

A HISTORY *of* OGDEN



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Preface

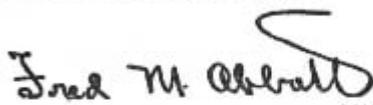
IN publishing a history of Ogden, the city commission performs a public service of first magnitude. Although Ogden is the only city in Utah whose history reaches unbrokenly back to the days of the trappers, and although it has become a major city in the Intermountain West, no adequate history of Ogden has ever been written, and no comprehensive examination of the city has been attempted for over fifty years. Those interested in the unusual story of Ogden's origin, development, and modern character have had to go to many sources, some reliable, others not, and nowhere has something approaching the entire dramatic story been available.

We must be grateful for those historical studies of Ogden which have been given the public. But the entire lack of an adequate history of the city, and the widespread desire that such a history be written, impelled the city commission to participate with the Historical Records Survey, a project operating under the Division of Professional and Service Projects of the Work Projects Administration, in writing and publishing *A History of Ogden*.

The Historical Records Survey in Utah is directed by Dee R. Bramwell and is under the immediate supervision of Hugh F. O'Neil, project editor. The history was written by Dale L. Morgan and is based on original and bibliographical research by the Historical Records Survey and the Federal Writers' Project. The Ogden City Commission and the Historical Records Survey wish to express their appreciation to the many people who have actively aided in the research, and particularly to W. H. Reeder, Jr., O. A. Kennedy, and Charles Kelly, who criticized the manuscript for accuracy in detail and interpretation.

It is the belief of the Ogden City Commission that the history of Ogden here presented will bring to the people of Ogden and Utah, and beyond Utah, to all those interested in the development of the American West, an invaluable understanding of this city.

OGDEN CITY COMMISSION


MAYOR


COMMISSIONER


COMMISSIONER

Ogden, Utah
October 1, 1940.

A HISTORY OF OGDEN

EARLY EXPLORATIONS

Call it an American city, a western city. Already you've said a great deal about Ogden: you've begun the tale of a city that has had a thousand dreams of destiny—a sober city, a rowdy city, a city that breathed history as it breathed life. The painted, brown-visaged Indian, the long-haired, hardy trapper, the explorer in government blue, the strong and stubborn emigrant, the jolting, white-topped prairie schooner, the brooding horseman against the sky, struggle under the stars and the sun with the sun-ravaged, sage-mottled earth . . . these are Ogden just as the city rising under the old Bonnevillean sea cliffs is Ogden, an idea, a memory, and a belief as well as an assemblage of buildings and people.

Sitting athwart a crossroads, and born of the relentless westward drive of the American people, Ogden has grown through ninety-five lively years, beginning with that day in 1844-45 when red headed Miles Goodyear brought down with a crash the first cottonwood log for his fort.

But long before Goodyear was born, history had been making in the Ogden region. The magnificent hills, majestically blue, or warming to tints of rose under the westering sun, go back to the childhood of the earth. Rocks in the semi-circle of mountains which shelter Ogden belong, indeed, to the first geological periods, the Archaeozoic and Proterozoic, and were laid down as the bed of a sea which antedated all life on earth. (1)

Later the Ogden site was covered to a depth of 850 feet by the great waters of Lake Bonneville, the Pleistocene lake which overspread western Utah and eastern Nevada; this inland sea extended on up through Ogden Canyon into the landlocked bay later called Ogden Hole. The mountains at Ogden still are deeply scarred by those ancient waters. As the lake receded, from 10,000 to 25,000 years ago, the turbulent Ogden and Weber rivers poured into its waters alluvial deposits to make great deltas under the hills. (2) Lake Bonneville at last shrank into the briny blue remnant which today glitters under the sun as Great Salt Lake, and soon the

1. Frederick J. Pack & A. C. Carrington, *Geologic and Economic Resources of Weber County, Salt Lake City*, 1921, p. 12.

2. G. K. Gilbert, *Lake Bonneville*, Washington, 1890, pp. 103, 106.

naked land was clothed with sage, greasewood, and grass. Indian inhabitants settled along the creeks.

Very little is known concerning these first Amerind peoples, except that they lived a simple hunting and seed-gathering life. Many centuries later, a corn-growing, pottery-making people dwelt in the region; along the banks of the Weber and Ogden rivers and even in the present Ogden city limits have been found mounds of burned adobe, ruins of ancient homes built of log, brush, and adobe, semi-subterranean and with a hole in the roof to serve both as chimney and door. Investigation of middens has disclosed pottery sherds, dart points, grinding stones for making meal, and other artifacts. Later, this agricultural people was replaced by a nomadic people thought to be of Uto-Aztecan stock or possibly Athapascan (Navajo), and sometime, prior to the coming of the whites, Shoshonean tribes became dominant in the region. (3) The hot springs at the mouth of Ogden Canyon, and at the base of Ben Lomond, venerated for their supposed medicinal value, may have attracted Indians from earliest times, for when the white trappers first appeared, Weber Canyon was a well-known trail used by Shoshoni, Utes, Crows, and even Sioux and Cheyennes. Other trails crossed the broad valley of the Great Salt Lake from north to south, and penetrated Cache Valley by way of North Ogden Canyon and Ogden's Hole. (4)

Escalante in 1776 did not come farther north than Utah Lake, and the course of the Astorian party of 1811-12, which may have wandered as far south as Bear River and Great Salt Lake, is not known with any definiteness. The white history of the Ogden region therefore begins in 1824-25, when Ashley's Fur Brigade poured into the Great Basin.

Ashley placed his famous want-ad in a St. Louis paper early in 1822, and soon after, the men so gathered were pressing up the Missouri River in quest of furs. But Ashley had no luck on the Missouri; one disaster after another occurred, and it was not until he abandoned that river to the Blackfeet, the Aricaras, and the American Fur Company, and dispatched his men up the Platte and thence into the transmontane country that he made his reputation and his fortune. Early in 1824, Etienne Provot or Jedediah Smith made the effective discovery of South Pass, the natural highroad through the Rockies, although the returning Astorians of 1812 seem to have gone eastward through the pass. By the

3. Neil K. Judd, *Archeological Observations North of the Rio Colorado*, Washington, 1926, pp. 4-17; Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, Washington, 1938, *passim*; Maurice L. Howe, "Long Before the Mormon Pioneers Came to Utah," *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, July 22, 1934. See also Steward's *Ancient Caves of the Great Salt Lake Region*, Washington, 1937.

4. Judd, *op. cit.*, p. 14; John Charles Fremont, *Memoirs of My Life*, Chicago, 1887, p. 228; Howard Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Great Salt Lake of Utah*, Philadelphia, 1852, pp. 80-83; J. Cecil Alter, *James Bridger*, Salt Lake City, 1925, p. 70.

autumn of 1824, an Ashley party already was as far west as Cache Valley, or, as it was at first known to the trappers, Willow Valley. Wintering there, the men began to argue as to the outlet of Bear River. Soon money began to talk, and to settle the wagers, young Jim Bridger embarked in a skin boat down the river. He floated to Bear River Bay, where he tasted salt water and imagined himself on an arm of the Pacific.

To Bridger thus belongs the historic discovery of Great Salt Lake, but Etienne Provot, who seems to have fought with a band of Snake Indians at the mouth of Weber Canyon in the autumn of 1824, may already have looked upon the bright waters of the lake before the fateful arguments began in Cache Valley. (5)

For five years the Great Salt Lake Valley was almost a second home for these lean, tough-fibered mountain men. In the winter of 1825-26 all the Ashley trappers wintered at the Ogden site, in company with a great band of Snake Indians. (6) During the summer of 1826, General William H. Ashley himself arrived from the east on the last of his two trips to the mountains. The previous year he had explored the Green River and the Uinta Basin; this year he came farther west, and in August sold out his interests to Jedediah Strong Smith, William L. Sublette, and David E. Jackson. It was from the Great Salt Lake rendezvous at the Ogden site, immediately after consummation of the sale, that Jedediah Smith, that hardy Methodist Yankee, on August 22, 1826, took seventeen men to explore the country to the southwest and complete the first overland journey of Anglo-Saxons to California. The trappers spread everywhere; on every creek struggling beaver succumbed to the steel jaws of their traps; one party, among whom was James Clyman, in 1825 or 1826 circumnavigated Great Salt Lake in bullboats, searching for beaver-laden streams. (7)

The name of Ogden dates from this time. Ogden Hole, Ogden Canyon, Ogden River, Mount Ogden, and, through these, Ogden City, all derived their name from Peter Skene Ogden, a brigade leader of the Hudson's Bay Company, who seems to have been in the vicinity in June, 1826, and probably the preceding year as well. Ogden, who was born in Quebec in 1794, the son of royalist American parents who had fled the United States after the American Revolution, had a distinguished career in the Pacific Northwest with the Hudson's Bay Company. He first discovered the Humboldt River in Nevada, which in 1828 he named Unknown River,

5. H. C. Dale, *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829*, Cleveland, 1918, pp. 103, 104. Alter, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 57, 58.

6. T. D. Bonner, *The Life and Adventures of James P. Backwourth*, New York, 1856, p. 100.

7. Maurice S. Sullivan, *The Travels of Jedediah Smith*, Santa Ana, 1934, pp. 19-26; H. M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, New York, 1935, vol. 1, pp. 283-285; Charles Camp, *James Clyman, American Frontiersman, 1792-1881*, Cleveland, 1928, p. 227.

but which was known as Ogden's River and Mary's River until Fremont in 1845 called it the Humboldt for Baron Alexander von Humboldt, who never laid eyes on the stream in his life. Ogden died in 1854 at Oregon City, Oregon. (8)

Not so simple is the question as to where the Weber River, and thus Weber County, got its name. A story, evidently composed of more moonshine than fact, is that the stream was named for a trapper, Weber, belonging to Ogden's party, who was killed and buried on the banks of the river; a variation of the same tale is that a Weber, member of Sublette's party, experienced this fate in 1828-29. But the Weber was so called as early as 1827, since Jedediah Smith called it "Webers river" in his journal of that year. A probable explanation is that the Weber was so named for a Captain John G. Weber, of Danish birth, who was with the Ashley trappers until the autumn of 1827. Captain Weber is said to have returned to St. Louis in 1827, and then, in 1832, to have removed to Galena, Illinois. From there, a few years later, he moved to Bellevue, Iowa, where he died in February, 1859. (9) But there is also a possibility that "Weber" is a corruption of "Weaver", and that the river took its name from some otherwise unidentified early trapper. In some early journals the river is called "Weaver's fork" and "Weaber's fork". Beckworth calls it Weaver.

After 1830, trapping became a thoroughly cut-throat business. The American Fur Company set out to ruin the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, which bought out Smith, Jackson and Sublette. The Hudson's Bay Company made it a three-cornered battle; ethics were thrown out the window, and for a decade the trapping business in the mountains was drunken and murderous. By 1840 the American Fur Company emerged on top, but by then the bottom had fallen out of the market for beaver, owing to the fact that men's hats began to be made of silk rather than of beaver fur. It was just as well for the dogged little dam builder that fashion looked elsewhere, for another few years of such relentless trapping might have rendered him extinct.

By the time Osborne Russell, a trapper out of Fort Hall, visited the Ogden region in 1840-41, most of the mountain men were withdrawing into the fastnesses of the hills with a squaw or two, or they were settling down in fixed posts like that Jim Bridger was soon to establish on Black's Fork of the Green River. Russell

8. T. C. Elliott, "Peter Skene Ogden, Fur Trader," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, vol. 11, September, 1910, passim; T. C. Elliott, "Journal of the (Peter Skene Ogden) Snake Expedition, 1828-29," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, vol. 11, December, 1910, p. 358.

9. "Salt Lake in 1823", letter by J. C. Hughey of Bellevue, Iowa, printed in *The Salt Lake Tribune*, July 4, 1897. The letter makes several exaggerated statements—that Weber had been associated with Ashley and Andrew Henry in the organization of Ashley's fur company, and that Weber discovered Great Salt Lake in 1823—but there is perhaps a kernel of truth in the story; the honor has been definitely claimed for no other person.

spent the winter leisurely in Great Salt Lake Valley, and his journal is perhaps the first detailed description of the Ogden region.

On December 20, 1840, he wrote, "We moved along the borders of the lake about ten miles and encamped on a considerable stream running into it called Weaver's River. At this place the valley is about ten miles wide, intersected with numerous springs of salt and fresh hot and cold water, which rise at the foot of the mountain and run through the valley into the river and lake. Weaver's River is well timbered along its banks, principally with cottonwood and box elder. There are also large groves of sugar maple, pine and some oak growing in the ravines about the mountains. We also found large numbers of elk which had left the mountains to winter among the thickets of wood and brush along the river." In January he wrote further, "The (stream on the) right was called Weaver's Fork and on the left Ogden's, both coming through the mountain in a deep narrow cut. The mountain was very high, steep and rugged. Rising abruptly from the plain about the foot of it were small rolling hills abounding with springs of fresh water. The land bordering on the river and along the stream was rich, black, alluvial deposit, but the high land was gravelly and covered with wild sage, with here and there a growth of scrubby oaks and red cedars [junipers]." (10)

Russell spent Christmas Day of 1840 on the lower Weber, and had a high time. "It was agreed on by the party", he says, "to prepare a Christmas dinner, but I shall first endeavor to describe the party and then the dinner. I have already said the man who was the proprietor of the [Indian] lodge in which I staid was a Frenchman with a Flathead wife and one child. The inmates of the next lodge were a halfbreed Iowa, a Nez Perce wife and two children, his wife's brother and another halfbreed; next lodge was a halfbreed Cree, his wife (a Nez Perce) two children and a Snake Indian. The inmates of the third lodge was a halfbreed Snake, his wife (a Nez Perce) and two children. The remainder were fifteen lodges of Snake Indians. Three of the party spoke English but were very broken, therefore that language was made but little use of, as I was familiar with the Canadian French and Indian tongue.

"About ten o'clock we sat down to dinner in the lodge where I staid which was the most spacious, being about thirty-six feet in circumference at the base, with a fire built in the center. Around this sat on clean epishemores all who claimed kin to the white man . . . with their legs crossed in true Turkish style, and now for the dinner.

10. Osborne Russell, *Journal of a Trapper*, Boise, 1921, p. 114, 117.

"The first dish that came on was a large tin pan eighteen inches in diameter, rounding full of stewed elk meat. The next dish was similar to the first, heaped up with boiled deer meat (or as the whites would call it, venison, a term not used in the mountains). The third and fourth dishes were equal in size to the first, containing a boiled flour pudding, prepared with dried fruit, accompanied by four quarts of sauce made by the juice of sour berries and sugar. Then came the cakes, followed by about six gallons of strong coffee ready sweetened, with tin cups and pans to drink out of, large chips or pieces of bark supplying the places of plates. On being ready, the butcher knives were drawn and the eating commenced at the word given by the landlady. As all dinners are accompanied by conversation, this was not deficient in that respect. The principal topic which was discussed was the political affairs of the Rocky Mountains, the state of government among the different tribes, the personal characters of the most distinguished warrior chiefs, etc. One remarked that the Snake chief, Pahda-hewakunda, was becoming very unpopular and it was the opinion of the Snakes in general that Noh-woom-hah, his brother, would be at the head of affairs before twelve months, as his village already amounted to more than three hundred lodges, and, moreover, he was supported by the bravest men in the nation, among whom were Ink-a-tosh-a-pop, Fibe-bo-un-to-wat-see, and Who-sha-kik [later famous to the Mormons as Washakie], who were the pillars of the nation and at whose names the Blackfeet quaked with fear. In like manner were the characters of the principal chiefs of the Bannock, Nez Perce, Flathead and Crow nations and the policy of their respective nations commented upon by the descendants of Shen and Japhet with as much affected dignity as if they could have read their own names when written, or distinguished the letter B from Bull's foot.

"Dinner being over, the tobacco pipes were filled and lighted, while the squaws and children cleared away the remains of the feast to one side of the lodge, where they held a sociable tete-a-tete over the fragments. After the pipes were extinguished all agreed to have a frolic shooting at a mark, which occupied the remainder of the day." (11)

Aside from the feasting and the gossip, this Christmas had little in common with those which commenced eight years later in Mormon homes, but the amount and variety of food would have gladdened the hearts of many Ogdenites in the lean years of the fifties.

After a hunting trip in Ogden Hole and a visit to the Utes in Utah Valley, in the spring of 1841 Russel turned north with his

11. Osborne Russell, *Journal of a Trapper, Boise, 1921*, pp. 114-116.

party to Fort Hall. His withdrawal stands almost as a symbol of the vanquishing of the trapper by the emigrant, for in the same year, 1841, the first emigrant wagon tracks were made across Utah, the Bartleson-Bidwell party circling the north shore of Great Salt Lake enroute to California. (12)

But real emigration through and into the valley of the Great Salt Lake waited upon the explorations and published reports of John Charles Fremont. Two years later Fremont, who was, if not the "Great Pathfinder" he came to be called, a superb path-marker for emigrants, encamped on the Weber River and rowed down it in a rubber boat to Great Salt Lake. Accompanied by the famous Kit Carson and three others, he rowed across the lake to what he called "Disappointment Island", but was subsequently renamed in his honor by Captain Howard Stansbury. Quite oblivious of the venturesome trappers who had circumnavigated the lake when he was a schoolboy, Fremont happily thought himself the first to navigate the salt waters. He made the first scientific examination of the lake, and drew the first reliable maps of the Weber country, before he went on to Fort Hall, enroute to Oregon and California. (13)

Next year, Fremont came up the Spanish Trail from California, turning east at Utah Lake and leaving Utah via the Uinta Basin and Brown's Hole. Arriving in Washington, he published his report. Already the trickle of Oregon emigration was becoming a bright stream—in 1843 Dr. Marcus Whitman took the first wagons through to the Willamette Valley, and the next year the first emigrant wagons descended the lofty Sierra Nevadas in California—but Fremont's reports aroused a fire in the hearts of men all along the western frontier, and they fell also into the hands of the Mormons, who in 1844 were involved in the difficulties which were to end in the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith and the exodus from Nauvoo. From Fremont's book the Rockies stood forth, beyond horizons, a lure and a promise, truly the "Shining Mountains" they had once been called.

One man, at least, had no need of Fremont's reports to know the land of his heart's desire. In late 1844 or 1845 Miles Good-year established on the site of Ogden the only year-long abode of white men in the entire territory now comprising Utah, which antedated the coming of the Mormon pioneers and has been continuously occupied from the days of the trappers to the present. Antoine Robidoux in 1831 or 1832 had located a fort in the Uinta

12. See John A. Bidwell, "The First Emigrant Train to California," *Century Magazine*, vol. 19, November, 1890, pp. 106-130; and see also Charles Kelly, "The Salt Desert Trail", *Utah Historical Quarterly*, vol. 3, April, 1930, pp. 35-56, which is a somewhat more detailed account than is found in Kelly's book, *Salt Desert Trails*, Salt Lake City, 1930.

13. Fremont, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-236.

Basin, and Philip Thompson and William Craig in 1837 had built Fort Davy Crockett in Brown's Hole, but both of these establishments had been abandoned by the end of 1844.

Born February 24, 1817, in Connecticut, and left an orphan at the age of two, Miles Goodyear at ten was "bound out" for six years to a Connecticut farmer. Immediately upon expiration of the contract, early in 1834, he began working his way toward the western frontier. In April, 1836, near Fort Leavenworth, he was accepted as a member of the Marcus Whitman company which was bound for Oregon. He accompanied the Whitman party and a fur company caravan under "Broken Hand" (Thomas Fitzpatrick), which travelled with them, first to the rendezvous of 1836 on Horse Creek in Wyoming, and thence westward as far as Fort Hall, built on the Snake River in 1834 by Nathaniel Wyeth. Two white women in Whitman's party were the first to cross the continental divide. Whitman was obstinately determined to take the first wagon through to the Pacific Coast, and Goodyear had had enough of wagon wheels by the time the party arrived at Fort Hall. He quit. Whitman took the wheels as far as Fort Boise, then abandoned the project and went on to Oregon. Goodyear, however, remained at Fort Hall, where he worked for awhile before beginning trapping operations in all directions from the Hudson's Bay Company post. About 1840 he evidently was converted to the superior advantages of wedded life, as he married the daughter of a Ute chief. Perhaps the added responsibility had something to do with his decision, during or after the winter of 1844-45, to settle down at the confluence of the Weber and Ogden Rivers. (14)

The Connecticut Yankee blood in Goodyear shows in his choice of location. The magnificent view of hills and lake was doubtless an influence, but scenery is not usually enough even for red-headed Yankees. "The spot," say Goodyear's biographers, "also had an economic importance. Water was always plentiful, even in dry seasons; the soil was rich; winters were not too severe; trout, grouse, waterfowl, deer, elk, and mountain sheep were to be had for the taking. The place was also ideally located for trading purposes, being at the junction of two well-traveled Indian trails, while the Weber's mouth a few miles to the west, had long been a wintering place for hundreds of Shoshone Indians. It was within reasonable distance of Fort Hall, his principal base of supplies, and was also on a logical emigrant route advocated by Fremont." (15)

The home Goodyear erected was not a white mansion upon a hill; in Connecticut it would have been frowned upon even as a woodshed or chicken coop. It was simply a cabin built of cotton-

14. Charles Kelly and Maurice L. Howe, *Miles Goodyear*, Salt Lake City, 1937, pp. 14-52.

15. Charles Kelly & Maurice L. Howe, *Miles Goodyear*, Salt Lake City, 1937, p. 52.

wood logs, located on the Weber River approximately at what is now 28th street in Ogden. There was, when John R. McBride saw it in 1846, (16) no stockade or corral, nor any garden, though all of these presently were added. But it was a home, and rather more winterproof and livable than an Indian lodge; indeed, the cabin was so well built that it housed settlers long after Goodyear was dust, and today is preserved on Tabernacle Square in Ogden, placed there in 1928 by the Weber County Chapter of the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, to whom it had been presented by Mrs. Minerva P. Stone Shaw, who had fortunately interested herself in its preservation. Few other "first homes" are preserved in the United States.

Goodyear spent most of 1846 "on the road", first trapping in the Yellowstone region and then taking his furs and hides to southern California, but nevertheless he found time to build a stockade of logs set upright in the ground, enclosing two or three log buildings and an adjoining corral where livestock was penned at night. Pleased by the imposing appearance of his post, Goodyear cast about for a likely name. He settled upon "Fort Buena-ventura", for the mythical river then widely believed to rise somewhere in the desert west and drain into San Francisco Bay.

That same year Mormon immigration into the region was foreshadowed by the passing of emigrant trains hardly a whoop and a holler from Goodyear's establishment. The Mormons were in full flight from Nauvoo, gathering on the Iowa plains, but before their arrival a tragic chapter in western history was written by trail-breaking emigrants.

Responsible for that chapter was Lansford W. Hastings, a headstrong ambitious dreamer who had journeyed to Oregon and thence to California in 1842. Struck with the idea that he might wrest California from Mexico, and set up an empire for himself if only he could win sufficient backing. He went east to write *The Emigrant's Guide to Oregon and California*, a work of press-agentry calculated to lure emigrants to the Pacific. Hastings returned to California in 1845, shortly after Fremont, on his third expedition to the Rockies, had pioneered a new route across the salt desert west of Great Salt Lake. (17) Hastings turned east in the spring of 1846, to meet the Oregon emigration and persuade companies to turn off to California; he accompanied Jame Clyman's party as guide, and induced this party, mounted on horses, to attempt the salt desert trail instead of following the familiar circuitous path north to Fort Hall. Traveling light, the little company crossed the

16. John R. McBride, "Pioneer Days in the Mountains", *Tulidge's Quarterly Magazine*, vol. 3, July, 1884.

17. Kelly, *Salt Desert Trails*, pp. 16-20.

dread desert without undue difficulty, and proceeded, via Parley's, the Weber, and Echo Canyons, to the Oregon trail. (18)

There Hastings' enthusiasm worked on three emigrant parties, who turned their faces west toward the valley of the Great Salt Lake. First of these was the Bryant-Russell company, which was skeptical about the route for wagons, but thought they themselves would make out, traveling light on horses. This party found its westward way to Ogden's Hole via South Fork Canyon; in Ogden's Hole they were baffled by the wild gorge of the Ogden, nor did they find the Indian trail through North Ogden Canyon; after much searching, they crossed the divide south into lower Weber Canyon, and via an Indian trail down that canyon, finally emerged into Great Salt Lake Valley, whence they rode southward around the lake and west over the salt desert to the Humboldt River. (19)

Hastings himself led the first wagon train, the Harlen-Young party. This company penetrated the Weber Canyon gorge only by terrible labor, and the tragically famous Donner-Reed party following behind, was advised not to attempt lower Weber Canyon but to cut southwest across the mountains at Henefer. Following this advice, the Donners opened the trail up East Canyon and down Emigration Canyon used next year by the Mormons, but the back-breaking labor of making a road through the stubborn underbrush, and the nightmarish crossing of the salt desert, so exhausted and delayed the company that they were caught by fall snows in the Sierra Nevada passes, and nearly half the party perished of starvation at Donner Lake before rescuers reached them in February. (20)

While these emigrants were passing, Goodyear was in the Yellowstone area trading for tanned buckskin. His establishment on the Weber was not even seen by these passers-by, being shielded from view by a long ridge, and by the cottonwood trees among which it was built. In the fall of 1846 he returned to his post, perhaps noting with surprise the deep ruts of the wagons Hastings had guided, and went on to southern California with his skins, selling them there to Fremont, whose California Volunteers, consisting of trappers and emigrants banded together for action in the war which had broken out with Mexico earlier in the year, were desperately in need of clothing. In the spring of 1847, as soon as the passes east of San Francisco were open, he turned east with a herd of horses which he intended selling to emigrants on the Oregon Trail. He traversed the salt desert, followed the Donner trail

18. Camp., *op cit.*, pp. 203-224.

19. Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California*, New York, 1848, pp. 150-193.

20. Kelly, *Salt Desert Trails*, pp. 73-78. For the full story of the Donner Party, see George R. Stewart's *Ordeal by Hunger*, New York, 1936, or Hoffman Birney's *Grim Journey*, New York, 1934.

from Emigration Canyon to the Weber, and crossed over to the Bear River near what is now called Myers Crossing, southeast of the present Evanston in Wyoming. There, on July 10, 1847, he was visited by scouts of the Mormon vanguard, Porter Rockwell, George Albert Smith, Erastus Snow, and Norton Jacobs. (21)

Although by profession a trapper and trader, Goodyear evidently had some native gift for the real estate profession, for at once he enthusiastically commended his site on the Weber as a place for the Mormons to settle. The next day he took Porter Rockwell down the Weber to inspect the route. But all Goodyear's enthusiasm could not explain away the road. The Weber Canyon was meant for eagles, not for wagons. Brigham Young would never come that way; Rockwell turned back. Hearing Rockwell's report, Young ordered the Mormons to follow the Donner trail. (22) On July 21 the first Latter-day Saint emerged from the Wasatch Mountains into Salt Lake Valley, followed during the next three days by the other members of the pioneer company. Utah had been stamped characteristically for history.

COLONIZATION

The cataclysmic gorge of the Weber had deprived Ogden of first place among Utah cities, but Goodyear's location soon became attractive to Mormon eyes. In early August one of the exploring parties sent out by Brigham Young arrived at the fort on the Weber. John Brown, one of those scouts, in his journal described the occasion: "On Monday, August 9, 1847, I started north with a little exploring company with Captain James Brown and others on their way to California. At Weber River we found the fort of Mr. Goodyear which consisted of some log buildings and corrals stockaded in with pickets. This man had a small garden of vegetables, also a few stalks of corn, and although it had been neglected, it looked well, which proved to us that with proper cultivation it would do well." (23) The garden was reported to be fifteen yards square, with "beans ripe, corn in tassell, etc." (24) All through August the progress of that corn was watched with anxious attention by Mormon travelers, for on the question of whether or not corn would grow in the region was believed to depend its habitability for the Saints.

Prior to his departure for Winter Quarters on August 26, Brigham Young gave instructions that Goodyear was, if possible, to be bought out. Very likely he wished Mormon control of the

21. Kelly & Howe, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-75.

23. John Brown, Journal, p. 47, quoted in L. D. S. Journal History, MS., August 14, 1847.

24. George A. Smith, Journal, p. 364, quoted in *idem*.

region to be complete, the history of the church in the midwest offering a harsh example of what could come of having gentile (non-Mormon) neighbors. A gentile establishment only forty miles away from the church headquarters could serve as a nucleus for other non-Mormons, as well as a refuge for apostates, and might also serve to limit Mormon expansion, which Young possibly envisioned already. The richness of the Weber River delta may also have been an influence. It had been demonstrated that crops could be raised there, while Salt Lake Valley had still to be put to the proof.

That Goodyear's establishment might easily have proved a rallying point for disaffected spirits was shown as early as the first week of October.

To the High Council in Great Salt Lake City, which had been nominated to rule over the Mormon colonists, report was brought on October 6, 1847, that William Weeks, Hazen Kimball, William Gardner, and another settler named Babcock, together with their families and teams, had gone north to Goodyear's establishment. The High Council on October 7 wrote a letter to these men, requesting them to return; they promised to do so, but, the marshal reported on October 11, "they had made use of harsh remarks, 'did not like so much bondage, etc.'" They took their time about returning, and on October 24, the marshal, John Van Cott, was instructed to take nine men and bring in Weeks and the others. On November 3 the marshal reported that "Weeks and Kimball were camped near by and that Babcock and Gardner were near the Warm Springs, with Gardner's brothers and fathers." The men seem not, however, to have been reconciled, Kimball going to California next year, while Weeks and his wife ultimately were disfellowshipped by the church. (25)

This incident has been somewhat misrepresented, contention being made that no one had the right to dictate where these settlers might locate. (26) It should be recognized that group responsibility was conceived as overruling personal inclination; had the Mormons in Utah scattered according to individual whim, the Mormon conquest of the desert would never have been possible. Group organization alone enabled the Saints to cope with an adverse environment; and the settlers acknowledged the right of their leaders to give and enforce such "counsel".

The first consideration given the idea of buying out Goodyear was on November 9, 1847, when Henry G. Sherwood reported Brigham Young's counsel to him "about buying out Goodyear and

25. L. D. S. Journal History, October 6, 7, 11, 24; November 3, 1847.

26. Kelly & Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

27. L. D. S. Journal History, November 9, 11, 1847.

the property, situation, etc.; terms \$2000 dollars cash down." Ira Eldredge, Daniel Spencer, and Henry G. Sherwood were appointed a committee to see if the means could be raised, but in all likelihood there was not \$500 in the camp, not to speak of \$2,000. On the 11th the committee reported its lack of success, and was discharged. (27)

A few days later, however, Captain James Brown returned from California with \$3,000 back pay of the Pueblo detachment of the Mormon Battalion. The money having come so conveniently to hand, the High Council met in special session on November 20 and "decided that Henry G. Sherwood and Capt. James Brown should purchase the Goodyear place and property, if it could be obtained on fair terms". Goodyear had come to the Mormon settlement on the 16th. On the 25th the transaction was completed, Goodyear turning over for \$1,950 a deed to the land, all his improvements, seventy-five cattle, seventy-five goats, twelve sheep, six horses, and a cat he had bought earlier in the year from one of the Mormons. He retained his furs, skins, traps, and the greater part of his horses. (28)

Many vague tales have been told about a "Mexican grant" bought by Brown from Goodyear, the supposed concession "commencing at the mouth of Weber Canyon and following the base of the mountains north to the hot springs; thence west to the Salt Lake; then south along the shore to a point opposite Weber Canyon; thence east to the beginning". (29) Such a grant would have comprised virtually all of modern Weber County west of the Wasatch Mountains. This "Spanish" or "Mexican" grant, as it was variously called, was assigned to several dates, usually 1841.

The land grant, however, appears to have been entirely fictional—it may have been the latent real estate agent in Goodyear breaking out once more—and there is no reason to believe that any Mexican deed to the land ever existed except in Goodyear's imagination. The United States Government, which acquired possession of the entire California region after ratification of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which was signed February 2, 1848, never recognized any Mexican grant in the Utah area, nor is it recorded that anyone ever saw the document in question. Goodyear's right like those of the Mormons, were squatter's rights.

28. *Ibid.*, November 20, 1847; letter, Andrew Goodyear to William Goodyear quoted in Kelly & Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 96. The purchase price has been variously given. The appropriation of \$2,000, from Battalion funds is authenticated by the letter from John L. Smith to G. A. Smith, dated January 12, 1848, quoted in L. D. S. Journal History; payment of \$1,950 is authenticated by letter, John Smith, et al., to Brigham Young, et al., March 6, 1848. The second letter gives as \$5,000 the Battalion fund brought by Brown, but the investigations of Charles Kelly indicate that the entire sum owed Battalion members by the government could have been little in excess of \$3,000.

29. Kelly & Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

Doubtless his improvements were worth the price, but he must have pulled solemnly at his nose as, weighed down by his new wealth, he rode south to California. (30)

Goodyear traversed Utah several times again, one of these trips being a remarkable feat in which he took a great herd of horses, 4,000 miles from Los Angeles to Missouri, and back across the intermountain west to Sutter's Fort, before dying of a fever on the Yuba River in California on November 12, 1849. Ogden's first citizen, he did not long survive transplanting.

Miles Goodyear was Ogden's heritage from the trappers, the bridge to the days of the mountain men, a slender thread to the years when the West lay virgin to any dream. His place in Ogden history was taken by quite another kind of symbol as Captain James Brown followed his sons to Fort Buenaventura.

Alexander and Jesse Brown were sent by their father to look after the Goodyear property on January 12, 1848, just twenty-one days after the mountaineer rode south down Salt Lake Valley toward California. On March 6, 1848, Brown moved his family to the settlement, accompanied by the families of Henry C. Chilton (Skelton?), Louis B. Myers, and George W. Thurlkill. (31) A few days later these first settlers were followed by Robert Crow, Reuben Henry, Artemus Sprague, Daniel Burch, William Stewart, Mrs. Ruth Stewart, and Urban Van Stewart. (32) Two trappers named Briggs and Burrows, along with an unnamed Mexican boy who had been living at the fort, likewise joined the colony. Most of these immigrants had been associated with the "Mississippi Saints", who had wintered with Brown at Pueblo. "Buenaventura" was not a name to stir the Browns to enthusiasm, and so they cast about for something more substantial. "Brown's Fort" appeared much more satisfactory, and "Brownsville" perhaps even better; until the name of Ogden was bestowed in 1850, either name served equally well, and Buenaventura not at all.

Just why Captain Brown should have fallen heir to all Goodyear's stock, and have exercised almost a proprietary interest in the Ogden lands, is far from clear. Certainly the money with which Goodyear was bought out did not belong to Brown, regardless of everything that has been written on the subject. Mormon Battalion funds were used, and only the extraordinary character

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-147; see also appendix, "Mexican Land Grants in Utah", in Utah Historical Records Survey, *Inventory of the County Archives of Utah*, No. 29, Weber County, Ogden, 1940.

31. Letter, John Smith, et al. to Brigham Young, et al., March 6, 1848, quoted in L. D. S. Journal History, of this date.

32. Kelly & Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 134. Urban Stewart's first name has been variously and incorrectly given as Irvin, Ivin, and Irwin. Kelly & Howe listed Dr. William Ludlow McIntyre as among the second group, but he did not come to Utah until 1849, or to Ogden until 1852. McIntyre was the first physician in Ogden.

of the contemporaneous Mormon social organization made justifiable such public use of funds which properly belonged to individual battalion members. Tullidge has vaguely said that Brown bought out Goodyear with "his own proportion and accumulations while in the service and in probable business gains on his recent trip" (33), but the former sum could not have amounted to much, while if he made thousands of dollars in the two days between the time he reached the coast and the time he turned back to Salt Lake Valley with the Battalion funds, he was a financier whose talents deserved more scope than was afforded by the desert valleys of Utah. It has been observed, in any event, that the purchase was made under the direction of the High Council, and that Henry G. Sherwood, who is heard of no more in connection with Ogden, participated in the negotiations.

The Brown family, regardless, took possession of Goodyear's cabins and livestock, the other settlers scattering along the Weber two miles south of the fort and near the mouth of Weber Canyon, some also settling along Ogden River. During the spring of 1848 the Browns plowed a considerable tract of land, planting it to wheat and perhaps some corn, though Ambrose Shaw later claimed to have raised the first corn, in 1850. That first planting resulted in a hundred bushels of wheat, and since this was a year in which frost, drought, and crickets ravaged the crops in Salt Lake Valley, a harvest of this proportions was enough to overjoy the Mormon settlers. Until the crop matured, the Browns lived on supplies brought from Fort Hall and on the dairy produce they had acquired from Goodyear. The cows are said to have supplied several thousand pounds of cheese and butter. (34) Certainly Brown had no reason to regret the Goodyear transaction.

Enroute to Great Salt Lake Valley, where he intended surveying Great Salt Lake, Captain Howard Stansbury came down South Fork through Ogden Hole and North Ogden Canyon in 1849, arriving at Brown's Fort on the night of August 27. The settlement he described as "an extensive assemblage of log buildings, picketed, stockaded, and surrounded by out-buildings and cattle yards, the whole affording evidence of comfort and abundance far greater than I had expected to see in so new a settlement". But Mormon hospitality for once was not in evidence: "Upon requesting food and lodging for the night, we were told, to our great surprise, that we could not be accommodated, nor would the occupants sell us so much as an egg or a cup of milk, so that we were obliged to remount our horses; and we actually bivouacked

33. Edward W. Tullidge, *Histories of Utah*, vol. 2, Salt Lake City, 1889, (Biographical Supplement, p. 109).

34. Kelly & Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Tullidge, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 12.

under some willows, within a hundred yards of this inhospitable dwelling, turning our animals loose, and guarding them all night, lest, in search of food, they should damage the crops of this surly Nabal. From a neighboring plantation we procured what we needed; otherwise we should have been obliged to go supperless to bed." (35)

Stansbury brought his expedition west amid all the hurly-burly of the gold rush; indeed, only sixteen days after he left Fort Leavenworth, on June 16, 1849, the first goldseekers arrived in Salt Lake Valley. California emigrants by the thousand poured through the Mormon settlements detouring south from the Oregon Trail to buy supplies at Great Salt Lake City, and then turning north by way of the Brownsville settlement to Fort Hall and the California trail; very few attempted the hazardous Hastings' Cut-Off across the salt desert.

The Mormons traded their vegetables and livestock to these emigrants for manufactured goods of every kind, but not many were persuaded to join the frenzied race to the gold fields; indeed, Mormons already in California, who had participated in the initial discovery, were glad to turn their backs on El Dorado and climb to the lofty desert valleys where their people were settling. Brigham Young sternly rebuked those who cast longing eyes westward. "If you elders of Israel want to go to the gold mines, go and be damned. If you go, I would not give a picayune to keep you from damnation." Gold, he said, was for paving streets, covering houses, and making culinary dishes. When the Lord desired the people to possess the treasures of the earth, he would open the doors of His storehouse, and shower riches upon them. Until then, the people should stay at home, build houses, and make their fields green. (36)

He talked a language strange to other settlers in the west, but a language the Saints understood. Gold and all the treasures of the earth were ephemeral things; the Kingdom of God would be everlasting, and the Kingdom was being built up by the labors of the humble. What were riches on earth compared to glories in heaven? It was better to starve struggling with stubborn-rooted sagebrush, with sun-blistered earth, with endless, wind-carved horizons, than to live in idleness by despoiling the earth of a yellow metal.

Some of the Brownsville settlers were drawn away by the glitter of gold, but the majority had more resistance to the "yellow fever", and settled down to make their living from the land.

35. Stansbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 84.

36. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Utah*, San Francisco, 1889, pp. 303, 304.

A few discontented settlers were always being drawn westward, as is shown by the occasional melancholy report of the assessor and collector, after organization of Weber County in 1852, that a taxpayer had "gone to California" without the formality of settling his accounts, (37) but their place was taken by clouds of new Mormon immigrants.

Early in 1850 Brown's Fort was relocated on higher ground, a quarter mile southeast of the first site, the flooding Weber River having threatened to wash the whole establishment away. Brigham Young already had advocated a new site, on a visit to Brownsville on September 3, 1849, a week after Stansbury's passage through the Weber Valley. The town, he said, should be laid out "on the south side of Ogden's Fork at the point of bench land so that the waters from the Weber River and Ogden's Fork might be taken out for irrigation and other purposes". Descending the sand hill from which he had "viewed out" the location for the town, he heard Ezra Chase boast about the fertility of the land. It was, Chase affirmed, "very productive for grain", and it would yield "a hundred bushels of crickets to the acre and fifty bushels of mosquitoes". (38)

In removing his buildings, Brown was more concerned with the Weber River than with the far-sighted advice of Brigham Young. The Mormon leader came north again in August of 1850 to lay out the site which next February the legislature was to describe as Ogden City. "He counselled the brethren not to settle in the country but to move on to the city lots, build good houses, school houses, meeting houses, and other public buildings, fence their gardens and plant out fruit trees, that Ogden might be a permanent city and suitable headquarters for the northern country." (39)

By this time the settlement on the Weber had taken on more impressive proportions, and was really beginning to acquire an individual identity. As early as February 14, 1849, the Saints in the region were organized as a Latter-day Saint ward, James Brown being named bishop, (40) and as immigration to the north continued, the church authorities in Great Salt Lake City in late January of 1850 sent Lorin Farr to live at Ogden and organize a Weber branch of the church. Farr became at once the most influential man in the region, a distinction he held to his death. Under

37. Report of Territorial Tax Assessed in Weber County for 1855, document in Weber County Clerk's vault, Ogden, Utah. Funds are noted also as having been remitted and allowed "for services as collectors posse" (posse), as also because "Emigrant went off without paying".

38. L. D. S. Journal History, September 1-3, 1849.

39. *The Deseret News*, vol. 1, p. 95. See also L. D. S. Journal History, August 28, 1850.

40. L. D. S. Journal History, February 14, 1849.

his direction the Weber branch was organized, comprising Ogden first and second wards, an organization which the following January was elaborated into the Weber Stake of Zion. (41)

Other settlements than Ogden by 1850 had begun to emerge; in the autumn of 1848 the colony later called Farr's Fort was located north of the Ogden River, and it was here in 1850 that Lorin Farr built his grist and saw mill; Marriott, northwest of Ogden, also saw building activities; and settlers were casting appraising eyes over the sites of Riverdale, Uintah, Bingham's Fort (Lynne), Slaterville, Harrisville, and North Ogden. (42) The sage-clad land looked barren, but the Saints had already discovered what wonders could be worked by irrigation, and nowhere was the soil richer than here on the Weber delta.

By 1850, too, the northern settlements had become dignified as Weber County. The Mormons had organized no civil government, except that which proceeded from the church organization, until March 1849, when a constitution for the "Provisional State of Deseret" was drawn up, and officers elected. The General Assembly of Deseret met for the first time in July 1849, but no legislation was passed until the second session began, on December 1. The first counties were created on January 28, 1850, approved by Brigham Young as governor on January 31. Aside from Weber, these initial counties were Great Salt Lake, Utah, Tuilla, San Pete, and Little Salt Lake (Iron). Ogden was named the seat of the northernmost county, the first recorded use of this name. (43) The county was not organized, however, until April 24, 1852. The presence of the church in the region made civil governments somewhat superfluous; if the settlers lived according to the laws of God, they would have no need of the laws of man.

THE FIFTIES

In many ways 1850 was an eventful year. The first store was established in Ogden by a Mr. DeVorsen, (44) and the first schoolhouse was erected, although, during the previous autumn, school had been conducted in a private house near Brown's Fort by Charilla Abbott. (45) The spirit of education here counted for more

41. Tullidge, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 21.

42. For information on settlements in Weber County other than Ogden, which will be treated only incidentally here, see Utah Historical Records Survey, *Inventory of the County Archives of Utah*, No. 29, *Weber County*, Ogden, 1940.

43. *Ordinances of the State of Deseret*, 1850, pp. 28, 29. The ordinances are reprinted, with a long historical study of the State of Deseret, in *Utah Historical Quarterly*, April—July—October, 1940.

44. Merlin J. Stone, (Untitled) MS.

45. Mrs. Abie Abbott Zundell, *Biography of Charilla Abbott Browning*, MS., Tullidge, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-237.

than the equipment, for slab benches served as seats, and there were no tables or desks, and very few books. An alphabet was secured from scraps of paper and old books, the letters being pasted on wooden paddles. The census for 1850 found 155 students, and listed B. S. Lockwood as schoolmaster, and Nelson Slater and John Page as teachers. Fourteen persons over twenty years of age were found illiterate, but whether these found time to attend school may be doubted. Of the twenty-seven who died in Weber County during the year 1849-50, eighteen died of cholera, that deadly scourge of emigrants. Total population was 1,141, and was drawn from an amazing assortment of occupations. Practically everybody was a farmer, but the census deigned to list only two hundred as such. The census was quite as visionary in listing "laborers", finding only twenty-four, though it may be believed that everyone knew the life of the laborer. Otherwise the census found twenty blacksmiths, nineteen carpenters, ten tailors, eight masons, six school teachers, five coopers, shoemakers, sailors, and merchants, three saddlers, millwrights, and yeomen (gentlemen farmers who hired their work done), two wagon makers and tenders, and one gardener, clerk, "tannier and currier", potter, machinist, engineer, woodcarver, dentist, cabinet-maker, soapmaker, dairyman, wheelwright, printer, peddler, book-binder, baker, artist, chairmaker, tinner, draper, butcher, soldier, sailmaker, stonecutter, and saddletree maker. Triumphantly, the census also listed a five year old Indian girl named Fanny. (46)

The sailors and the sailmakers doubtless put in more time making tents, awnings, and wagon covers than in sailing the "briny shallow" west of Ogden, and the printer, bookbinder, and artist must either have changed occupations or starved to death. The soldier, however, probably found scope for his talents, since on March 10, 1850, the first brigade of the Weber County militia was formed, consisting of two regiments in which virtually every able-bodied man was enrolled. Cyrus Canfield was made captain, and Francello Durfee first lieutenant. (47)

There was need for a militia when Indian relations took a grim turn in September.

Brigham Young had consistently advised against the settlers' scattering too carelessly along the Ogden and Weber rivers; the Utes, Paiutes, and Shoshoni on the whole had been friendly, but something might happen to change Indian relations, and the people then would be glad of solidly fortified settlements. Now the force of his reasoning was demonstrated.

46. Weber County Census, 1850, document in Weber County clerk's vault; printed by the Historical Records Survey, Ogden, 1937.

47. Leo Haefeli & Frank J. Cannon, *Directory of Ogden City and Weber County*, 1883, Ogden, 1883, pp. 31, 32.

A band of Shoshoni had been encamped near Ogden, and on September 15, 1850, these Indians left to winter on the Bear River. Terikee, the chief, delayed by friendly farewells, departed some hours after the rest of the band, and encamped for the night near the farm of Urban Stewart, on Four Mile Creek at what is now Harrisville. Stewart, hearing the Indian in his corn, ordered him out, and went in the house to get his gun. Terikee had not yet left when Stewart, accompanied by another young man, came out. Stewart evidently lost his temper when Terikee, again ordered to leave, was too slow about it. He fired at the Indian, but his gun did not go off. The other young man also fired. He missed, but Stewart's second shot killed the Indian. Now regretting his rash act, Stewart fled to Ogden for safety. The next morning a band of Utes in the vicinity, who heard of the death, buried the chief. In alarm, Lorin Farr wrote Brigham Young for advice, requesting that Dimick B. Huntington or Barney Ward, Indian interpreters, come to Ogden at once to talk to the Indians. The Shoshoni were a powerful tribe, and their vengeance was to be feared. Indian relations already were precarious enough, a combat with Utes having taken place in February at Battle Creek (now Pleasant Grove) in Utah Valley. Farr feared that when Terikee's band received the news, nothing would satisfy them short of the surrender of Stewart. (48)

The Shoshoni tribe, indeed, returned in ugly temper, burning Stewart's house and grain, and killing an emigrant millwright named Campbell, who had been employed by Lorin Farr. Unless Stewart was given up to them by nine o'clock of the 17th, they threatened, they would massacre the Ogden inhabitants and burn Ogden.

The authorities in Great Salt Lake City sent Dimick B. Huntington to pacify the Indians, and dispatched troops to aid the Weber citizens in their defense, these troops being instructed not to take an aggressive role. The Shoshones fled north before the soldiery, carrying with them some horses and cattle. The Utes remained quietly in the district, and after being temporarily imprisoned, were urged to move south "to their usual place of abode". The Shoshoni returned in the spring, and occasional difficulties with them were experienced for some years, but relations between the Indians and the Ogden settlers gradually improved. Stewart, however, dared not remain; he lived in California for awhile, and finally settled in central Utah. He came under censure for having caused the Saints such trouble; Willard Richards and Heber C. Kimball wrote to Brigham Young, "The act of shooting Terikee was, to say the least, very foolish, and how far it is wisdom to

48. Letter, Lorin Farr to Brigham Young, September 16, 1850; original in possession of the L. D. S. Church Historian's office.

save the lives of such men as Stewart, to the sacrifice of the Saints, is a question to be decided at a future time." (49)

A great proportion of the immigration of 1850-51 was directed into the Weber region by Brigham Young. So considerable was this immigration that in 1851 it became necessary to survey the townsite, the settlers thereupon settling on the city lots. The outlying sections were divided into districts which comprised forts. (50) Mound Fort extended from the present 12th Street to 9th Street, and from the west side of what is now Washington Avenue to the west side of the mound, which was cut down on that side to present a precipitous face, the other three sides being protected by a mud wall about nine feet high. The wall was built about 1854. Bingham's Fort on present 2nd Street, about a block and a half west of Five Points, occupied land on both sides of 2nd Street, and a stockade was erected about the fort during 1854-55. Farr's Fort, which was never enclosed by a wall, was located near the junction of the present 12th Street and Canyon Road. (51) All of these forts subsequently were absorbed by the expanding young city of Ogden.

Ogden itself began to be less theoretical and more real in 1851. On February 6, of that year the General Assembly of the State of Deseret incorporated Ogden, second only to Great Salt Lake City, declaring the boundaries to comprise all that territory "beginning at the base of the mountain due east of the present mill dam on Weber River, and running due west to the south end of said mill dam; thence continuing the same a due west course to a point due south of the confluence of the Weber and Ogden rivers; thence due north to the confluence of the said rivers to a point due west of the mouth of Ogden-hole Canyon; thence east to the mouth of Ogden-hole Canyon; thence in a southerly direction, along the base of the mountain to the place of beginning". The city council was given jurisdiction over the control of the water and timber throughout the city limits. (52)

To administer the new city there was created a city council, to consist of a mayor, four aldermen, and nine councilors. The council was given authority to levy and collect taxes on all taxable property within the city limits, though a maximum tax rate of

49. Letter, Willard Richards to Lorin Farr, September 17, 1850; letter, Willard Richards & Heber C. Kimball to Brigham Young, September 17, 1850, quoted in L. D. S. Journal History of this date; *The Deseret News*, vol. 1, p. 115. Tullidge's account (*op. cit.*, pp. 15-19) supplies details not otherwise available and on the whole is reliable. *The Deseret News* version above incorrectly ascribes the responsibility for the whole affair to emigrant misdeeds and consequent Indian "deprivations".

50. Tullidge, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 23, 24.

51. O. A. Kennedy, "Historic Spots in Ogden and Its Vicinity," *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, April, 19, 1925.

52. *Ordinances of the State of Deseret*, 1851, p. 35.

one-half per cent per year was established, and to appoint a recorder, treasurer, assessor and collector, marshal, supervisor of streets, and all other such officers as might be necessary. The council further was authorized to undertake an almost infinite variety of duties, including the establishment of schools and hospitals, the construction of water and street-lighting systems, necessary city buildings, and city streets; licensing; and regulation of diseases. (53) Without much change, the city council ruled Ogden until January 1, 1912, when the modern city government of mayor and two commissioners was established in Ogden. The 1912 change to the commission form of government incorporated features of what was known as the Galveston plan, and was in conformance with a 1911 act of the legislature governing "cities of the second class". (54) Whenever the legislature began talking about "cities of the second class", Ogden always had to prick up its ears, for that designation has applied exclusively to Ogden.

The first Ogden city officers appear to have been appointed by the governor and legislature of the State of Deseret, and confirmed by the people in an election on April 7, 1851. These officers were Lorin Farr, mayor; Charles R. Dana, Francello Durfee, James G. Browning, D. B. Dillie, aldermen; James Lake, James Brown, Levi Murdock, Bryant W. Nowlan, Cyrus C. Canfield, Joseph Grover, Samuel Stickney, George W. Pitkins, John Shaw, Sr., councilors. City appointments made by this council were David Moore, recorder; D. B. Dillie, assessor and collector; Isaac Clark, treasurer; and B. W. Nowlan, marshal. (55)

Elections of the fifties bore little resemblance to those of ninety years later. Although Lorin Farr served as mayor for over twenty years, it was without pay. Elections were highly informal. Citizens gathered at some point within the city to nominate and elect officers by acclamation, (56) and usually there was only one set of candidates, who had been nominated by the presiding church authorities in the region. Clocks were few, and appointments made for "the hour of early candle lighting". (57)

There were more important things than politics to preoccupy these hardy Saints who settled on the barren land. Daily life was a stern, bitter struggle, with starvation and freezing ever-present winter menaces. Lack of water and the constant inroads by insects made hazardous every attempt at growing a crop.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-43.

54. Informants, O. A. Kennedy and Frank Francis, Ogden, Utah; *Laws of Utah*, 1911, chap. 125, pp. 224-233.

55. Tullidge, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 46. The Ogden City Council Minute Book, vol. A, p. 2, says merely that the election was held in the Weber schoolhouse and that officers who had been appointed were elected except Thomas Dunn, he having moved from "the corporation".

56. Ogden City Council Minute Book, vol. A, p. 334.

57. *Ibid.*, vol. A, p. 139.

Settlers obtained fuel by digging sagebrush, thus simultaneously clearing their land. There was practically no money to be had; almost all trading was by barter. The way John Martin got a pair of shoes in 1858 was thoroughly typical; one of his neighbors killed a sick ox, boiling meat for tallow and making ropes of the hide. Securing some of the tallow, Martin sold it for leather at a tannery in Farmington, and from this leather he had shoes made. He also made thread from a little flax he possessed; earlier, his wife had used horsehair for thread, and prickly pear spines for pins and needles. (58) Settlers usually made their own soap and candles. At first, the only lights were "bitch lights"—saucers of grease, with pieces of rag serving for wicks. Later buttons were tied up with the wicks to hold them erect. These lights finally were succeeded by tallow candles. Brooms were made by tying together branches of green sage. Sand from the river bottoms served as scouring powder for pans and floors. Bread was raised with the aid of saleratus, gathered from the edges of sloughs. Hats were made from the best and longest straws secured from the harvest; shoes generally were home-made, of cow or rawhide; and clothes, after the introduction of sheep, were made of raw wool washed, carded, spun, dyed, and woven at home. (59)

There were no visions of empire in Ogden at this time; those who settled along the Weber and Ogden rivers wanted only to wring from the soil a living for themselves and their sons, to bring up their families in the fear of the Lord, and by their works on earth assure their future in the Kingdom of God.

The first-comers lived in their wagons while they built houses of cottonwood logs felled on the banks of the Ogden and Weber rivers; many even lived in "dugouts" along the river banks. The most pretentious quarters, the log cabins, were by no means elaborate. Roofs were of dirt, and doors hung on wooden hinges, fastened by wooden latches. There were no wooden floors until Daniel Burch built a sawmill on the site of Riverdale. Later the settlers cut logs in Ogden Canyon and dragged them to the river edge, so that the floodwaters might sweep them down into the valley. The first adobe house on a surveyed lot was erected by Isaac Clark, and no matter how mean the house may have been, it must have seemed a veritable palace. (60) Luman Andros Shurtliff,

58. John Martin, *The Life of John Martin, Sr., 1828-1915*, MS., p. 58.

59. *Ibid.*, appendix 9, p. 2. Much information on this side of Utah life has been gathered by the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers. See, for instance, *Pioneer Recipes*, a compilation edited for the D. U. P. by Kate Carter.

60. Eugenia Dunsmore, *History of Ogden*, MS., pp. 6, 11; Charles F. Middleton, "Reminiscences of Ogden City and Weber County." On March 7, 1856, the city council authorized Samuel Ferrin to construct a boom across the Ogden River "at or near the big eddy" for the purpose of stopping timber, poles, and wood. He was allowed to charge tolls for all timber his boom stopped. (Ogden City Council Minute Book, vol. A, p. 326.)

for example, on November 1, 1851, moved one of his wives and her three children into a shanty, ten feet square and covered with dirt. His other wives and four of his first wife's children lived in his wagons, until he could build another log house, which took sixteen days, and which he described as "tollerable comfortable with no floor". (61)

Sometimes the surviving mountain men must have rubbed their eyes in amazement at what was happening to this region they had known so many years. This was no land for Saints, not even for strongbacked, powerful-armed, lean-limbed and bearded Saints. Oregon lay green to the emigrant's plow; California blossomed in the sun. Here there was only the strong, bitter pungence of the sage, lip-caking alkaline dust, suffocating winter snows, blistering summers and promise of endless work. Yet here men had brought their families. And many men had more than one family, more than one wife. Polygamists were in the minority, but church leaders practiced plural marriage almost invariably, settling their families in one or several houses, according as they possessed or obtained the means. In a West where white women were rare enough to be worshipped extravagantly, polygamy was a sufficient marvel.

But these Saints were not much concerned with the opinions of the mountain men. They kept to themselves and looked with suspicion on gentiles who passed north and south through their settlement. They disliked gentile eyes upon their women. They wanted to be left alone, to struggle with the desert, to build up the Kingdom of God. And all through the fifties and the first half of the sixties, Ogden was for the most part what it wanted to be, a backwater agricultural village unmoved by such main currents of American life and feeling as swirled by, through Fort Hall on the north and Great Salt Lake City on the south.

The fifties, nevertheless, were eventful years. With Isaac Clark as postmaster, the first post office was established March 26, 1851, under the name of "Brownsville", a post office name it bore until 1854. (62) Irrigation enterprises soon became more elaborate.

Irrigation was, indeed, the first condition of life. Although virtually every year the Ogden River flooded its banks and overspread the entire bench district, approximately from 12th Street to 21st Street—in 1859 the surly Ogden poured so torrential a flood out of its canyon that Ogden was in danger of being swept away, and the inhabitants worked incessantly for days, making

61. Luman Andros Shurtliff, *Journal*, MS., p. 80.

62. "Mail Progress Noted in Ogden Since 1851", *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*, January 28, 1934.

dikes and ditches "to turn the stream to save the place" (63)—and although in places the flat land below modern Washington Avenue, like the site of the present Union Depot, was covered by great ponds or sloughs, (64) this water was of no value whatever for irrigation. It was necessary to have a constant supply throughout the growing season, and such a supply was to be obtained only by tapping the Ogden and Weber rivers at suitable diversion points, and carrying the water to the thirsty land in canals.

Although Goodyear's vegetable garden had been irrigated with a bucket, the first recorded use of water in the Weber River system occurred on June 1, 1848; the original canal, however, was not completed until June 1, 1850. The tract irrigated comprised ten acres, and water was obtained from White Spring. (65) A number of canals were dug in 1851. Under the direction of I. N. Goodale, the "Lynne ditch" was dug from Mill Creek, a tributary of the Ogden, the canal extending for three miles. The same stream was tapped in the same year by a mile-long canal to the Marriott region. Irrigation also commenced in East Weber (Uintah) at the mouth of Weber Canyon, during 1851, when a small stream called Spring Creek was tapped. But the first major irrigation enterprise was that of 1852, when a seven mile canal was dug from the Weber River at Riverdale to irrigate the lower part of Ogden. (66) The importance of this canal to residents of the region may be appreciated when it is remembered that the Weber county court at its first meeting, on April 24, 1852, ordered that two-thirds of the county revenue for the year should be loaned Ogden City, to be applied on the "Weber Canal". (67)

The Weber Canal was followed by others, like that in 1856, when the Ogden River was tapped for water to irrigate the benchlands. These streams of water, a bright lifeblood flowing through man-created arteries, served other purposes than to make the fields green. Most of them are described as being constructed "for irrigation and other purposes". Those "other purposes" were exceedingly various; the canals operated water wheels which ran lathes, sugar mills, and other commercial enterprises; they supplied drinking water even when so black with mud that hours were required for this mud to settle in pails; and often they were found convenient when the need of a bath was felt.

63. *The Valley Tan*, April 24, 1859.

64. Dunsmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 11; Middleton, *op. cit.*

65. "Tabulation of Water Claims, Weber River System, Weber County," Book 2, p. 22.

66. Andrew Jenson, History of Lynne Ward, History of Marriott Ward, in History of North Weber Stake, MS.; History of Uintah Ward, in History of Mount Ogden Stake, MS.; Tullidge, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

67. Weber County Court Record, vol. A, p. 2.

If the struggle with an arid land had not been sufficient to assure the settlers that they dwelt on an American frontier, outbreak of Indian difficulties in 1853 was adequate reminder. The Walker War with the Utes was not a conflict of local origin; the Indians were estranged by Mormon prohibition of Indian slave-trading with New Mexican traders; nor was the warfare brought home to Weber County, as to Utah County, by bloody violence. But fear that hostilities might spread northward induced the settlers to act upon the advice Brigham Young had given through all the years since the Mormons came west, to concentrate for safety and to build walls about their settlements.

That the presence of Indians in the neighborhood made life more exciting is shown by the stirring autobiography of James S. Brown. In August 1854, he went as interpreter with Brigham Young to Chief Catalos' camp of Shoshones, four miles north of Ogden. After distributing presents, Young told them "it would be good for them to settle down like the white man, and learn of him to cultivate the land as he did, so that when the game was all gone they could live and have something to eat and to feed their families on. The Indians said this was 'heap good talk,' and their hearts felt good."

But in November and December there was trouble. "On November 20 Wm. Hickman, L. B. Ryan and D. Huntington came up from Salt Lake City with an order to Major Moore and the citizens of Weber County to disarm Chief Little Soldier and his band of Indians, and distribute them among the families in Weber County where the people were best able to feed and clothe them for the winter, and set them to work; for they had become very troublesome to the citizens of that county, by killing cattle, burning fences, and intimidating isolated families."

Ten days later Major Moore, James S. Brown, and others visited the Indian camp at West Weber, and finally persuaded the Indians to come in to Ogden, but they felt very warlike and stubborn, and were unwilling to give up their arms. They eventually were permitted to go with their weapons across Ogden River, and encamp among the willows near Mound Fort, but when the whites came next day, they found the Indians so hostile that they had to "make a show of arms before they would submit to our proposition of distributing them among the whites". A squad of armed men persuaded them however, and reluctantly and sullenly the Indians were marched back to Ogden, to a point near the old tithing office. "Almost every man that had side arms was called to mingle among the Indians," Brown remembered, "so that each man could command a warrior by disarming him by force if he refused to surrender his arms at the command of the major, which command I was required to repeat in the Indian dialect.

At the word, each man was to take hold of an Indian's gun, and I was to tell the aborigines to surrender; but there was not a man who obeyed the order, for what reason I do not know. I went through the crowd of Indians and took every weapon with my own hands."

The trouble was by no means over; an Indian boy leaped upon his horse and galloped northward at top speed, toward the Indian camp at Bingham's Fort. At Major Moore's order, Brown followed at a breakneck pace, and rode into the east gate of Bingham's Fort just as the Indian boy entered the west gate. "To arms!" he cried. "To arms! Turn out, every man, and help disarm the Indians!" The men turned out instantly; Brown himself reached the west gate just in time to seize the gun of a powerful Ute who sought to escape. The weapons of the red men were taken to Ogden under guard. There Brown found the Indians very stubborn and sullen. "Here are my wife, my children, my horses and everything I have," said one. "Take it all and keep it, only give me back my gun and let me go free." Without their guns they could not hunt or defend their families. "We are only squaws now . . . We are not anybody now." Finally, though very sullenly, they accompanied the whites home and pitched their tents in the back yards. "To us," wrote Brown, "it did seem hard to have them feel so bad, but they had no means of support for the winter, and citizens could not afford to have their stock killed off and their fences burned, and it was the better policy to feed the Indians and have them under control. They could husk corn, chop wood, help do the chores, and be more comfortable than if left to roam; but for all that, they were deprived of that broad liberty to which they and their fathers before them had been accustomed, therefore they felt it most keenly . . . In the evening of December 3rd the Indians had a letter from Governor Young . . . Then for the first time they seemed reconciled to their situation. Their chief was filled with the spirit of approval of the course that had been taken with them, and he preached it long and strong. After that, the Indians and the citizens got along very well together . . ." Brown spent the winter teaching the Shoshone dialect in school, having about thirty male adult students, and "was very much prospered that winter, purchased a city lot and quarter of another on Main Street, fenced the lot, closed my trading with the Indians, and settled with D. H. Wells for the goods I had had." (68)

At the time of these events, on December 2, 1854, Wilford Woodruff visited Ogden and described the town for *The Deseret News*: "This is the county seat of Weber County and is a flourishing place containing some 150 families. The city wall will en-

68. James S. Brown, *Life of a Pioneer*, Salt Lake City, 1900, pp. 346-350.

close one mile square and is to be built of earth 8 feet high, 3 feet wide at the bottom and 18 inches at the top; but very little is yet built. They have two schools with about 120 scholars, one adobe school house 30 x 20 feet. There are many good dwellings in this city; also two stores, one of which has been recently built by Capt. James Brown. They have raised during the past season about 10,000 bushels of wheat." Next day Woodruff visited Bingham's Fort where he found 732 inhabitants. "Here and at Ogden," he wrote, "I saw the Indians who were lately distributed among the people for the purpose of bettering their condition by feeding and clothing them and teaching them to work. Most of them were at these two forts and were very mad and uneasy, fearing that some evil was designed against them, and while we were holding a meeting many left their wickeups standing and went down to Weber River. But since receiving a letter from Governor Young they have become more reconciled and have returned." (69)

Not much progress had been made on that wall about Ogden, so the city council, by ordinance on February 17, 1855, determined that there should be built about the city plot "a wall six feet wide at the bottom, eight feet high, and thirty inches wide at the top, to be built of good material of earth and stone, with stone foundations on lowland fifteen inches high under each side of the wall". Four gates were provided for, "one north and one south on Territorial Road, one east on the first street south of Public Square, and one west on the same street". Funds for the wall were to be raised by assessing each city lot \$10 and by a poll tax of \$10 on each able-bodied man over eighteen years of age. (70)

This fort was designed to enclose all the territory within what is now Wall and Madison Avenues, and 21st and 28th Streets. Wall Avenue derived its name from the west wall of the fort. Only about half of the wall was ever completed, and it was never needed against the Indians, though the Saints concluded that their fort had made a great impression on the Indians, and shown them it would be well to fall in with the Mormon policy of feeding, rather than fighting, their red brethren. (71)

Ten years of Ogden history had passed in 1855, although Goodyear's adventurous beginnings were quite lost. In the autumn of the decennial, an English traveler, William Chandless, journeyed on foot from Great Salt Lake City to the flourishing settlement on the Weber, and left a dubious picture of the town.

69. *The Deseret News*, vol. 4, p. 157.

70. Ogden City Council Minute Book, vol. A, pp. 335, 336.

71. Tullidge, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 25. In later years parts of the stone walls were diverted to building purposes. As early as March 28, 1857, the bishops of the various wards were given permission "to use the stones lying loose along the line of the city wall for building culverts across the sloughs on the streets of Ogden City". (Ogden City Council Minute Book, vol. A, p. 128)

He had his troubles even reaching the northern metropolis. "Roads," he wrote, "the best and most plausible, edge off to mountain canyons on the right, or marshes on the left; continually around the settlements, too, the country is laid out for miles by roads intersecting at right angles, and which of these to choose, as you successively come to them is puzzling. Moreover, though the Mormons are certainly a hospitable people, they have a prodigious number of savage inhospitable dogs about their houses, and worse still, almost impassable ditches, so that the benighted traveler has pretty well as much work to find his way into a house to inquire, as to find the one he is inquiring for without information: even when ditch and dog are safely passed, you may find the householder a Dutchman or a Dane, which is perplexing to a bad linguist like myself, or possibly your Saxon ears are refreshed with 'Dim Sassenach', from a Saint of a Welshman.

"... Crossing my old friend the Weber, that enters the valley through an impassable ravine on its way to the salt-water, I reached the village of the same name, a single street of cottages for some 300 yards in length, with their gardens behind, and the whole enclosed by an earthen wall, with a gateway at each end of the oblong; the wall gave rather a snug look to the place, and against Indians may be effectual. . . . My road lay close under the mountains; the dull crimson of a wintry sunset had fallen upon their snowy peaks, the shadow of the western ranges, had crossed the lake and darkened its rugged island, and the half-thawed snow on the 'bench' was beginning to freeze, when I came in sight of Ogden City—what a grandiloquent vulgarity is in that name, and all thrown away on—Ogden City!"

Chandless stayed the night at the home of one of Captain Brown's thirteen wives. "The mistress of this mansion," he says, "could hardly have been the eldest, but she was, I hope, the most sour-tempered of the whole thirteen. Possibly, from my not leaving the next morning, she thought me a money-less fellow, trying, in Captain Brown's absence, to quarter myself upon them till I could obtain work; the family had no dinner, I verily believe, for fear I should get any of it. However, I strolled into a neighboring house to buy a drink of milk, and the old lady there, alone in her glory with her gudeman—a stout farmer for the nonce—asked me to stay to dinner with them; and their dinner was as good as their hospitality; the farmer spoke rather gloomily of a lost cow, and rather threateningly of a man who, it seems, had beef to eat, though he OUGHT NOT to have it." Returning to his quarters, he listened to the conversation of two of Captain Brown's wives; they talked "on the probability of Captain Brown taking to himself a fourteenth wife before his return [from serving in the legislature], and canvassed the chances and qualities of this and that

young lady, just as elsewhere in the world any two gossiping women might canvass the marriage of one of their own relatives."

The visitor recorded a final impression of the young town: "Ogden City was a specimen of the settlements in Utah on the model of Salt Lake; precisely a mile square, part on the bench, part in the valley-bottom, enclosed by an earthen wall, and laid out in 'blocks'; a large portion was still unoccupied, but dobie-houses were fast springing up. In the middle of the place was a school-house, also used as a church, and its door plastered over with parochial notices; near it were two small stores—few settlements have as many, and what people want they must get direct from 'the city', as best they can. The roads, except on the 'bench', were a miserable alternation of mud and water, and if not frozen over, hardly passable for a foot traveller; there was little cleanliness or neatness about them. Several small mountain burns ran through the place, and to the north lay a small, deep, sluggish river, closed in by kinnikkinnik, and crossed by a substantial wooden bridge; to this a list of tolls were affixed, but as far as I could see they were never exacted. Cattle on all sides straggle about, picking up what they can find, and at night return, or are driven within the walls; the cultivated land is necessarily more or less distant, but danger gathers the inhabitants and their stock to a single place." (72)

Chandless had intended going north to Cache Valley, but so heavy a snow fell that he turned south again. Indeed, the famous "Hard Winter" was setting in. The summer had been a difficult one, as great, black clouds of grasshoppers had settled everywhere upon the crops; John Martin in his journal recorded that the locusts cleaned up everything green and that hardly anything was raised for man or beast except around Ogden. That disastrous summer was followed by a winter of bitter cold and tremendous snows. Thousands of cattle died of starvation when the snow-drifts covered all forage. Charles F. Middleton, who kept some cattle alive by feeding them the boiled flesh of others which died, thought enough cattle perished to stretch from Great Salt Lake to Ogden, could they have been laid end to end. (73)

This year of 1855 was notable in Ogden for still other reasons. The Salmon River Mission, to establish Fort Limhi in what is now central Idaho, found its backbone in colonists from Weber County. Settlers in the region previously had performed missions for the church, but not on such a scale. The Salmon River Mission, which endured until 1857, was the first attempt to settle the Idaho re-

72. William Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake*, London, 1857, pp. 228-233.

73. Middleton, *op. cit.*

gion by an agricultural colony—a heroic but unsuccessful project. (74)

But life was not an endless round of work for the people. Holidays were celebrated with a wholeheartedness unknown in modern days. Celebration of the 24th of July in 1856 was wholly typical.

Festivities began at daybreak with firing by Captain J. C. Switzler's artillery. At sunrise the "mammoth flag of Deseret" was raised on Tabernacle Block, under the direction of the marshal of the day, Chauncey W. West. Thereupon the martial band, company A of the Life Guards (minute men), and company B of infantry, proceeded to the residence of Lorin Farr, who was not only mayor of Ogden but, and much more important at the time, President of the Weber Stake of Zion. After giving a general salute, the band and military paraded through the principal streets of the town, saluting President Farr's counselors and the bishops of the various wards.

At 7 a. m. the Nauvoo Legion, comprising almost every able-bodied man, assembled on the public square, and at 9 the procession was formed. The parade was led by a young man bearing the marshal's insignia of office, "Order, heaven's first law." Next came the martial band with a banner, "The Ten Thousands of Ephraim." The band was followed by twelve Indians, led by Chief Little Soldier, with a banner, "The Thousands of Manasseh." A company of pioneers held aloft the legend, "Our Mountain Home." A Mormon Battalion company bore the inscription, "The Ram in the Thicket." A company of Silver Greys (militia volunteers older than forty-five), led by Luman Andros Shurtliff, carried the banner, "Veterans of Deseret." There followed twelve young men on horseback, dressed in white trousers, black coats, and red sashes, with a banner, "Zion's Strength"; twelve young women on horseback dressed in white, with black riding skirts, and wreaths of flowers on their hats, their banner reading, "Daughters of Deseret"; a company of Life Guards bearing the legend, "The Priesthood, we will defend it"; the "Ogden City Brass Band"; the committee of arrangements, with the banner, "Peace and Plenty"; bishops and counselors with the inscription, "The Fathers of the People"; presidents and counselors of the Lesser Priesthood with the banner, "Blessed are the peacemakers"; the president and counselors of the High Priests' Quorum with the banner, "Pillars in the House of God"; Presidents of Seventies with the banner, "Heralds of Salvation"; the president and counselors of the Elders' Quorum, with the legend, "Elders of Israel"; twelve young men dressed in black trousers and white coats, with the banner, "Kings in em-

74. On the Salmon River Mission, see Gilbert Belnap, *Autobiography*, MS., pp. 46-55; Lewis W. Shurtliff, "The Salmon River Mission of 1855", in *Utah Historical Quarterly*, January, 1932, pp. 3-29.

bryo"; twelve young women, dressed in white, with wreaths upon their heads, their banner reading, "Purity, the glory of Deseret"; twelve old men with the banner, "God's noblemen"; twelve elderly ladies with the banner, "We follow our lords"; twelve small boys in white trousers, white shirts, and straw hats, "Zion's Hope"; twelve small girls in white dresses, with blue sashes, "Virtue, our mothers' pride"; the Nauvoo Legion, commanded by Major L. Clark, who proudly bore the banner, "Defense of Deseret"; and, finally, another company of Life Guards, with the banner, "God and our rights".

At 9:30 a. m. this parade left Public Square and passed up 1st West Street (Grant Avenue) two blocks, up Pratt (26th) Street one block, down Main Street (Washington Avenue) four blocks, then circled Tabernacle Block (75) and halted in front of Lorin Farr's residence, where the Presidency of the Stake was placed, with banner, "The Lord's Anointed", in the procession immediately ahead of the Committee of Arrangements. The parade then continued up Main Street two blocks, and crossed Public Square to the Bowery.

But the celebration was just getting into stride. After prayer, the Constitution of Deseret was read by Captain Brown, followed by seven rounds from Switzler's artillery, and three ho-sannahs from the congregation. There followed music by the martial band, and the brass band, speeches by "Counselor Palmer", Lorin Farr and Major Clark, firing by the artillery, and a series of toasts. "God and our rights: We are the boys to defend them." "The peculiar institutions of Utah; Many swarms." "Brigham Young, the Lion of the Lord: When he roars, the wicked fear; when he speaks, hypocrites tremble; and when he shakes his mane, they flee away." "The martyrs of the last days: Their blood is the seed of the church; may they continue to grow in the garden of the Lord until the earth is overspread with their immortal fruits." After music by the bands and by a string band, and original and comic songs, the assemblage broke up. Under the bowery erected for the purpose, they ate dinner at six tables, each 300 feet long, "bountifully spread with the luxuries and dainties of life, including wine, the product of our mountain home".

75. Apparently Public Square had not yet been changed. On laying out the town, Brigham Young had ordered that Public Square should be located four blocks south of Tabernacle Block, but when he visited Ogden on June 24, 1855, he found that this had not been done. In his journal, Luman A. Shurtliff recorded, "President Young told them [the authorities] he said to leave the north block on the west side of the state road for a public square and built a Tabernacle on the southeast corner where Captain Brown was building his large house, then skip three blocks south and leave another square. Instead of carrying out his council they had but one square on the state road and that half-way between the two squares. He said he wished them to build the city as he had ordered it surveyed." Ultimately these orders were followed, but apparently Public Square in 1856 had not yet been moved south from its location between what is now 23rd and 24th Streets. Shurtliff's property was located on the new "South Square", and he was damaged by the change.

At 3 o'clock the procession reformed, escorted the presidency to their homes, and after returning to Public Square, was dismissed. An hour later all the citizens assembled in the bowery for dancing and other recreation; and the long day's festivities were ended at 7 o'clock, when the Ogden City Dramatic Association presented "Luke the Laborer", followed by comic and sentimental songs and hornpipe dancing, and "The mirth-provoking farce, 'Raising the Wind'". (76)

The deep religious feeling that everywhere underlay the people's lives is well shown by the banners carried in the parade. Later in the year, Ogden joined with the rest of the Saints in Utah in the movement of "Reformation" which was instituted by Jedediah M. Grant at Kaysville only a few weeks after this Pioneer Day celebration. Everywhere the Saints confessed their sins and were rebaptized for remission of the sins. Luman Shurtliff was appointed a missionary to go among the people of the Weber Stake of Zion, a duty he began December 28, 1856. The purpose of the long catechism of twenty-seven questions is shown in the instructions to the catechisers: "In answer to the question. . . let all men and women confess to the person they have injured and make restitution or satisfaction and when catechising the people, the Bishop's missionaries, teachers and other officers in the church are not at liberty to pry into the sins that are between a person and his or her God but let such persons confess to the proper authorities that the adversary may not have an opportunity to take advantage of human weakness and thereby destroy souls." On February 22, 1857, Shurtliff recorded that he had finished catechising all in the district allotted to him—altogether, 200 persons. And four weeks later he noticed that he had rebaptized and confirmed eighty-seven more persons. (77)

This movement of Reformation led many of the devout Saints in the region to consecrate their property to the church. "In consideration of good will toward the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints", church-members deeded to Brigham Young, as trustee-in-trust, all their real or personal property. Perhaps the most notable of these deeds in Ogden was that of James Brown, who on August 24, 1857, made over to the church twelve Ogden city lots valued at \$9,500, and livestock, interest in a mill, and various personal property valued at \$5,095, the entire property being valued at \$14,595. (78) This idea of consecration of prop-

76. *The Deseret News*, vol. 6, p. 180.

77. Luman A. Shurtliff, *Journal*, pp. 90-92.

78. Weber County Record of Deeds, vol. C., p. 42. The legislature in 1855 legalized such transfers (*Compiled Laws of Utah*, 1855, p. 269, sec. 4) but not until the Reformation aroused the people in 1856-57 did the movement of consecration make much headway. These deeds do not, however, seem ever to have had any practical effect.

erty for the public good dated from Joseph Smith's revelations in 1831, and it was especially revived at this time to ward against the gentiles who were settling among the Saints in Utah.

The people were swiftly to have need of their aroused religious spirit. To the local troubles was added, in 1857-58, a struggle with the United States Government. Conflicts between the territory and the National Government, steadily mounting through the fifties, finally were climaxed by the dispatch west of an army which was to make a military occupation of Utah and put down the "rebellion" thought to exist there. Convinced that the persecutions they had experienced in the Middle West were about to be renewed on a more bloody scale, Mormon leaders determined to resist. Throughout the territory, the Nauvoo Legion was mustered for armed conflict. Among the units summoned for action was that which had been organized at Ogden under Chauncey W. West; (79) the men are said to have drilled in the Ogden Tabernacle, on which construction began in 1856 and which was not yet completed. According to Luman Shurtliff, "The month of August passed with my time being taken in Military and religious service. September is mostly taken up in gathering and taking care of crops, or garnishing and drilling and preparing for self-defense. On the morning of September 29, we were awakened by the sound of the drums which was a call for ninety men to go and prepare to receive the Johnson [Johnston] Army who was marching Westward." (80)

The Mormons heard a rumor that the army was attempting to approach Great Salt Lake Valley by the northern route, via Bear River and Soda Springs. The Ogden troops were sent north to reconnoitre, leaving Ogden October 19, via Cache Valley, they marched north to Bear River, but finding no enemy, turned south again by way of Malad Valley and Brigham City, arriving back at Ogden on November 2. (81) Soon thereafter the men were ordered to Echo Canyon, as news had come that the army would take this route. Those who were ordered to stay at home outfitted those who went. Luman Shurtliff wrote in his journal, "I furnished a soldier my rifle and fixing two blankets, one over-coat, one over-shirt, and one pair of pants, a tea kettle, and one loaf of bread, one bucket of crackers, and my horses and harness. . . I have been and partaken of and shared in all the persecutions of the church since 1836 until the present. I feel ambitious and willing to go and obtain an experience with the saints and spend my time and strength in the service of our God and redemption of Zion. And I pray God that my sons will be faithful and stand to this work

79. Tullidge, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

80. Luman Shurtliff, *Journal*, p. 94.

81. Andrew Jenson, *History of Weber Stake, MS.*, quoting Christian G. Larsen's *Journal*.

as I have done and more abundantly as they have opportunity and ability to carry on." (82) John Martin was one of those who went to Echo Canyon; he left home without coat or shoes, and with no bedding but two old quilts. One old man who stayed behind gave him the coat from his back, while another gave him an old pair of shoes. Martin wrote, "It was a two and one half days travel to Echo Canyon. When we reached there we found the regiment there in company of ten. Our rations were assigned once in three days. We ate ours in two and had to go without the next day." (83)

Though some of the men were retained at the Echo Canyon fortifications throughout the winter, most of them returned home, beginning December 3. In the spring Brigham Young elected, instead of fighting, to abandon or threaten to abandon the Utah settlements. All northern Utah settlers were called on a southward migration. The Ogden residents piled what goods they could in their wagons, wearily squared their shoulders, and turned south. Perhaps they were going to Mexico, perhaps to the South Sea islands. . . They had come thousands of miles to this desert land, and thought their migrations ended. But Brigham Young's was the voice to which they listened. If Brother Brigham thought it necessary to migrate once again, move they would. Luman Shurtliff departed April 5, and others followed through the next four weeks. Of his own departure John Martin wrote, "What a unique picture we must have made with the three teams of oxen, my cow, calf, pig, four lambs and a half dozen chickens. With my wife and her sister and the two children on top of our load." (84)

Behind them the settlers left under the command of Colonel David Moore three companies of ten men each, with instructions to burn the houses and crops if worst came to worst and the Saints definitely must seek a new homeland. (85) Those who migrated were led by Lorin Farr, to the Provo bottoms in Utah Valley. "Some," wrote Lorin Farr, "made their quarters in wagons, tents and wickiups, built of long canes and flags. In many places the cane houses had the appearance of villages. Here on these bottoms the bulk of the Weber County people located themselves for two months, having commenced the 'move' early in May; some, however, went further south." (86)

But the new federal governor, Alfred Cumming, and the United States Army under Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, alike

82. Luman Shurtliff, *Journal*, pp. 96, 97.

83. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

85. Jenson, *History of Weber Stake*, quoting Christian G. Larsen's *Journal*. Larsen commanded one of the three companies.

86. Tullidge, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

proved pacific. The soldiers marched through the tomblike Great Salt Lake City on June 26, crossed the Jordan River, and established themselves in Cedar Valley, west of Utah Lake. The Ogden settlers turned north between July 1 and 3, some days in advance of their fellows, when Lorin Farr, worried by the prevalence of disease and the inadequate living facilities along the Provo bottoms where his people were encamped, gained Brigham Young's permission to return. Crops which had been left growing in the fields had prospered, and the crop in 1858 was the best in many years. (87) Showing that the barter system had its good points, 265 bushels of wheat in the county treasury, ordered planted when the migration began, reproduced itself much more fruitfully than gold or currency could ever have done. (88)

Return from the south marked the beginning of a new era in Ogden. No longer was it to be a little city huddled within its adobe walls, drawn in upon itself. A vigorous heart now would beat within that northern settlement. Soon the walls would begin to disappear; within thirty years almost the last vestige of the walls would be gone.

In 1859-60 the settlers, in greater need of lumber, turned their attention to Ogden Canyon, building into that formidable gorge a road by which they might take out timber. This difficult and expensive undertaking, which cost the settlers nearly \$50,000, but provided new resources, was of great importance in building up the city. (89)

The sixties had a most spectacular beginning, in the establishment by Joseph Morris of a new Mormon Church almost at Ogden's doorstep. The Morrisites are still vividly remembered by aged pioneers in Ogden.

Morris, according to a disciple who published his revelations in 1886, was born in Burswardly, Cheshire, England, December 15, 1825. In his youth he labored as a farm hand. At eighteen he became a collier, and was badly burned and disabled for a year by a mine explosion. He had, his disciple says, "scarcely any advantages of schooling, but being a close observer and a man of considerable natural ability, he acquired some information during his leisure moments". At twenty-three he was baptized into the L. D. S. Church, but he did not come to America until some years later, arriving in Great Salt Lake City in the autumn of 1853. In the spring of 1854 he went south to Sanpete County, where he got into trouble by teaching his "advanced doctrines"; his wife

87. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

88. Weber County Court Record, vol. A, pp. 83, 96.

89. Tullidge, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-32.

left him, and he returned destitute to Great Salt Lake City. In the spring of 1857 he went south to Provo, where he participated in the Reformation. But he got into trouble and was subjected to many privations. During this time he wrote his first revelation. God, he declared, spoke to him: "I have chosen thee . . . to be a mighty man, yea, to be a prophet in Israel; and thou shalt prophesy to many nations and peoples, and kings and tongues. Yea, I say unto thee that the mountains shall tremble at the uttering of thy voice; and men shall seek thy life from place to place, and thirst after thy blood as an ox thirsteth after water; but they shall not have power to take it before thy work is finished." (90) No further revelations were given for two years. He labored between American Fork and Great Salt Lake City for about a year, then moved to the latter place, where he "interviewed many of the heads of the church and persisted in writing them letters." (91)

In one such letter on September 1, 1859, he wrote Brigham Young that he was, save for Christ, the greatest prophet who ever lived, and that Joseph Smith was his forerunner, "doing for me what I could not do for myself". Not without humility, he proposed that he should unite with the Twelve Apostles and that they should learn from one another. ". . . Open a door for me, so that I can come up to the head of the Church, for I long to have the privilege of meeting with you when I can have the opportunity to speak face to face with you, for I have never had the opportunity to make known much unto you as yet." (92)

In the spring of 1860, he moved to Slaterville, west of Ogden, and stayed there until autumn. He found his first encouragement in that settlement, but was told to leave, and in October, 1860, he set out for South Weber, a little colony located on the Weber River directly south of Ogden. (93)

Here at last he found fully receptive ears. Revelations came in abundance; thus on October 24, 1860, it was revealed to him that there was to be a gathering on Public Square in Great Salt Lake City, where the "sheep" would be separated from the "goats" in the scriptural harvest. "And at that time the hosts of heaven shall be there, and I (Christ) will lead them up to battle, and go before them from conquering to conquer; and I will never again stay my hand until I have laid mine enemies low; for my time is now come to make manifest mine almighty power among the na-

90. The "Spirit Presses", San Francisco, 1886, p. 9.

91. *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 3.

92. Letter, Joseph Morris to Brigham Young, September 1, 1859, quoted in L. D. S. Journal History for this date.

tions and kingdoms of the earth. . . O ye mockers. . . Your race is now run . . ." (94)

So many were converted that on February 11, 1861, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and other Mormon authorities visited the South Weber settlement, and after a public hearing, disfellowshipped sixteen Morris adherents. (95) Undismayed, Morris produced a revelation that the judgments of God should come as a whirlwind. On April 6, 1861, he baptized six into his (Reorganized) Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and many other converts gathered at the South Weber fort. (96) "Sometimes," wrote his disciples, "the prophet's countenance would change as if illuminated by the true light of the world; then he would retire and others would go on with the meeting." (97)

For awhile the sect flourished. Revelations came in great abundance from the prophet, (98) some instructive, others filled with mystery and terror; thus, a revelation of October 25, 1861, declared that nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants of Utah Territory were to be destroyed. The Morrisites lived in accordance with the principles of consecration and fellowship. "They were living amongst a generation whose teeth were as knives, to devour the poor and needy from off the face of the earth." (99) But soon trouble set in. The problems of living in a simple communism, complicated by the belief of the Morrisites that the second coming of Christ was imminent, obviating the necessity for sowing crops, led to dissension among the settlers. Even "Foreshadowing Day", on May 30, 1862, when elaborate rites were held to prepare for the end, did not still the difficulties. Some who had consecrated property wanted to leave, and they wanted all the property they had made over to the new church, regardless of what they had consumed in the meantime. When the Morrisites refused, some of them fell upon their property. In retaliation, the Morrisites seized property and persons of several such apostates, feeling that they could expect no justice in the courts, which were overshadowed by the "erring" church. But this recourse to violence was disastrous for the new church on the Weber. (100)

93. The "Spirit Prevails", p. 3.

94. *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 32.

95. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church*, vol. 5, p. 41, quoting the Journal of Wilford Woodruff, MS.

96. Richard W. Young, "The Morrisite War", *The Contributor*, (1890) vol. 11, p. 281; *The "Spirit Prevails"*, p. 5.

97. The "Spirit Prevails", p. 5.

98. There were at least 304 revelations, printed in the "Spirit Prevails".

99. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

100. The "Spirit Prevails", pp. 6, 7; T. B. H. Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints*, New York, 1873, pp. 594-596.

When the Morrisites ignored a court order that their prisoners be released on writs of habeas corpus, a detachment of militia, as a posse comitatus, was ordered to enforce the writs and arrest five Morrisite leaders, including the prophet, for contempt of court. This posse was headed by Robert T. Burton and Theodore McKean, deputy territorial marshals, and consisted of a company of artillery, 200 infantry, and a number of mounted men, the whole comprising about 500 men. (101)

On the morning of June 13, 1862, this posse surrounded the South Weber fort and demanded the surrender within thirty minutes of the prisoners and the five Morrisites. Failing compliance, they were warned to remove the women, children, and peaceably disposed persons, because forcible measures would be taken. Morris went off to pray while his adherents assembled, and soon he returned with a written revelation asserting that their enemies should be destroyed, and no one of the faithful Morrisites injured. But his words were given a terrible punctuation; no sooner had he finished speaking that a cannon ball, entering the fort, struck down two women, injuring a third. Two hours had passed since issuance of the ultimatum. A three day battle ensued. The militia accomplished nothing whatever, despite their numerical superiority and artillery; the fort wall did yeomen service. News of the battle spread, and many came from Ogden, lining the hills along the north bank of the Weber to watch this strange war at their doorsteps. On the 15th, however, the Morrisites were put into a panic by the approach of a rolling battery which they imagined to be an "infernal machine". They stacked their arms and surrendered, and a body of the militia entered the fort. (102)

The tragedy which ended the struggle is thus described by a Morris disciple: ". . . Burton called out for Joseph Morris, John Banks, Richard Cook, John Parsons, and Peter Klemgard. When they presented themselves before him, he said: 'I want no more of your apostacy. I do not know how you have escaped as well as you have done. I have fired over five thousand rounds of cartridges into you, and a hundred cannon balls, besides some shell.' Then he said to Joseph Morris: 'Are you willing to give up,' as if he had not already surrendered. He was so overcome with rage that he tried to ride Joseph down with his powerful horse; but Joseph stepping quietly forward took hold of the bridle-reins with each hand and sent the horse back upon his haunches. Then he turned to the people and said: 'I have taught you righteous principles from heaven; all those who are willing to follow me to

101. John G. Chambers, Manuscript, quoted in L. D. S. Journal History, June 13, 1862. Chambers was a posse member. Roberts gives 150 men from Great Salt Lake County and 100 from Davis County. In some accounts spectators have been confused with the militia.

102. Chambers, *op. cit.*, L. D. S. Journal History, June 15, 1862.

the death, come this way.' The general cry was, 'Here I am!' with the exception of about twenty persons, who formed a group by themselves and said they could stand it no longer. Then Joseph stepped to the western part of the Fort, opposite the school house. Robert Burton, in company with some others, rode up to him there and commanded him to surrender in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the authority of the United States. Brother Joseph stood firmly, and looking up to Burton, replied: 'Never! no, never; no never.' Then Burton fired five shots at him; at the fifth shot Joseph reeled, and was caught in the arms of a man by the name of John Eames, who laid him down gently on the ground. Such was the earthly end of Joseph Morris, but he still lives in the hearts of those who received his teachings." (103)

After the killing of Morris, the whole fort for a moment was a scene of turmoil; John Banks was also shot down, and two women. During the entire Morrisite "war" six were killed, including four women, while two posse members, Jared Smith and John Peter Wahlin, also were slain. (104) The prisoners were taken to Great Salt Lake City and committed for trial. Trial occurred in March 1863, when seven were convicted of second-degree murder, sixty-six others fined \$100, and two acquitted. The federal officials, however, felt that the defendants had been harshly dealt with, and Governor Stephen S. Harding accordingly remitted the fines and released the prisoners, an act for which the grand jury promptly censured him as they would "an unsafe bridge over a dangerous stream—jeopardizing the lives of all who pass over it—or as . . . a pestiferous cesspool . . . breeding disease and death." (105) The Morrisites soon lost their separate identity. Many of them were taken by Colonel Patrick Edward Connor to Soda Springs, Idaho; some of these ultimately joined the L. D. S. Church in that region. Others scattered into Oregon, but the Morrisite colony there presently broke up. A few of the Morrisites remained in Utah, one of them coming back to South Weber to camp on the public square until his death, and another serving as the first school teacher in Huntsville. (106) In the seventies and eighties George S. Dove, a disciple living in San Francisco, published a number of Morrisite doctrinal works, including the Morris revela-

103. The "*Spirit Prevails*", p. 8. The account is that of a Morrisite. Other versions relate that with Morris' defiance, his followers seized their guns, and Morris was slain in the melee which resulted. In 1879 Burton was arranged for murder in connection with the death of Morris, but the charges were not upheld. See B. H. Roberts, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, pp. 39-52, for another account of the Morrisite affair. In the contemporaneous *Deseret News* (vol. 11, pp. 404, 412) the Morrisites were referred to as "the Davis County handits".

104. Chambers, *op. cit.*, quoted in Andrew Jenson, History of South Weber Ward, in History of Mount Ogden Stake, MS.

105. *The Deseret News*, vol. 12, pp. 316, 333.

106. Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Gaston L. Braley, The Life Story of Patriarch Gaston L. Braley, MS., p. 39; Thomas Peek, The Early Settlement of South Weber, MS., p. 5; Andrew Jenson, History of Huntsville Ward, in History of Ogden Stake, MS.

tions. (107) For Ogden, however, the Morrisites passed in 1862-63, like the fading of a strange dream.

COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT

In 1863 Ogden began to look toward commerce. The erection of Farr's grist and saw mills on the Ogden River, and Daniel Burch's mills on the Weber River in 1850, had been an initial impulse toward self-sufficiency, and the location of a few small stores during the next twelve years was also important to the community, but until 1863 no true commerce developed in Ogden. In that year Jonathan Browning, James Horrocks, Arthur Stayner, who sold out to Chauncey W. West, William Pidcock, and Samuel Horrocks all opened commercial establishments. After David H. Peery moved to Ogden from Virginia in 1866, new capital entered the city, and significant business initiative. Peery served for years as manager of the Z. C. M. I. branch established in Ogden in 1868. Fred J. Kiesel also played a major role in the first industrial development of the town. In 1867 a \$60,000 woolen factory was constructed at the mouth of Ogden Canyon by four men, Randall, Pugsley, Farr, and Neil. This factory, the first of its kind north of Great Salt Lake City, manufactured blankets, flannels, linseys, jeans, and other domestic goods. Especial stimulus was given this commercial development by the opening of mines in Idaho and Montana, as goods were freighted north from Ogden. (108)

These years were another of Ogden's many periods of pleased and dismayed transition. William T. Coleman, one of Ogden's "old timers", recalls that during this time the people kept a wary eye on strangers. "The emigrants," he says, "parked along the street in their covered wagons, and all the people were afraid of them and what they might do. The grocers would hide what little money they had in coffee cans and anyone who had any valuables would get them out of sight. They would let the people stay so long, then the sheriff, Will Brown, who lived on what is now 25th Street, just over the hump of the hill, where he could see all over town because there weren't many houses to obstruct the view, would gather a posse and drive down the street and fire several shots with their rifles, and that was a signal for the emigrants to pack up and start moving again." (109)

The natives had their troubles, too, as is shown by a motion placed before a probate court in 1860 in a horse-stealing case.

107. See Bibliography in *Religion in Utah*, to be published in 1940 by the Utah Historical Records Survey.

108. Tullidge, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-164.

109. William T. Coleman, Interview, MS.

Counsel for the defense attempted to prohibit Chauncey W. West from pleading before the court, "Where as the said Bishop C. W. West does exercise and all most unlimited influence over the Court and jury, as a religious functory further more the people over which he presides as Bishop is morrally and religiously bound to acknowledge his bishop C. W. West's word as law and gospel, there for the parties now arrainged do not feel safe to go to tryal under these auspices. (signed) E. C. Richardson." (110)

A fascinating picture of the moral worries of the people is afforded by the "Police Record" of Ogden from 1859 to 1869. The police force was organized like a quorum of the priesthood, and with a strong religious feeling underlying the work. A policeman's ball on January 23, 1860, is thus described: "Police and guests gathered for amusement and recreation. The hall was beautifully dekorated and we had a grand time of it. The spirit of the Lord attended us, and our refreshments were delicious. The evening was spent in praying, singing, recitations, preaching and dancing." On February 20 of the same year, some of the police force having got into difficulties, "Mayor Farr. . . suggested the propriety of reinstating Bro. [Stephen] Maloney in the Quorum of police . . . Moved and carried that Bro. Maloney be restored to his former position in the office of police. Bro. [Peter] Tidwell made some confession which was accepted unanimously." On August 10, 1862, "Capt. [Green] Taylor gave some instruction relative to selling whiskey, taking the name of the Deity in vain, also cleaning the side walks, and he wished that the police would see that cattel did not roam at large through the streets after night."

Sometimes the flesh and the devil proved too much for Ogdenites, and then, as on January 9, 1863, the police took a hand. "Capt. Taylor reported that he and policeman [Joseph] Parry had arest Penjemin Olvit for gambling in Ogden and brought before alderman Browning, he was find 3 dollars and cost. Policeman Parry reported he had arrested Charles Jenkins for gambling also and brought him before alderman [James G.] Browning he was find 5 dollars and cost, he also reported that Isac Jorley had got drunk at a public party and that he was going to arest him for the same. Cap. Taylor he wished to say a few words to the Brethren of the police concerning drinking liquor with the boys, he said for his part he drather the police would not do it for he wanted that they should be exemplary men in all things. Policeman [William] Birch said he had drank a little with the boys but not much but in the futur he was going to gard against it. Marshal [William N.] Fife being present he wished the police to vigilinant look out for liquor for he had been told that liquor was brought up

110. Original document filed November 2, 1860, Weber County Probate Cases.

from Salt Lake City and sold here he wish the police to do there best in finding it out and bring the offenders to justice. . .” Two weeks later “Judge Brown” addressed the police; he “made some encouraging remarks and advised the Brethren to act well there part as watchmen upon the walls of Zion. . .”

Mayor Farr talked to the same effect in May. “. . . He looked to the police to see that [the laws of the city] were honouard and to see that they side walks were cleard of all nucance also to see that drunkness was put down if any existed in the city . . . The time was not far distant when the policemen [who] done there duty would be looked up [to as] the honorable men of the earth and they should have influence because of there Faithfulness, he wanted them in all cases to live above the law, and use wisdom in administering the law, to use kindness and be peace makers in all our action he wished also the police to be ready for every emergences to see that there guns and pistols were always loded and there powdar was dry.” Cap. Taylor “felt like carrying out the councils that we had just received and he believed that was the feeling of all the police he said he was prepared for any emergence his feelings was the kingdom of God or nothing.”

The police continued to fix a stern eye on drunkenness, on profanity, on pilfering, on fist-fighting in the street, and on keeping the sidewalks unobstructed. The significance of the approach of the transcontinental railroad was not lost on the guardians of public morals; on December 21, 1867, the bishop said “the time was not far distant when the police would have plenty to do”. On August 2, 1868, indeed, Officer [Thomas S.] Doxey reported darkly “that there was some lose women in our town that would bear watching”, while on December 19, Officer C. F. Middleton took into custody six men for “fast driving and loud hollowing in the streets.” (111)

The railroad changed everything tremendously. Progress had been made in the decade since 1858, but the decisive turn now taken by events makes that decade seem almost stagnant. Ogden’s major destiny was marked out in 1868-69. When on March 8, 1869 (112) the first Union Pacific engine steamed into the city on the heels of the tracklayers who were storming on toward Promontory and the epochal junction with the Central Pacific, Ogden awoke to an immediate lusty life such as had been experienced by no Utah city since the arrival of the first Mormon immigrants.

111. Police Record of Ogden City, typed copy from original in possession of Mrs. Rachael Middleton Jenson, Ogden, Utah. This manuscript record was kept by Captain F. A. Brown.

112. The date has been variously given, but a contemporaneous newspaper, *The Salt Lake Daily Telegraph*, March 9, 1869, establishes the event as having taken place at 11:30 a. m. the preceding morning.

Ogden might easily have lost the decisive stimulus of the railroad. In 1854, when plans for a transcontinental railroad enlivened the whole nation, the Utah legislature memorialized Congress to route the railroad down Provo Canyon, and thence around the north end of Utah Lake, (113) but the Weber Canyon route, to Ogden's great fortune, was adjudged superior by railroad engineers.

The coming of the railroad was dramatized by the consuming ambitions of the two companies. Congress having made to each company important cash subsidies and land grants along the right-of-way, the grants to be validated by the actual tracklaying, the companies graded far ahead, the Union Pacific extending its grades as far west as the Humboldt region in Nevada, while the Central Pacific graded on to Echo Canyon, the parallel grading being featured by lively battles between the "heathen Chinese" laborers of the Central Pacific and the Irishmen of the Union Pacific. So great was the rivalry that for a time the junction was endangered, but Congress on April 10, 1869, fixed the junction point at Promontory, and there the railroads met for the famous Golden Spike ceremony on May 10, 1869. (114) Ogden's official representatives were Mayor Lorin Farr, Brigadier General Chauncey W. West, Probate Judge Franklin D. Richards, and T. B. H. Stenhouse, who was preparing to publish Ogden's first newspaper, the transplanted Salt Lake Daily Telegraph. (115)

Subsequently the section of track between Promontory and a point five miles west of Ogden was leased to the Central Pacific by the Union Pacific system and Ogden became the terminus. As enterprising Utah business men at once began construction of local roads north and south through Utah, Ogden almost at once acquired its distinctive nickname, "The Junction City". So widespread became the usage of this name that in his history of Utah, H. H. Bancroft soberly advised the public Ogden was sometimes erroneously called Junction City. (116)

The railroads were not impressive by modern standards; there are tales of passengers on the Union Pacific who sometimes left the cars enroute across the plains, gathering buffalo chips to keep the stoves glowing in the cars, while the trains between Salt Lake and Ogden ran at such a pace that small boy passengers had ample time to raid watermelon patches along the right-of-way, (117) but the Iron Horse opened up whole new empires.

113. *Compiled Laws of Utah*, 1855, pp. 412-414.

114. Nelson Trottman, *History of the Union Pacific*, New York, 1923, p. 64. Relics of the ceremony are now preserved in the Stanford University Museum.

115. Ogden City Council Minute Book, vol. A., p. 139.

116. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 700.

117. Sarah Joy Bennington Surrage, Interview, MS., p. 1; Charles Henry Stratford, Interview, MS., p. 3.

There were immediate benefits. Construction of the railroad grades through northern Utah brought the first large influx of money into Utah. Brigham Young took over the contract for grading ninety miles west from Echo Canyon to the valley of the Great Salt Lake, subletting portions of the contract to Joseph A. Young, Lorin Farr, E. T. Benson, and Chauncey W. West. (118) Further subcontracting broke up the work into still smaller units, and all along the line, from Brigham Young to the meanest day-laborer, the railroad money was a godsend. Further work of this character was provided by the building of the Utah Central between Salt Lake City and Ogden, completed January 10, 1870. The Utah Central, said to be the first railroad west of the Mississippi constructed without government subsidies, was later acquired by the Union Pacific system, as were the Utah Southern and Utah Southern Extension lines down through the heart of Utah. Today these roads form an integral part of the main line to Los Angeles.

Prior to the coming of the railroad, for all the exacting labors of the people, Ogden was simply a frontier desert village of about 1,500 inhabitants. Provo was then a larger city than its northern rival. The adobe or log houses were scattered along the wide streets, shade and fruit trees struggling for a foothold in the yards. The dusty streets in rainy weather were transformed into quagmires which gave Ogden the reputation of having the muddiest streets in Utah. As late as 1867 the city council repeated legislation forbidding "cattle, horses, mules, sheep, calves, swine, or goats" to run at large within the city limits; the time was not long past when taxes were payable in stock or produce; and the county had a bounty on wolves. Sometimes businesses were completely disrupted as their proprietors were called to perform "missions" for the L. D. S. Church in various parts of the world—remission of taxes by county and city officials for this reason was a common occurrence. (119) The community also was solidly Mormon; the first non-Mormon churches, Methodist and Episcopalian, were not established until 1870. All these things now changed drastically. A whole new way of living was Ogden's heritage from the railroad.

The L. D. S. Church was alive to the change in the air. "Society . . . in the Junction City was about to be rapidly mixed and the control of the commonwealth and business of the city, and indeed their entire commerce depending on Northern Utah, was to be very nearly divided between the two great factors of Utah—the Mormons and the Gentiles. It was imperatively necessary, therefore, that Weber Stake should be placed under an Apostolic

118. Gustive Larson, "Building of the Utah Central", *Improvement Era*, (1925) vol. 28, pp. 217, 218.

119. Weber County Court Record, vol. A, p. 64.

administration and the dignity of the county government made to correspond therewith. The Gentiles required this not less than the Mormons, for, differ as we may, there is in society a natural respect for high legitimate authority. The destiny and future of Ogden then, at that time requiring that Weber County should be elevated to an Apostolic See, Franklin D. Richards was. . . chosen . . . to represent the county as Probate Judge." Richards moved to Ogden in March 1869. (120)

The changes which could be effected in two years are shown by the impressions of an English traveler, James Bonwick, who visited Ogden in the winter of 1871-72. "The place. . . partook of the character of an Australian diggings township. The shanties—all of wood—were small and mean. The stores had clearly no want of business, though the hotels seemed uncommonly well supported; but there was a great traffic with the northern mines, and many travellers were weatherbound. The Gentiles were heavy in complaints of the Saints devoting territorial returns to their missionary enterprises, instead of making decent roads. But the Saints might reply, that the western Americans were so accustomed to unmade streets and corduroy plank causeways elsewhere, as to be able to put up with no worse in Utah . . . A careful, sober and industrious race, the Ogdenites have neither time nor tastes to devote themselves to any other pursuits but hard work and Mormonism. . . I formed the acquaintance of a member of the police force, on duty at the station. The uniform consisted of a letter P. with a star on the breast. He showed patience and tact in dealing with a large number of roughs waiting for the train to move on, who beguiled the time drinking, spitting, gambling, swearing, and tall talking. There was a great deal of humor with the blasphemy of these miners, drovers, and rovers. On the goldfields of Victoria, at the Great Rush, when we had a queer gathering from all quarters, I did hear some oaths; but for volume, combination, and ingenious use of oaths, there could be nothing to approach that Gentile assemblage at Utah. My police friend called my attention to this and other exponents of character, as an illustration of the bad teaching of so-called Christians." (121)

Six years later a still more emphatic change in appearance had taken place. "Ogden was truly a frontier town; its streets were dusty in dry weather and like seas of mud in the wet season. In the down-town or business district there were plank walks in front of some of the stores and saloons, and from 24th Street and what is now Wall Avenue, a wide board walk ran southwest for about a quarter of a mile to the old wooden structure which

120. Tullidge, *op. cit.*, pp. 334, 335.

121. James Bonwick, *The Mormons and the Silver Mines*, London, 1872, pp. 22-25.

served as a Union Depot. In that same locality there was the frontier trading district, known as the "Y", where bakeries (?), coffee stands, curio dealers, and fur traders used to abound and where dried buffalo meat, jerked venison, buffalo robes, Indian scalps (?), and gold nuggets were plentiful.

"At train time it was an interesting sight to watch the make-up of the railroad passengers, amongst whom one would see blue-coated, brass-buttoned officers and soldiers of the United States Army; mining men; prospectors; longhaired, buckskin-dressed mountaineers and trappers; red blanketed Indians from the Indian country north, west, and south; Chinamen of the old primitive time wearing the bamboo, top-like hat. Added to these were well-dressed, well-to-do travelers from the eastern cities going to California and quite aristocratic-looking English, French, Dutch, and Germans traveling by way of San Francisco and the Pacific to China, Japan, New Zealand, or Australia . . ." (122)

In this panorama of change, as Ogden stirred eagerly to the new blood in its veins, new citizens loomed as large as travelers. Ogden in 1860 had a population only of 1,463, an increase of only a few hundred over that listed in 1852, but in 1870, barely a year after the railroad arrived, the population had grown to 3,127, and a decade later the figure jumped to 6,069, doubling again in 1890, to 12,889. Many of the newcomers were Mormon immigrants, who found train travel over the plains much more pleasant than the wearisome crossing afoot or by ox-teams; but also there was a strong new admixture of non-Mormons—"gentiles". Sooner than any other major Utah city, Ogden had to face the problem of reconciling the difference between these two factions. The Mormon settlers retained a vivid tradition of conflict with gentiles in the midwest, a group sensitivity accentuated by constant irritations since the migration to Utah, while many of the newcomers, wrought up by the countless sensational stories of Mormon polygamy and "treason" which regularly deluged the nation, brought with them a crusading zeal to settle "the Mormon problem".

The bitterest conflicts in Ogden might have been anticipated, particularly since the collapse of Corinne, established in Box Elder County on the Bear River in February, 1869, and termed "The Gentile City" by its optimistic founders, resulted in a wholesale removal of its citizens and properties to Ogden. Actually, a balance of toleration was quickly struck in Ogden, and commercially the gentile-Mormon antagonism somewhat disappeared, in striking contrast to the bitternesses engendered in Salt Lake City between 1860 and 1890.

122. Don Maguire, "The Story of Ogden's Catholic History," *The Diocesan Monthly*, (1924) vol. 2, No. 4, p. 10.

Social difficulties set in. Mormon and Gentile held aloof, and even the children felt superior for being the one or the other. William Coleman recalls that "all the Mormon kids knew all the gentile kids, and it was common talk for them to refer to certain boys as gentile kids, or Mormon kids who'd gone to the gentile side". (123) Gentile parents refused to send their children to schools established by the Mormons, where Mormon doctrine was sometimes taught, so that there were education problems. As late as the early years of the present century these sharp differentiations persisted; Bernard DeVoto has written of them as they existed during his childhood. (124)

The sharpest expression of group hostility was political, expressed through the struggles of the Liberal and People's parties. Corinne was at first the headquarters of the gentile Liberal party, which was organized in 1870, but the removal to Ogden made the latter city the center of Liberal activity. From 1871 the Liberals made yearly gains, climaxed in 1889 when, to their wild delight, they at last carried the mayoralty election with Fred J. Kiesel as candidate. (125) Ogden still bears the marks of the Liberal victory, for soon after taking office the Liberals set about renaming the city streets, which in 1870 had been named from west to east, Wall, Franklin, Young, Main, Spring, Pearl, Green, and East, and from north to south, beginning with the present 21st Street, 1st to 10th. The present-day street names and numbers originate with the action by the city council on April 5, 1889. (126) The presidential names selected for the streets proved inviolate for later office-holders.

The political struggles, however, were only one rowdy facet of the life which shook Ogden to its heels. Periodically the town trembled to the millennial fever, to exciting visions of Golcondas in the nearby mountains. A magic, spoken word seemed enough to make of Ogden a new Virginia City or a new Pittsburgh. In 1888, a silver boom in Ogden Canyon briefly stirred the city; (127) again in the late nineties Ogden had another boom when silver-lead ore was found at La Plata, 38 miles northeast. La Plata, now a ghost town, had at one time a bank, a paper, many stores, and 5,000 population. For years Ogdenites expected that a gigantic iron and steel industry might spring up in their dooryard, as

123. William T. Coleman, *op. cit.*

124. Bernard DeVoto, "Fossil Remnants of the Frontier", *Harper's Magazine*, April, 1935, pp. 590-600.

125. Bernard DeVoto, in "Ogden, The Underwriters of Salvation", in Duncan Alkman, *The Taming of the Frontier*, describes these years of struggle with a colorful and lively pen, though without strict regard to facts.

126. Ogden City Council Minute Book, Vol. B, pp. 136, 298.

127. "Early Days in Ogden", *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, July 13, 1938.

at the touch of a genie's hand. (128) And as the Junction City, the booming railroad center, what future might be Ogden's? The air was full of the portents of greatness and suddenness. Ogden reached out eagerly for every dream.

The years were rich and spectacular. The press in Ogden had a riotous time. Editors were beaten up, jailed, sued for libel, and tarred and feathered; the political battles contributed greatly to the sharp vitality of newspapers. The substantial character of Ogden's present paper, the *Standard-Examiner*, gives no hint of the journalistic shambles of earlier days. (129) In 1884 a mob hanged a Japanese near the city jail. (130) And there were eccentric characters in the full tradition of the western frontier. O. A. Kennedy, the grand old man of Ogden journalism, who came to Ogden in 1889, recalls one of these, "Louie, the carpenter".

"He lived in a one-pole tent about six feet square and set up a little south of the center of the block bounded by Lincoln and 24th Street, Wall Avenue and 25th Street. An irrigation ditch ran northwest through the block, following an old creek bed, and 'Louie' had his tent set up a few feet from this canal. Practically all year round there was running water in this canal and that supplied water for drinking, for cooking, and for bathing. I was told that 'Louie' bathed every day in this stream even if he had to cut the ice to get at the water. I learned later than 'Louie' had adopted as his model Christ, who like himself was a carpenter. And in order to more closely imitate Christ he had adopted the flowing robes of biblical days, cutting and sewing them himself from gunny sacking. He lived the simple life, cooking his food on an open fire outside his tent and taking no heed for the morrow. Fellows of the baser sort along 25th Street delighted in pointing him out to tourists as he passed along the street, bare-headed and clad in long flowing robes and home-made sandals, and carrying his carpenter tools. They would explain mysteriously, 'That is a Mormon priest'. Tourists were duly impressed, the Mormons were not complimented, and 'Louie' was furious when he overheard it." (131)

Home life in the Ogden region also had its distinctive flavor. Mrs. Marinda Allen Ingles, who was born in 1857 and lived in Huntsville for many years, gives a typical picture of the earlier

128. See Edward W. Tullidge, "Ogden City", in *Western Galaxy*, June, 1888, pp. 25, 26; Fred J. Flower, *Ogden City*, Ogden, n. d., pp. 15, 16.

129. See J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism*, Salt Lake City, 1938, pp. 142-180; Maurice L. Howe, "When Railroads Came, So Did Newspapers", *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, August 31, 1930; Hugh F. O'Neil, "History of the Press in Ogden", *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, July 17, 1938; O. A. Kennedy, "The Story of the Ogden Daily Commercial", *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, April 19, 1925; the first newspaper, the *Salt Lake Daily Telegraph*, featured in its first Ogden issue, May 11, 1869, the Golden Spike ceremonies at Promontory the preceding day.

130. Gilbert Belnap, Interview, in *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, February 2, 1924.

131. O. A. Kennedy, Interview, MS.

period. "I learned to spin when I was nine years old. I had to stand on a plank so I would be tall enough to reach the top of the spinning wheel. Work was a pleasure in those days, and everyone had about the same. . . We made dresses out of blue denim like they make overalls of. When mother made us a new calico dress she would put a nice deep hem in it so it could be let down, and we were proud as peacocks over it. We got a pair of shoemaker's shoes to wear in the winter, but in the summer we could only wear them on Sundays. . . One time all the boys and girls were going to a dance, and I vowed I would have a pair of hoops for my skirt if I had to go without shoes the next winter. My father, after much coaxing, bought me a pair and everything went well until that evening when we were on our way to the dance. Something went wrong with the bridle on the horse and father called back to my young man to get out of the wagon and fix it. Then as he went to step out of the wagon he caught his foot in my hoops and fell out of the wagon on his head. The girls tried to get me to go back home and fix my skirt, but I refused. I was dead set on going to that dance. Well, when we arrived at the dance, all the girls formed a circle around me and I tugged and pulled at my hoops until I got them straightened. [But] my escort was suffering with such a bad headache from his tumble that he didn't feel much like dancing." (132)

Sometimes epidemics made day-to-day living a grim business. Diphtheria occasionally raged, and smallpox epidemics, as in 1870 and 1876, frightened the people. But they held their courage through such troublous times, secure in their belief in themselves and their religion.

Religion remained a major force, and was crucial in the wild events of the eighties. Congress at last had taken drastic steps to stamp out polygamy, and, backed up by the new legislation, the federal judiciary opened a determined campaign in Utah. In Ogden as elsewhere in Utah, U. S. deputy marshals, "deps", ran close upon the heels of "cohabs" (men living in "unlawful cohabitation") in "polyg hunts". The "cohabs" who were caught were heavily fined and imprisoned, when convicted. Believers in polygamy thought men had no right to interfere with the revelations of God, and they fought back as best they could—by subterfuge, or by flight; while if caught, they went to prison as martyrs. Those practicing polygamy were greatly in the minority, but often they were community leaders, and public affairs suffered from the determined onslaught on polygamists. Finally, in 1890, Wilford Woodruff, president of the L. D. S. Church, issued the "manifesto" suspending the practice of polygamy as a fundamental tenet of

the church. The government accepted the Mormon ratification of this manifesto, and the uproar over polygamy gradually quieted. The "manifesto" cleared the path for statehood in 1896, and the solid Utah growth of the present day. In 1891 the People's party formally dissolved, followed two years later by the Liberal party, and politics since that time in Ogden have been familiar Republican-Democratic struggles, except for a brief period after 1904, when the anti-Mormon American Party unsuccessfully entered the lists.

Full transition to modern times began in the nineties, when the story of Ogden became a more intricate story of civic and industrial growth as a complex municipality. The Liberal victory of 1889 in Ogden exactly coincided with the onset of the real estate boom which was sweeping the country. "For two years there was such life in the town as it had never before known. Real estate advanced by leaps and bounds, buildings went forward in every part of Ogden; the town spread far beyond its old lines and its business increased more than 300 per cent. (133) Especially remembered from these years is William Hope (Coin) Harvey, a picturesque character who, agitating for the free coinage of silver, is said to have furnished William Jennings Bryan with the idea he subsequently made famous. Harvey, a "go-getter" some thirty years in advance of his age, organized the "Order of Monte Cristo", a prototype of the modern boosters' organizations, and a carnival modeled after the Mardi Gras, which was a success every way except financially. He left Ogden for Chicago, just prior to the panic of '93 and the following depression. (134)

Those depression years brought Ogden its final flareup of the old, restless color. In the spring of 1894 unemployed men, who became known as "The Industrial Army" or "Coxey's Army", surged eastward through Ogden, alarming the city to the point where the militia was called out, (135) eliciting on April 7 a protest from the Weber county court against the Southern Pacific Company's bringing into the county so many indigent and poor people; (136) the Southern Pacific, in reply, gave the county court a great shock by demanding that the county immediately empty the twenty-three cars occupied by the "Industrial Army" under penalty of being billed \$3 per car per day. (137)

The "Army" moved on east to Washington, D. C., to present to Congress grievances of the laboring classes, but Ogden was not done with excitement this year, for in July the city was aroused

133. Maguire, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

134. O. A. Kennedy, articles in *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, May 6-16, 1931.

135. See *The Standard*, April 8-13, 1894.

136. Weber County Court Record, vol. H., p. 88.

137. *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 149.

by an attempt at wholesale arson, seven fires lighted within an hour doing \$135,000 damage. (138) This violence occurred in connection with the ill-fated national rail strike led by Eugene V. Debs. The city employed extra police and firemen, and business men formed a vigilante committee to protect the town and the water supply, but the fires occurred during the last days of the strike, and no further violence was attempted. No one was ever convicted, though twenty-nine strikers were arraigned on arson charges. (139)

MODERN OGDEN IN RETROSPECT

Important to the modern aspect of Ogden is the development of its public utilities. Most essential of these is the Ogden waterworks. In early years drinking water was secured from the various springs and streams; the "water problem" was less a matter of securing drinking water than of providing for irrigation of crops, although sometimes it was necessary to let water from irrigation ditches stand for hours before the silt sufficiently settled for the water to be palatable. Later, wells were dug to supply individual homes. In late 1879 it was proposed to the city council to locate a reservoir on the bench to collect waters from the springs there, (140) and in 1880 the municipality constructed on "Courthouse Hill" (now 24th Street) a reservoir to collect the waters of several small springs, these waters being conveyed in pipes to Main (Washington) Street. (141) The next year the Ogden Water Company was formed, the city taking a controlling interest, to pipe water from Ogden Canyon to the reservoir and to lay distributing pipes along the principal streets of the city. (142) The city sold its properties on Fourth Street to this company but in 1884 bought out the firm for \$36,680. (143) In 1888 the city council bought the waters of Strong and Waterfall canyons to secure adequate water for Ogden development. (144) This same year the Liberals having secured control of the city, a bond issue of \$100,000 was passed for the payment of the current indebtedness of the city, erecting a city hall, constructing a sewerage system, and extending the waterworks. (145) In 1890, however, the city's water properties were sold to the Bear Lake and River Water Works Company. In 1910 the city bonded itself for \$100,000,

138. *The Standard*, July 9, 1894.

139. See news reports in *The Standard*, July 1-8, 1894.

140. Ogden City Council Minute Book, vol. D, p. 561.

141. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 701.

142. Tullidge, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

143. Ogden City Council Ordinance Book, vol. B, p. 24.

144. Ogden City Council Minute Book, vol. B, p. 301.

145. Ogden City Council Ordinance Book, vol. B, p. 88.

again acquired the waterworks, and has since operated it as a municipal business. (146) The final development in Ogden's water system came in 1914 and reaches interestingly back to the pre-Mormon years when visitors commented on the many springs in the region, for the city commenced to exploit the underground water resources in Weber and Ogden valleys. (147) Ogden's water supply today is principally of artesian origin, praised by chemical analysis for its freedom from nitrates, impurities, odor, and sediment, and for its great brightness, clearness, and normal taste. (148) The artesian basin most important is that lying at the lower end of Ogden Valley; many of the capped wells now lie beneath the surface of Pine View reservoir, a reclamation project completed in the region in 1936. According to figures supplied by the city, the value of its waterworks on January 1, 1939, was \$2,559,917.58, with bonds outstanding to the value of \$1,474,500, while the net revenue for 1938 was \$188,547.99.

Paralleling the development of the water system is that of the other utilities, privately owned. Ogden's electric light system was inaugurated through the lighting by the Ogden Electric Light Company of an "electric light tower" in the center of the city on May 19, 1881, a gala occasion for the city. The electric light tower was a steel structure, surmounted by a light globe, which was erected on the hill at what is now 24th Street and Adams Avenue. According to theory, the tower would light up the entire town, but the theory was as weak as the illumination. On June 20 many of the stores were lit up by the electric light for the first time. (149) Power was supplied by a steam generating plant. In the early eighties a hydro-electric plant was established near the mouth of Ogden Canyon. (150) In later years the Ogden properties were taken over by the Utah Power and Light Company, the major Utah power utility, which still serves Ogden. An attempt by the city to establish a municipal power plant was voted down by the electorate in elections during the autumns of 1938 and 1939.

The first telephone system in the state was installed in Ogden in 1879, when the George A. Lowe Company established a private wire between its store and warehouse. The Ogden Telephone Exchange Company, established in 1880, with fifty-six subscribers, constructed the first exchange in the city. At first there were several small competing companies, but the disadvantages attendant upon splitting up a naturally monopolistic business finally

146. Ogden City Council Minute Book, vol. F, p. 162.

147. *Ibid.*, vol. C, p. 141.

148. Pack and Carrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-30.

149. Haeffel & Cannon, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 46.

150. O. A. Kennedy, "Ogden River History Contains Chapter of Success and Failure", *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*, August 14, 1931.

impelled a consolidation of these companies under the name of the Rocky Mountain Bell Telephone Company, reorganized in 1911 and today serving Ogden as the Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Company. (151) Telegraph service is supplied the city by the Western Union and Postal Telegraph firms. The Western Union Company in 1900 took over the Deseret Telegraph Company, (152) a Utah firm which in 1866 constructed as a part of its network a line from Salt Lake City to Ogden. (153)

The fourth of the utility services, natural gas, dates from 1929, when the gas was brought into the city from Baxter Basin in Wyoming. For a year prior to the coming of the natural gas pipelines, the city was served by the Ogden Gas Company, which took over the old gas properties of the Utah Light and Traction in Ogden and manufactured gas. This company since has merged with several others to form the Mountain Fuel Supply Company. (154)

The fifth utility, the street railway system, has a colorful story dating from the eighties. The Ogden City Railway Company on May 29, 1883 was granted a franchise to construct and operate a single and double track railway on Fourth, Fifth, and Main Streets, passenger fares to be ten cents a person. (155) Originally the cars were mule-drawn, a change of teams being made every four hours. In 1889 the lines were extended and small steam engines known as "dummies" were installed, these "dummies" pulling several of the small horse-cars. In the spring of 1891 tracks were re-laid and preparations made for electrification. The system passed during these years through the hands of several companies and in 1900 was reorganized as the Ogden Rapid Transit Company, by David Eccles and associates. In 1913 the line was extended up Ogden Canyon to Huntsville, and for many years this picturesque railway distinguished the Ogden scene. Since December 25, 1935, however, gasoline buses have replaced the railway. (156).

Public services of the city also reach well back into Ogden's history. In 1873 a great fire that destroyed ten buildings in the business section aroused citizens to the necessity for a fire brigade, and a voluntary force was organized with Joshua Williams as chief. Other disastrous fires in 1879 and 1881, the latter destroying the freight offices of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads with a loss of several hundred thousands of dollars, em-

151. Thain, "Public Utilities", in Charles Skidmore, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

152. *Ibid.*, pp. 406, 407.

153. Jensen, *Church Chronology*, p. 76.

154. Thain, *op. cit.*, pp. 403, 404.

155. Ogden City Council Ordinance Book, vol. B, pp. 15, 16.

156. John Crosley, *History of Ogden's Streetcar System*, MS., passim.

phasized the need for fire protection and paved the way for placing a fire department on a partial payment basis and then on its modern basis as a full time paid force of twenty-eight men. (157)

The police force has experienced many vicissitudes since it was originated as the marshal's office. In 1855 the mayor was authorized to raise a city police force of twenty-five men. The force grew slowly, however, as is indicated by a claim laid before the city council in March 1869, when the city marshal presented a bill for \$14 to pay for "blankets, tins, brass knuckles & etc." and declared that the police had no quarters for shelter from the weather. (158) Growth of the city enforced an expansion of this force, and in 1939 Ogden's police force is organized along with fire and health units under the department of public safety, directed by the mayor and chief of police, the force comprising thirty-six men.

Ogden's health department, with a staff of five, inspects water, milk, meats, and eating establishments, and combats contagious disease. The office was first in the state to furnish serums for the higher types of pneumonia.

School problems in Ogden have always been closely associated with those in Weber County as a whole, so that the first schools outside the county seat will be noted. At Farr's Fort, school was taught during 1850-51 by a non-Mormon, a Mr. Judkins, in a log building. A Mrs. Green was the first teacher in North Ogden, in 1852 holding classes in a log building erected the previous year. At Uintah, William G. McMullin was first to teach, also in 1852. A third school opened this year was that in Bingham's Fort (Lynne), this building being the first adobe schoolhouse outside Ogden. Joseph Hall taught first in Slaterville during the winter of 1857-58; the schoolhouse had been built in 1855. At Riverdale, Hugh Findley taught in a schoolhouse built in the summer of 1859. Although Plain City constructed a log schoolhouse in the fall of 1860, it was badly built, and school had to be abandoned until a shingle roof was added in 1862. Martin H. Harris served as the first Harrisville schoolmaster, teaching in his own home in 1862. After a schoolhouse was completed in the spring of 1863, a Mr. Poterell served as a teacher. In Wilson, school was taught in private houses between 1862 and 1864, until a log house was completed. The first Huntsville schoolteacher was Mark Forcutt, who had been a member of the First Council of Joseph Morris'

157. Hugh O'Neil, "Start of Fire Force Traced to 1873 Blaze", *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, August, 1936. In 1883 Ogden had two volunteer hose companies and one hook and ladder company and the city employed a night guard to watch for fires from the courthouse tower (*Ogden*, volume of plats of city business district in Weber County clerk's vault).

158. Ogden City Council Minute Book, vol. A, p. 327.

Church; Forcutt taught in the log schoolhouse a short time in 1862 and then was replaced by William Halls. In Marriott, a combination school and meeting house was raised in 1863, a small log structure with a dirt roof. Although in West Weber a schoolhouse was begun in 1861, school was not taught there until the winter of 1862-63, by George Clinton Wilson. Johanna Teeple first taught the Eden students in 1866. No school was built in the Mound Fort District until 1867. The Hooper schoolhouse, of adobe, was built in the fall of 1869. Although a schoolhouse had been erected in West Harrisville in 1872, the first school built after that district was renamed Farr West was a brick structure raised in 1880. In Kanessville the first schoolhouse was a frame building erected in 1883. The Roy schoolhouse was built in 1885, the Warren building in 1884-86. The West Warren children attended school in Warren until 1898, when a frame building was completed in that settlement. (158)

In most instances these schools first were log construction, later replaced by adobe and frame buildings, usually called "the schoolhouse" even though used for ecclesiastical and other purposes. Huntsville differed somewhat from the other settlements in that the rock structure built in 1866 was definitely known as the meeting house, and while school was held in this building after its completion, the school quarters were "rented", the rent consisting in the making by the school trustees of any necessary repairs.

School problems in Ogden were more involved than in the county, since few of the outlying settlements had more than one school until the turn of the century. In Ogden, also, the first school system in the county was evolved.

The Ogden school system is virtually as old as the city, the city council on May 10, 1851 having divided the city into four school districts. Provision was made for a school grant of \$3 per year each for inhabitants between the ages of four and twenty-one, conditional upon the maintenance by each district of an adequate school during six months of the year. (159) This attempt at a free school system was abandoned after a year's trial owing to the difficulty experienced in collecting the taxes. Very few details relative to these schools are to be found until 1867. A system of "tuition schools" was established in their stead. Most important of these early schools, and Ogden's pride for years, was the Central School, built in 1879-80 at a cost of approximately \$15,000. (160)

158. Information derived from Andrew Jenson's manuscript ward histories of these settlements. See Bibliography.

159. Ogden City Council Minute Book, vol. A, p. 10.

160. William Allison, "Early History of the Ogden School", in *Annual Report of Board of Education, 1903-1904*, Ogden, 1904, pp. 85-96.

Since those early schools were colored by Mormon doctrine, they became a matter of contention after the influx of gentiles, who were unwilling to send their children to such schools. Consequently, as non-Mormon churches grew in strength in Utah, an effort was made by them to combat Mormon domination of the schools.

First of the non-Mormon schools seems to have been "The School of the Good Shepherd," founded in 1870 by the Rev. J. L. Gillogly of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Other schools soon followed, the Methodist in 1871, and the Catholic Sacred Heart Academy and the Presbyterian school in 1878. (161) The major effort toward establishment of non-sectarian schools, however, was made by the Congregationalist Church in the eighties, through its New West Education Commission. In pursuit of its plan to establish schools throughout Utah, the Congregationalists founded a New West school not only in Ogden but also in Lynne, Slaterville, Hooper, and Huntsville. All these were located between 1880 and 1885. (162) But the establishment of such schools hardly solved the educational problem, for as a rule only children of non-Mormons and apostate Mormons attended them. (163)

One of the earliest acts of the Liberals, after their election triumph in 1889, was to forbid the use of schoolhouses as "meeting houses", thus enforcing in many of the small communities a separation of religion and schooling. Passage of a territorial law in 1890, which provided for free schools throughout Utah, led to consolidation of all the Ogden school districts and schools into a unified school administration. At the time the new law took effect, March 13, 1890, there were 3,296 children between the ages of six and eighteen in Ogden, of which 1,751 were in attendance upon the public schools, 961 in the parochial schools, and 584 in no schools at all. Of these 3,296 children, 1,602 were of non-Mormon parentage, and 1,694 of Mormon parentage. It is notable that Ogden reestablished its free school system the year before the territorial school law was passed. (164)

Establishment of the Board of Education in 1898 was marked at first by the difficulties attendant on the full organization of the new schools, since the territorial law had doubled the number of students. At first it was necessary to rent a large number of

161. Haefeli & Cannon, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-73; H. M. Merkel, *History of Methodism in Utah*, Colorado Springs, 1938, p. 194.

162. Informant, S. H. Goodwin, Salt Lake City, former superintendent, New West Schools. Mr. Goodwin has written valuable pamphlets on *Freemasonry in Utah*, of which *Weber Lodge No. 6*, Salt Lake City, 1928, contains not only the story of the first Ogden Masonic lodge (1873) but much sidelight material.

163. See DeVoto, "Fossil Remnants of the Frontier." In "A Sagebrush Bookshelf", *Harper's Magazine*, October, 1937, Mr. DeVoto entertainingly discusses Ogden schools and literary interests in the early years of the century.

164. Allison, *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 97.

rooms in such buildings as were available, and so unsatisfactory was this procedure that for building purposes the people bonded the city in 1891-92 for \$150,000. (165)

Upon this foundation was raised the modern Ogden school structure. The number of students taught in the Ogden City schools between the ages of six and eighteen in 1937-38 was 10,555. Administrative personnel numbered 340 at the end of 1938. The city maintains twelve grade schools, three in connection with junior highs, and four junior high schools, having been one of the first cities to open junior or "sub-high" schools. High school work was begun September 1, 1890, and was carried on in various buildings until 1909, when the Ogden High building was erected at 25th Street and Monroe Avenue. This high school was the only one in the county until Weber High, operated by the county, was built in 1926 at 11th Street and Washington Avenue. Ogden High in 1937 was relocated on the bench east of the city, a modernistic million dollar structure being constructed with the aid of a Public Works Administration grant. In Weber County outside Ogden there are twenty schools, which, including Weber High, on October 31, 1938 had a total enrollment of 3,672 students, with a professional personnel of 121.

A Methodist "University of Utah" was once projected for Ogden on the eastern foothills in the vicinity of 30th Street and Tyler Avenue, and a military academy existed in the nineties. More enduring educational institutions were the Sacred Heart Academy, operated by the Catholic Church between 1878 and 1937, St. Joseph's school, operated in connection with the Catholic Church; and Weber Junior College.

The college, established in 1889 as the Weber Stake Academy, operated by the L. D. S. Church, was made a normal school in 1916, and its name in 1918 was changed to Weber Normal College. Until May 1923, the school offered high school training. The college was in 1932 accredited as a member of the American Association of Junior Colleges and in 1933 was given by the L. D. S. Church to the State of Utah, since when it has been operated as a State-supported junior college under the direction of the Utah State Board of Education. (166)

165. *Ibid.*, p. 97, 98. Textbooks in use between 1880 and 1890 were: (Reading) *Bancroft's Readers* and *Appleton's Primary Charts*; (Spelling) *Harrington's Graded Speller*; (Penmanship) *Spencerian Tracing and Shorter Courses*, and *Michaels Rapid System*; (Arithmetic) *Harper's Two Book Series*; (Grammar) *Barnes' Short Studies in English* and *Read & Kellogg's Higher Lessons in English*; (Geography) *Appleton's Series*; (History) *Barnes' Primary History of the United States*; (Physiology and Hygiene) *Pathfinder Series, Nos. 1 and 2* and *Steeles Hygienic Physiology*; (Drawing) *Krusi Series*; (Music) *Stephens' Music Readers*.

166. *Weber College Bulletin, 1937-38*, p. 16.

Also located in Ogden are the Utah School for the Deaf and the Blind and the Utah State Industrial School. In 1937 the legislature designated Ogden as the site for a State Tuberculosis Sanatorium to be constructed north of the mouth of Ogden Canyon. The Dee Memorial Hospital, a first class institution operated by the L. D. S. Church, was built in Ogden in 1910 and is the only hospital in the county. The city has possessed a public library since 1891. In 1902 Andrew Carnegie granted the city \$25,000 for a building, the city providing the site and guarantee of a yearly appropriation of \$2,500 for maintenance. The library operates a branch in connection with the Mound Fort School and helps meet the expenses of a branch on 25th Street. On January 1, 1939, it housed 45,627 volumes, including government documents and pamphlets.

The ecclesiastical development of Ogden is a complex theme beyond the scope of this history, and only the barest reference can be made to the various churches which have arisen in Ogden. Prior to 1870 almost exclusively a Mormon city, Ogden is still dominantly Latter-day Saint in its religious affiliations. The city is divided among four "Stakes of Zion", Weber, Ogden, Mount Ogden and North Weber, and has twenty-two wards or local churches in addition to a branch for the deaf. Other denominations now found in the city include: Seventh-day Adventist; First Baptist; Wall Avenue Baptist (colored); (Bible Students) International Bible Students; (Bible Students) Jehovah's Witness; Ogden Buddhist (Japanese); (Catholic) St. Joseph's; First Church of Christ, Scientist; First Congregational; (Disciples of Christ, Christian) First Christian; Hellenic (Greek) Orthodox; Congregation Br'th Sholem; (Japanese Independent) Japanese Union Christian; Elim Lutheran, German Lutheran, (Lutheran) St. Paul's Evangelical; Embury Chapel-African Methodist Episcopal (colored); First Methodist (Episcopal); (Mormon) Church of Christ; (Mormon) Re-organized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; Church of the Nazarene; Pentecostal Lighthouse; Presbyterian; (Protestant Episcopal) Church of the Good Shepherd; and Salvation Army Corps. (167)

The final side to modern Ogden is the moving force on which the city is dependent, from which its present history issues and from which its future must evolve, Ogden's commerce and industry.

What the original transcontinental railroad meant to Ogden has been examined, but its railroad development did not cease with the completion of this road or with that of the secondary railroads built to feed it at Ogden. In the eighties the Oregon Short

167. Historical Records Survey, *Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in Utah*, passim.

Line, since 1898 a unit of the Union Pacific, constructed a road from Wyoming into Oregon, and this company in 1889 acquired the properties of the Utah Central, between Ogden and Salt Lake, and the Utah Northern, which began building north from Ogden in 1871 and carried its line to Silver Bow, Montana, in 1880. (168) The completion of the Los Angeles and Salt Lake road in 1905, absorbed into the Union Pacific System in 1921, further extended Ogden's railway influence over the intermountain country. In 1902-04 the Southern Pacific road, which operates over the tracks and uses the facilities of the Central Pacific Company, constructed at a cost of \$9,000,000 the famous Lucin Cut-off across Great Salt Lake, shortening the line forty-three miles and bringing about virtual abandonment of the old Promontory route north of the lake. (169) The total length of this cut-off was 103 miles, 27½ miles through water, and 3,000 men were employed to build it. (170) Construction of the Denver and Rio Grande Western between Denver and Ogden was completed in 1883. At first the road was narrow-gauge, but in 1890 it was made standard gauge. (171) In 1908 the Denver and Rio Grande Western constructed an outlet to the west through the medium of the Western Pacific, this route thrusting straight across the Great Salt Lake Desert and then pushing on to San Francisco. (172) Although this road more directly serves Salt Lake City, it has also been of importance to Ogden, since Ogden is the West's primary rail center, and its completion gave Ogden its last major railroad outlet. Subsidiary electrified lines are the Bamberger, built in 1908 between Salt Lake and Ogden, which joins the Salt Lake and Utah railroad connecting Salt Lake City with Payson, and the Utah-Idaho Central, established in 1914 and connecting Ogden with Preston, Idaho. (173)

Utah's export history opens with the arrival of the Union Pacific, and first real shipments from Utah were made from Ogden after 1870. (174) The adjustment of values immediately upon the appearance of the railroad are interesting; wheat rose from \$.60 a bushel to \$2.40, while unbleached muslin fell from \$2.50 a yard to \$.50. (175) No clearer example could be cited of the importance of a railroad to producers and consumers. Ogden's annual railroad pay roll today is over \$5,000,000. More than 120 trains pass daily through Ogden and over 1,500,000 railroad cars are handled in the local yards every year. (176)

168. Thain, *op. cit.*, p. 384, 385.

169. *Ibid.*, p. 385.

170. "The Lucin Cut-off", *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, July 30, 1937.

171. Thain, *op. cit.*, p. 386.

172. *Ibid.*, p. 386, 387.

173. *Ibid.*, p. 388.

174. Tullidge, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

175. Chamber of Commerce, *High Spots of Ogden History*, Ogden, n. d., p. 4.

176. Louis Skaggs, "Since Early Times 'Iron Horse' Has Carried Ogden Prosperity", *The Ogden Standard-Examiner*, July 11, 1937.

Nor is this volume of business simply goods-in-transit. Ogden ranks high in the intermountain country as a railroad center, canning center, packing house center, livestock center, grain milling center, grain handling center, food manufacturing center, agricultural center, jobbing center, and financial center. Shipping facilities have been an inestimable boon not only to bulk shippers of wheat and other grains and to horticulturists but to growers of perishable crops. The growth of canneries since 1886 has become an outstanding influence in the agricultural development of Weber and surrounding counties, (177) as has the development of sugar manufacturing from beets since Ogden's first sugar factory was built in 1898 by the Ogden Sugar Company. The East Canyon, Echo, and Pine View reclamation projects in the surrounding territory, impounding some 142,000 acre feet of water, (178) have made possible development of more arable lands. According to figures supplied by the county assessor, on January 1, 1939, there were in Weber County, 40,995 acres of irrigated land, 15,338 acres of dry farm land, 40,637 acres of unimproved land, 1,443 acres of fruit raising land, 173,352 acres of grazing land, and 41,857 acres of unclassifiable wasteland in the county, a total acreage of 313,622.

Native industries have also appeared in increasing number: textile factories in Ogden supply goods to much of the intermountain territory, and important packing houses and other businesses have been established in the city, both by national concerns and by Utah firms. For 1939 the assessed valuation of Ogden City was \$33,058,832, that of Weber County \$16,359,231—a combined valuation of \$49,418,063.

Yearly Ogden has an outstanding commercial celebration, the "Livestock Show". Foreshadowed in 1892 when the first cattlemen's congress in the United States was held in Ogden, with fifteen states represented, (179) and in 1901 when the Ogden Packing and Provision Company began operations, the show has been an annual feature of city life since 1919.

More recently the city has annually observed "Pioneer Days", a celebration centered upon the 24th of July, the Mormon day of observance of the entrance of Brigham Young into the Great Salt Lake Valley. Originated in 1932 in Salt Lake City, the idea was successfully revived in Ogden in 1934, and the two major Utah

177. The first canning in Utah was by the Ogden Canning Company, located in Ogden, August 28, 1886 by Mr. and Mrs. A. C. McKinney and Robert Lundy. The firm produced in its first year 11,800 cases of canned tomatoes, plums, peas, apples, corn, pears, catsup, berries, pumpkin, string beans and peaches. ("Ogden Woman Helped Start First Canning Plant in Utah", interview in *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, February 17, 1927).

178. Dwight L. Jones, "Jim Bridger Offer Not so Rash When Pioneers Hit Ogden", *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, July 11, 1937.

179. Jenson, *Church Chronology*, p. 198.

cities since 1935 have colorfully elaborated the occasion as "Pioneer Days" and "Covered Wagon Days."

Complementary to the industrial and commercial aspect of Ogden and Weber County is the public welfare work, which has assumed increased importance in recent years with the development of wider social awareness. Weber County today carries on a broad welfare program which includes aid to the aged, to the blind, to dependent children, and general assistance to employable and unemployable households, foster care, boarding care in institutions, and hospital and boarding care for certain individuals, burial assistance in specific instances, and aid to some transient cases. Additionally, child welfare work, surplus commodity distribution, and Work Projects Administration sewing projects are directed by the county. Total expenditures by the Weber County department of public welfare in 1939 were \$661,704.93. The Work Projects Administration on April 24, 1940 was employing 1,132 cases exclusive of non-relief workers, 981 male and 151 female. Non-relief workers totaled 36, of which 31 were male. Work Projects Administration labor was employed for local and statewide purposes, and for such other agencies as the Soil Conservation Service, the Building Survey, the Forest Service, the War Department, and the Bureau of Entomology. Aside from special work projects, it is of interest that the United States Government is the largest single employer in Ogden.

In its ninety-fifth year with a population by preliminary census reports of 43,253, Ogden stands on the threshold of another period of adjustment and change. The new City and County Building is a symbol of that transition. In early times the city council met in the Weber schoolhouse, the "meeting-house" or local church buildings, in homes of members, or in similarly informal places. On August 26, 1872, the city was given the "Seventies Hall" by the Weber County "Seventies" (a division of the Mormon "Melchezidek" or higher priesthood). Until the end of 1882 the city council met in this building, located at what is now 25th Street and Grant Avenue. Then the city offices moved to a new city hall, completed on the present site of the Carnegie library on Lake Street. A two-story brick structure with eight rooms, and with twelve cells in which prisoners could be confined, it was torn down after the construction in 1888-89 of the city hall, which now in turn falls under the wrecker's hammer.

The impressive new City and County Building, like the Hotel Ben Lomond, the First Security Bank Building, the Forest Service Building, and the new high school on the bench, towers against the future, while yet it shoulders the past. It stands amid buildings curiously outmoded, breathing the spirit of the nineties. The

next fifteen years may see a more notable change in the appearance of Ogden than in any period since 1893.

The warfare with environment has been won—after a fashion. The silver-and-green sage, with its remembered aroma under the sun has retreated from the bright irrigation waters, and residential Ogden is clothed in garden colors, although the warfare with aridity is never-ending, and man's labor and courage near Ogden must always reckon with it.

The dreams for Ogden have been many, the destinies various. Rendezvous for Indians and for trappers, remote trading post, backwater country village, roaring railroad town, potential bonanza city or steel town—even, for a few weeks, ghost town—Ogden's years have been full. Many of the old dreams are gone, but more vital ones stand in their stead. Ogden is likely to emerge from this new transitional era not the Pittsburgh or Chicago of the old, brilliant millennial vision, but a community built squarely on its sound relation to its region, a mountain-desert city awakening to the possibilities of its adaptation to industrial and agricultural progress.

APPENDIX

Mayors of Ogden, 1851-1940

| | |
|---------|---------------------|
| 1851-70 | Lorin Farr |
| 1871-76 | Lester J. Herrick |
| 1877-78 | Lorin Farr |
| 1879-82 | Lester J. Herrick |
| 1883-86 | David H. Peery |
| 1887-88 | David Eccles |
| 1889-90 | Fred J. Kiesel |
| 1891-92 | William H. Turner |
| 1893-93 | Robert C. Lundy |
| 1894-95 | Charles M. Brough |
| 1896-97 | Hiram H. Spencer |
| 1898-99 | John A. Boyle |
| 1900-01 | Matthew S. Browning |
| 1902-05 | William Glasmann |
| 1906-07 | Dr. E. M. Conroy |
| 1908-09 | A. L. Brewer |
| 1910-11 | William Glasmann |
| 1912-15 | A. G. Fell |
| 1916-17 | Abbot R. Heywood |
| 1918-19 | T. Samuel Browning |
| 1920-23 | Frank Francis |
| 1924-25 | P. F. Kirkendall |
| 1926-27 | George E. Browning |
| 1928-29 | Frank Francis |
| 1930-33 | Ora Bundy |
| 1934-39 | Harman W. Peery |
| 1940-41 | Fred M. Abbott |
| 1942-43 | HARMAN W. PEERY |

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