City, dugout, line drawing  
by John D. Meeks.



The home John built in Hurricane, Utah, line drawing  
by John D. Meeks.

JOHN NOCK HINTON: THE RECONSTRUCTED LIFE OF AN  
ENGLISH BORN MORMON CONVERT OF VIRGIN CITY, UTAH

Lenora Atkin Meeks

Department of History

M.A. Degree, April 1987

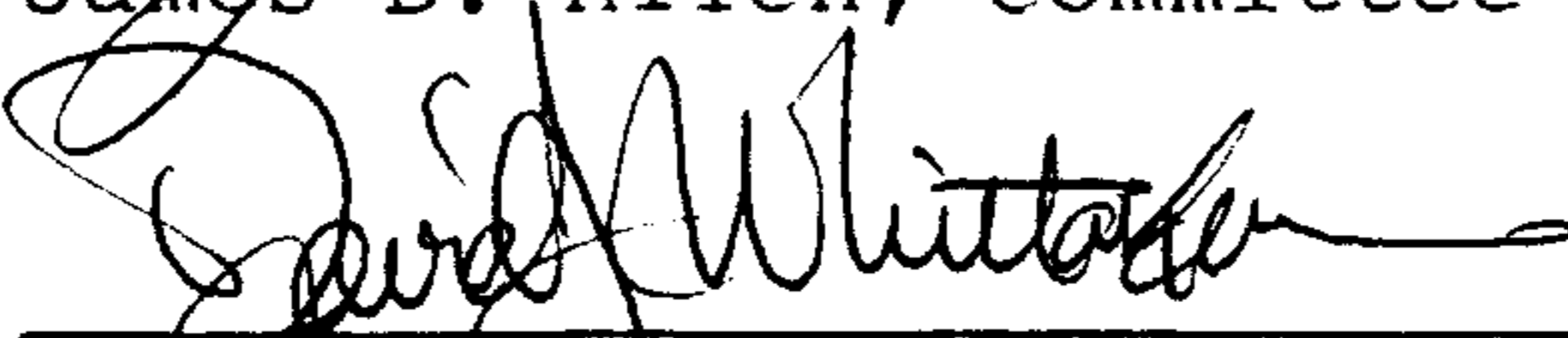
ABSTRACT

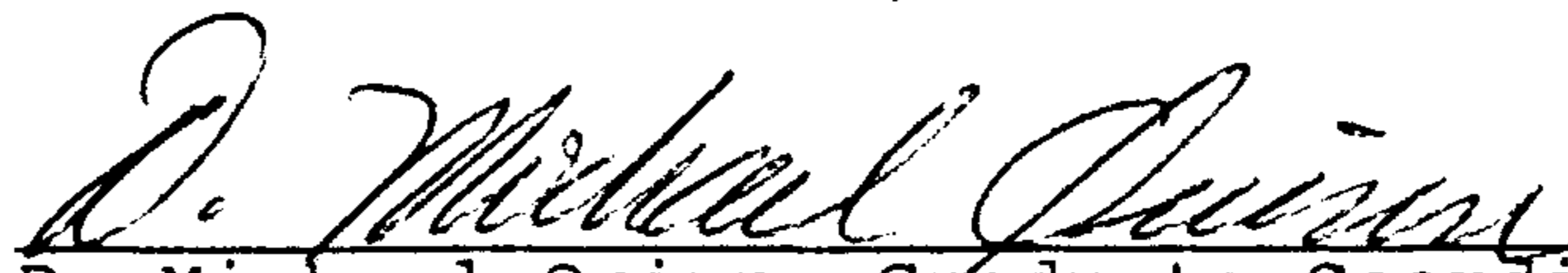
John Nock Hinton, an Englishman, was converted to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in Birmingham, Warwickshire, England in 1856. The motivating factor in his life, thereafter, was his strong conviction that the Church was the literal kingdom of God on the earth, and its leaders were God's prophets, and its mission was to usher in the last dispensation on the earth, the Millennium, and the second coming of the Savior. His duty, as he saw it, was to labor unceasingly to help accomplish that mission, to work out his own salvation, and to teach his children the doctrines of the faith.

This thesis is the reconstruction of the life of John Nock Hinton, a common, ordinary, lay member of the Church, who did not leave any personal writings. This was accomplished through a community history study and through the preserved records of persons whose lives touched his. The results have shown that a creditable biography can be written about such an individual.

COMMITTEE APPROVAL:

  
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David J. Whittaker, Committee Member

  
D. Michael Quinn, Graduate Coordinator