

Mormon Colonies of Northern Mexico:

A History, 1885-1912

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by

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The last quarter of the nineteenth century was an era of profound importance to Mormons of the Great Basin and southwestern United States. As "gentiles," or non-Mormons closed in around the formerly isolated "saints," Mormon cultural patterns were subjected to heavy criticism and trial. Faced with a diminishing frontier in the United States, Mormons who insisted on perpetuating polygamy and other peculiar religious practices were forced to seek new homes beyond the nation's borders.

Mormonism, however, its polygamous peculiarity notwithstanding, had always identified with the United States, and Mormons believed, for example, that the nation's constitution was a divinely inspired document and that America was destined to provide the leadership for a grand kingdom composed of western hemisphere nations. Endowed, then, with an enthusiastic nationalism, Mormons carried their national

biases as well as their religious practices and beliefs with them when they crossed the border into Mexico. One of these biases was a viable conviction in the rightness of American imperialism. Hence, Mormon pioneers in Mexico participated in all of the usual imperialistic undertakings from speculation in land and mines to the building of railroads.

The journey south to Mexico was itself an enterprise of large proportion. Travelling with team and wagon over a distance of from 400 to 1000 miles of desert and broken terrain, these pioneers were required to spend between thirty and sixty days on the trail. Between 1885 and 1912 Mormons succeeded in establishing eight communities in northern Chihuahua and Sonora.

Confronted with hostile Mexicans, marauding Indians, intemperate climatic conditions, grinding poverty and frequent epidemics of disease, these pioneers were forced to toil for years before they were permitted the enjoyment of comfort and wealth. But as the years passed and the eight colonies came to number their inhabitants in the thousands, attractive farms and beautifully furnished homes decorated the landscape in and about the Mormon villages.

When Porfirio Diaz's regime was overthrown in 1910, the Mormon colonists soon fell victim to Revolutionary wrath. The Rebels looked upon the Mormons as representing all that was disgusting to the Revolutionary mind. In the first place the Mormons were wealthy compared to their Mexican neighbors. And Mormon financial success was largely due to privileges granted by the government of Porfirio Diaz. Secondly, the Mormons were Americans. Very few had become Mexican citizens and the "saints" made little effort to obscure the strong loyalty they felt toward their motherland. Finally, the Mormons were

extremely race conscious. Convinced that all mankind outside the pale of Mormonism was in a state of spiritual apostasy and that this degeneracy was often marked by the curse of a darker complexion, the Mormon colonists perpetrated an informal policy of racial segregation. Mexicans, who soon sensed the Mormon attitude of Anglo-Saxon superiority, could see little difference between Mormons and other Yankees from points north of the border.

The consequence was a forced Exodus in 1912. The colonists congregated in El Paso, Texas and other points along the international boundary line and then scattered to various locations throughout the intermountain west. Only two of the original eight colonies were permanently resettled.

This study, based almost entirely on Mormon diaries and other primary documents, suggests in the first place, that Mormonism while displaying a kind of cultural separatism on one level, was, at another level, in close harmony with American notions of economic and political expansionism. The study of the character of the colonists' thought and culture, provides explanation for the difficulties imposed on Mexico Mormons during and after the 1910 Revolution. Finally, this dissertation seeks to chronicle a frontier venture. For the Mormon undertaking in northern Mexico constitutes one of the last chapters in the story of America's nineteenth century pioneers.

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INTRODUCTION

The Mormon migration to Mexico in the 1880's and 90's provides illustration of Ortega's contention that throughout history it has been minority groups which have provided orientation and complexion for society as a whole.¹ That a relatively small number of Western Americans, themselves but a remnant of one of the nation's many religious sects, should deserve recognition as displaying mesh and twill of significant relevance to the larger fabric of American history, will be one of the major propositions of this dissertation. It was a special thesis of Herbert E. Bolton that a study of "borderland" areas and seemingly isolated cultural episodes were of the utmost importance for a more precise understanding of the glacial-like movements of national and world history.² And William Mulder has said of the Mormons in particular, they "had dramatic connections with American history in time and space. In their westward movement they were like the fine filament preceding the thread as it seeks the eye of the needle."³ In concurrence

¹Jose Ortega y Gasset, Espana Invertebrada: Bosquejos de Algunos Pensamientos Historicos (1921); Obras Completas (2nd ed.); Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1950), III, 93.

²Herbert E. Bolton, Wider Horizons of American History (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939), 51-52; also see the excellent essay of Burl Noggle, "Anglo Observers of the Southwest Borderlands, 1825-1890," Arizona and the West, vol. I, no. 2 (Summer, 1959), 105-131.

³William Mulder, "The Mormons in American History," Bulletin of the University of Utah, vol. 48, no. 11 (January 14, 1957), 10.

with these claims, this study seeks to establish that the insignia of native Americanism, so conspicuous in Mormon theology and the movement west, were not lost amidst the crises of conflict in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Rather, as evinced by colonial activity in northern Mexico, these connections remained viable and real though, on the surface, there was much which would suggest conflict and cultural discord.

With regard to the actual migration itself, it has been a nearly unchallenged assumption that the colonization endeavor in Mexico was a direct and precipitate response to the need for a place of refuge during the anti-polygamy crusade of the late 1880's. Milton R. Hunter, for example, contends that

the expanding of Mormon colonization to foreign nations was a direct result of the persecution inflicted upon the Saints by the United States government in accordance with the 'anti-bigamy' laws of 1882 and 1887.⁴

The valuable study of Mormon polygamy by Kimball Young flatly avers, "the Mormon colony in Mexico was set up as a refuge for plural families."⁵ Even those who have been especially concerned with the question have generally concluded, like H. Mannie Foster, that

it was obvious that this migration was in excess of the traditional missionary zeal. The underlying cause was no

⁴Milton R. Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1940), 358; also 19-20, 147.

⁵Kimball Young, Isn't One Wife Enough? (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1954), 419. Or see Gustive O. Larson, Outline History of Utah and the Mormons (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1958), 73.

doubt due, and is traceable to the adverse laws passed against the Mormon practices in the territories of the United States.⁶

It is interesting and something of a commentary on Mormon historical consciousness that throughout the early period of settlement, and even afterwards, most Church leaders and migrants themselves viewed Mexican colonization as a forced response to persecution in the United States.⁷

The exceptions to this interpretation, though few, are significant. James H. McClintock contends that the Mormon plan of colonization had always embraced the entirety of the intermountain valley region even as it extended into Mexico and Canada. He suggests that this commonwealth vision was closely tied to Mormon interest in the American Indian and that the movement to Mexico may have been an effort to retrace "the steps of the Nephites and Lamanites, to work even into South America."⁸ Leonard Arrington has explained the Mexican colonization

⁶H. Mannie Foster, "History of Mormon Settlements in Mexico and New Mexico" (Unpublished Master's Thesis: University of New Mexico, 1937), 34.

⁷See the assertion by President Joseph F. Smith that "The Latter-day Saints who colonized Chihuahua went to Mexico not by chance . . . They went there . . . under conditions that made it beneficial to them to go there." Joseph F. Smith, "The Mexican Trouble--Loyalty to the Constitution," The Improvement Era, vol. XVI, no. 2 (December, 1912), 93. Also S. S. Ivins, "Letter From Mexico, Impressions of a Mormon," Utah Historical Quarterly, vol. XXVI, no. 2 (April, 1958), 177. More recently, however, the Church has instructed its Latin American missionaries that early Mormon involvement in Mexico was but the reaching impetus of the Church's westward missionary and colonizing thrust.

⁸James H. McClintock, Mormon Settlement in Arizona A Record of Peaceful Conquest of the Desert (Phoenix, Arizona: The Manufacturing Stationers Inc., 1921), 44, 201-202. The best evidence for such a view is the testimony of Brigham Young's first missionary and explorer in Mexico, Dan W. Jones. See his autobiography, Forty Years Among the Indians. A True Yet Thrilling Narrative of the Author's Experiences Among the Natives. (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1890).

endeavor as a response to economic imperative arising from the disappearance of suitable lands in the Utah and Great Basin regions.⁹

Another alternative, much broader in its implications, is to see the Mexican venture as Providence manifesting itself through the Church's temporal growth and conquests. The idea of a literal and growing physical Kingdom of God would seem to challenge the long-standing belief in a Mormon obsession with isolation. This is of direct importance to any concern with the Mormon advance into Mexico. For if it could be shown, and this writer believes that it can, that the Church viewed itself as having an actual, geographical commitment to world conquest by conversion, the establishment of colonies in Mexico partakes of a pattern quite different from the more common notion which envisions the Mormon saga as the story of driven rivulets of saints in search of places of hiding amidst the arid fastness of the Rocky Mountains.¹⁰ This latter view which regards the move to Utah from Illinois as a retreat from gentile society builds further on an image of the Great Basin

⁹Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1900 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 354-355, 380-384.

¹⁰Many works could be cited here but as representative see the following: Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, Breaking the Wilderness (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905), 305; Bernard DeVoto Forays and Rebuttals (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1936), 89-90; Ray B. West, Jr., Kingdom of the Saints, The Story of Brigham Young and the Mormons (New York: The Viking Press, 1957), 190-191; Milton R. Hunter, "The Mormons in the Opening of the Western Frontier," Greater America, Essays in Honor of Herbert Eugene Bolton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1945), 434; Howard R. Lamar, "Political Patterns in New Mexico and Utah Territories 1850-1900," Utah Historical Quarterly, vol. XXVIII, no. 4 (Oct., 1960), 363-387. The clearest and most forthright statement of the defensive interpretation of Mormon history is to be found in Franklin D. Daines, "Separatism in Utah, 1847-1870," Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1917 (Washington, 1920), 333-343.

as shunned and avoided by all but a rejected people who were anxious only for the obscurity of an isolated desert. ¹¹

Once secure from the disrupting and critical influences of the outside world, Mormon institutions were at liberty to flower with distinctive and religious vitality. ¹² These were to receive protection from an actual government of precise geographical proportions, fortified in its boundaries by settlements of Mormon pioneers. ¹³ This defensive approach to nineteenth century Mormon history must then describe the extension of Mormon interests beyond the perimeter of its Great Basin stronghold as either exceptional or strategic. ¹⁴ Finally, proponents of

¹¹Ephraim Edward Ericksen has explained the isolation motif as the product of a moral and theological dualism which demanded a policy of social separatism. The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1922), 39 ff; also, Thomas L. Cane, "The Mormons--A Postscript," The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1911), II, 159.

¹²For a description of the development of Mormon institutions from the theo-democratic state to the doctrine of polygamy see Larson, 77-93.

¹³The idea of a closed and palisaded commonwealth is especially prominent in the works of Milton R. Hunter. See his The Mormons and the American Frontier (Salt Lake City: L. D. S. Department of Education, 1940), 128; "The Mormons in the Opening of the Western Frontier," Greater America, Essays in Honor of Herbert Eugene Bolton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1945), 440, 447; also the following: Charles M. Harvey, "The Story of the Salt Lake Trail," The Atlantic Monthly vol. CVI (July, 1910), 112-122; Philip A. M. Taylor, "Early Mormon Loyalty and the Leadership of Brigham Young," Utah Historical Quarterly, vol. XXX, no. 2 (Spring, 1962); 107, Kate B. Carter, "Plan of Colonization," Heart Throbs of the West (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1941), III, 279; and Thomas F. O'Dea, The Mormons (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), 84-85, 87, 110.

¹⁴"The Mormons of Mexico," The World's Work, vol. XXI, no. 5 (March, 1916), 484; Milton R. Hunter, "The Mormons in the Opening of the Western Frontier," 447; and the same author's "The Mormon Corridor," The Pacific Historical Review, vol. VIII, no. 2 (June, 1939), 179-200.

this view are obliged to chronicle an era of re-entry, a painful period of adjustment when the saints were pressed to forsake seclusion and peculiarity for at least an ostensible harmony with the tide and rhythm of American life. ¹⁵

However valid the contours of difference which a defensive interpretation holds to have existed between the Mormons and American society at large, Mormon thinking and behavior is coursed throughout by a clear and genuine grain of native Americanism. The Latter-day Saints were but the forerunners of the larger American pioneer movement to the far west. As William J. Snow pointed out nearly thirty years ago, almost all of the reports which filtered east pictured the Great Basin and particularly the Salt Lake Valley as quite attractive, seldom as forbidding as tradition would suggest. ¹⁶ Moreover, the Mormons had from the beginning been imbued with the spirit of mission, not of retreat. And, in the words of Andrew L. Neff, "Their mission, it must be understood, was not to escape from society but to convert it to the Latter-day Saint way of thinking." ¹⁷ That recent scholarship demonstrates that conversion and gathering was to be translated into an actual political kingdom provides further evidence for believing in a

¹⁵O'Dea, 117; William Preston, Jr., "The Watershed of Mormon History, 1890-1910" (Unpublished Master's Thesis: Columbia University, 1950), 82 ff.

¹⁶William James Snow, "The Great Basin Before the Coming of the Mormons" (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of California, 1923), See especially pp. 184, 191 ff.

¹⁷Andrew Love Neff, "The Mormon Migration to Utah 1830-1847" (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of California, 1918), 68-69.

Mormon attitude of literal and aggressive involvement with the world,¹⁸ The Latter-day Saint colonies in Mexico may, then, be seen as exhibits of Mormon determination to "extend the curtains of Zion." And, as this study will suggest, they also proffer evidence that during a period when the flow of Mormon history seemed counter to the main-stream of American life, at a deeper level Mormonism was a close and active participant in the stronger current of American Imperialism.¹⁹

A study of the move to Mexico is itself a story of heroic magnitude. The distance from Salt Lake City to Colonia Juárez exceeded that which the saints had covered from Council Bluffs, Iowa to the Salt Lake Valley. And the migrants found the new journey far more rigorous and demanding in many ways than had been the lot of their Great Plains predecessors.

The establishment of the colonies, their growth and prosperity, provides an example of American imagination and industry flourishing under the protective aegis of the Díaz regime. And, at the same time, they pose as illustrative factors in the development of attitudes and prejudices which prompted the strong anti-American bias of the 1910 Mexican Revolution. It is in fact, the years of the Porfirian dictatorship which furnish the chronological limits of this dissertation's concern with the Mormons in Mexico.

¹⁸Hyrum L. Andrus, Joseph Smith and World Government (Salt Lake City: The Deseret Book Company, 1958); Klaus J. Hansen, "The Theory and Practice of the Political Kingdom of God in Mormon History" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959); James R. Clark, "The Kingdom of God, the Council of Fifty and the State of Deseret," Utah Historical Quarterly, vol. XXVI, no. 2 (April, 1958), 132-148.

¹⁹The theory of a re-emergent Mormonism at the close of the nineteenth century has been a puzzle to many who have been aware of its enthusiastic nationalism. Eg., see O'Dea, 117 Ila Dastrup, "Mormon Colonization: A Type in the Westward Movement" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1931), 21.

But beneath the interpretive efforts of this study lies a story of American pioneers called to labor under the most difficult of circumstances. Surrounded by a foreign and oft-times hostile human element, the saints in Mexico were confronted with every variety of hardship, from disease and poverty to droughts and floods. And yet, from these primitive conditions, they were able to establish eight communities whose culture and productivity would draw the praise of Mexico's President and become the pride of Chihuahua.

More than this, the generation which grew up between the time of the Mormons' entry into Mexico and the 1912 Exodus were witness and party to the extensive temporal and spiritual development which is possible to a people obsessed with a vision of their inevitable triumph and possessed of unflagging industry. In the twenty-seven years between 1885 and 1912 the Mormons were responsible for a chapter of history which is, in its romance and heroism, in everyway deserving of a place on the long shelf of western American chronicles.

A NOTE ON SOURCES

It was Bernard DeVoto who lamented that with Mormon scholarship and investigation "apart from the doctrinal aspect, everything is rudimentary, infrequent and mostly wrong."¹ The prospect of contributing to the case for a more balanced estimate finds little encouragement from the Assistant Church Historian, Andrew Jenson, who, while visiting the Mexican colonies in 1894, was moved to remark: "The

¹Forays and Rebuttals (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1936), 82.

public records of the Mexican Mission have been kept imperfectly indeed (and in some of the settlements no records to speak of have been kept at all); . . . ²

The assertions of DeVoto and Jenson notwithstanding, there are a number of valuable diaries kept by the original settlers in Mexico and presently available in the form of filmed, mimeographed or typewritten copies. Most of these are on deposit in the Brigham Young University Library, the Church Historian's Office or at the Utah State Historical Society. The Utah State University and University of Utah Libraries also possess some primary materials relating to the Mormon pioneers of northern Mexico. Other holdings to be found in the Huntington collection at San Marino, California and the Bancroft Library at the University of California are nearly all available in the form of filmed copies at Brigham Young University or at the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City, Utah.

In addition to diaries and other original sources, various notes and articles, often written by residents or former residents of the colonies and contained in Church publications have been useful. The Deseret News and Deseret Weekly, published concurrently until 1898 and serving as the official public organs of the Church, are rich and remunerative sources. Other valuable materials include the extensive Journal History of the Church, a massive compilation of clippings and excerpts of various kinds relating to the general history of Mormonism from 1830 to the present; Andrew Jenson's Juárez Stake, a typewritten manuscript begun in 1885 which has been continued by others up to 1958 and contains clippings, printed articles and a number of

²The Deseret Weekly, June 9, 1894, 799-800.

valuable documents; the same author's Juárez Stake Wards, which is a brief history of the origin of each of the colonies in Chihuahua and Sonora accompanied by relevant typescripts, reports, letters, etc.; and Brigham H. Roberts' Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (6 vols.; Published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1930).

Only two full-length published books have ever appeared dealing exclusively with the colonies. Thomas C. Romney's The Mormon Colonies in Mexico (Salt Lake City: The Deseret Book Company, 1938) while extensive in its inclusions, well written and authoritative because the author was himself a resident in the colonies, is undocumented and lacks objectivity and analysis. Nelle S. Hatch's Colonia Juárez an intimate account of a Mormon Village (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1954) is also graced by a delightful style and contains much valuable information but is limited to the history of Colonia Juárez and is entirely descriptive in its approach.

There have been five Master's theses written on the colonies. Only two of these have concerned themselves at any length with the pre-Revolutionary period: H. Mannie Foster, "History of Mormon Settlements in Mexico and New Mexico" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1937) and LeRona McDonald Wilsons "The Differential Development Among Anglos and Mexicans in the Mormon Colonies of Northwest Mexico" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Ohio State University, 1959). In both cases, treatment of the period of the establishment of the colonies is of a cursory nature. Most of the manuscript materials mentioned above have been neglected and concern with historical interpretation during the period of settlement

is largely lacking. Of the remaining three, Lucile Pratt's "A Keyhole View of Mexican Agrarian Policy as Shown by Mormon Land Problems" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Columbia University, n. d.) is by far the most valuable. It is an excellent exposition of the conflict between ejidal and Mormon land holding systems from the time of the 1917 constitution until the late 1950's. Both Raymond J. Reed, "The Mormons in Chihuahua, Their Relations with Villa and the Pershing Punitive Expedition, 1910-1917" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1938) and Elizabeth Hoel Mills, "The Mormon Colonies in Chihuahua After the 1912 Exodus" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Arizona, 1950) depend heavily on Thomas C. Romney's work, other published sources, some few interviews and focus on a period largely beyond the province of this dissertation.

Because the Mormon colonies were relatively isolated from the main stream of Mexican life and history, the large number of sources having any relevance remain the Mormon commentaries themselves. Consequently, Mexican materials appear infrequently in this dissertation. Although Mexican works which treat, in a general way, the economic and intellectual trends in Mexico have been used. Two such sources are Ricardo García Granados' Historia de México Desde la Restauración de República en 1867 Hasta la Caída de Porfirio Díaz (4 vols; México: Editorial Andrés Botas E. Hijo, 1923) and Cośío Villegas, Daniel, and others, Historia Moderna de México (5 vols; México; Editorial Hermes, 1955).

Similarly, certain sources in English have been used which have no direct bearing on the Mormon colonists but which have provided

broad historical and bibliographical guidelines of conceptual relationship to the Mormon venture in Mexico. Of particular value in this regard was the large Ph. D. dissertation of James Ervin Helms, "Origins and Growth of Protestantism in Mexico" (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas, 1955) and Charles C. Cumberland's "The United States — Mexican Border: A Selective Guide to the Literature of the Region," Rural Sociology, a supplement, vol. 25, no. 2 (June, 1960).

Numerous other secondary sources of both direct and tangential relationship to the problem at hand have been consulted. Most of these consist of short magazine accounts, newspaper notices, selections from other full-length works, and brief consular descriptions. A complete bibliography is provided at the end of this study.

CHAPTER I

No better keynote to this study could be found than one of Brigham Young's vibrant sermons delivered at a general conference of the Church in St. George, Utah on April 6, 1877. There he said:

It has been the cry of late, through the columns of the newspapers, that the "Mormons" are going to Mexico! That is quite right, we calculate to go there. Are we going back to Jackson county? Yes. When? As soon as the way opens up. . . . We intend to hold our own here and also penetrate the north and the south, the east and the west, . . . and to raise the ensign of truth. This is the work of God, who saw it in its incipency, as a stone cut out of the mountains without hands, but which rolled and gathered strength and magnitude until it filled the whole earth. We will continue to grow, to increase and spread abroad, and the powers of earth and hell combined cannot hinder it.¹

From its New England beginnings to the decline of its Rocky Mountain kingdom at the close of the nineteenth century, Mormonism displayed a close sympathy with the general gait and direction of American life. Brigham Young's expansionistic zeal was but an intrepid nationalism alloyed with religious conviction. The most distinguished example of what Whitney Cross has called "the crescendo phase of a great cycle" of religious revivals, Mormonism was germinated amid

¹Journal of Discourses By President Brigham Young, His Counselors and the Twelve Apostles, ed. George D. Watt et al. (26 vols.; Liverpool: Printed and Published by Joseph F. Smith, 1854-1886), XVIII, 355-356. Hereafter cited as J.D. The metaphor of the stone which was "cut out without hands" comes from Daniel 2:34. Also see the Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1948), Sec. 65:2. Hereafter cited as Doc. and Cov.

the optimism of early American nationalism and cultivated by the buoyant individualism of the Age of Jackson.² Disdaining all ties with the Old World, Joseph Smith brought forth a body of scripture which declared America to be the promised land. The new religion hallowed the Constitution and Founding Fathers as harbingers of the "Restored Gospel." These were viewed as divinely commissioned to establish a shield of liberty under which the kingdom of God could be nourished that in time Mormon missionary and American statesman might proffer the world the combined blessings of free government and true religion under one flag.³ Mormons, then, fully subscribed to the belief that America was guided by a divine and "manifest destiny."

Mormonism also shared in the nation's long experience of translating frontier into civilization. The saints participated in every one

²Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-over District, the Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), 274-277.

³The Book of Mormon (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saint, 1950), I Nephi 13:12, II Nephi 1:7, 10:11-12, hereafter cited as B. of M.; Doc. & Cov. 101:76-80; J. Reuben Clark, Jr., America, A Chosen Land of the Lord (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1940). It was the nativism of the Church combined with a penchant for agrarianism which prompted Count Tolstoi to term Mormonism the "American Religion" and say of it that "he preferred a religion which professed to have dug its sacred books out of the earth to one which pretended that they were let down from heaven." Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White (2 vols.; New York: The Century Company, 1906), II, 87; Thomas J. Yates "Count Tolstoi and the 'American Religion,'" The Improvement Era vol. XLII, no. 2 (February, 1939), 94. Also Thomas F. O'Dea's claim that the Book of Mormon was "admirably suited to become . . . the scriptures of an American church." The Mormons (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), 40. For a consideration of problems attendant to the merging of Mormon doctrine and American nationalism see G. Homer Durham "A Political Interpretation of Mormon History," Pacific Historical Review, vol. XIII, no. 2 (June, 1944), 136-150.

of the nation's major frontier ventures from the Genesee in western New York to the San Pedro in southern Arizona. And as will be shown, they were among the first to seek new frontiers beyond the nation's borders when land and tolerance could not be found at home. If, as Frederick Jackson Turner asserted, "the frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization," the Mormons were thoroughly nationalized, for the entirety of their formative period was lived out on the outermost rim of the frontier's edge.⁴

It is true that it was more than an unconscious participation which carried the Mormons successively from New York to Ohio, to Missouri and Illinois and finally to the far west, for Joseph Smith always spoke in terms of preparing for the New Jerusalem on the "borders of the Lamanites." Yet, however strong the Mormon interest in the Lamanites or the effect of what George Williams has called the "wilderness" motif, the saints never wholly rejected the ways of their non-Mormon environment.⁵ In fact, it was excessive involvement in the economic affairs of frontier Ohio which carried the saints, like so many of their gentile brethren, into bankruptcy in 1837.⁶ And if the

⁴Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920), 3-4 ff.

⁵The term Lamanite is the Book of Mormon appellation for the American Indian. Joseph Smith's directives concerning the "borders of the Lamanites" may be found in Doc. & Cov., 28:14; 30:6; 32:2; 54:8. For George Huntston Williams' essay on the American ecclesiastical attraction to the nation's hinterland see his "The Wilderness and Paradise in the History of the Church," Church History vol. 59, no. 1 (March, 1959), 3-20. And it was Whitney R. Cross in The Burned-over District, 145, who said "the prophet, moreover, for all his imagination, was like the Yankees he led, in many respects an eminently practical man."

⁶The best account of the Kirtland experience, with particular emphasis on economic problems, is R. Kent Fielding's "The Growth of

Mormons did not mix well with the Missourians, they were certainly not trying to escape from them. On the contrary, the entire episode from the first revelation directing the saints to Missouri to the Prophet's six month incarceration in the Liberty jail, was the result of inordinate haste on the part of Mormons in implementing their economic and religious patterns among a folk of more orthodox disposition.⁷ "The newcomers, besides believing in the miraculous, had the idea that God had given them Jackson county, much as Jehovah had assigned Palestine to Ancient Israel."⁸

That the saints decided to go east again, into Illinois, following their expulsion from Missouri further contradicts a separatist interpretation of Mormon history. This is the point made by Andrew Neff when he says:

⁶(continued) the Mormon Church in Kirtland Ohio" (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Indiana, 1957). Also Brigham H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I (6 vols: Salt Lake City: Published by the Church, 1930), I, 236-311. Hereafter this work will be cited as C. H. C.

⁷An excellent example of how mutual misunderstanding resulted in the Mormon persecution in and final expulsion from Missouri can be found in Juanita Brooks' biography of one of the participants, John Doyle Lee, Zealot-Pioneer Builder-Scapegoat, vol. IX: Western Frontiersmen Series (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1962), 29-44. For a complete narrative of the Missouri period, see C. H. C., I, 314-556.

⁸John Henry Evans, Joseph Smith An American Prophet (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940), 115. Even before the Prophet had left Kirtland, Ohio, he had sent detailed instructions to the brethren in Jackson County, Missouri concerning the construction of the "City of Zion." Independence was designated as the "center stake" from whence the Kingdom of God would commence its growth. "When this square is thus laid off and supplied, lay off another in the same way, and so fill up the world in these last days; . . ." Joseph Smith, History of the Church Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (7 vols., 2nd ed.; Salt Lake City: The Deseret Book Company, 1948-59), I, 358. Known as the Documentary History of the Church, this source is hereafter cited as D. H. C. Also see Doc. & Cov., Sec. 57.

Living where they did, the Saints could hardly fail to be interested in the land of the setting sun; experiencing what they did it would be stranger still if they did not see a possible asylum from oppression there. Yet one looks in vain for indications that they were contemplating any such move in 1834 after they had been driven from Jackson county, or in 1838 when expelled from the state of Missouri. The reasons are patent when one understands the point-of-view of these people. Their mission, it must be understood, was not to escape from society but to convert it to the Latter-day Saint way of thinking.⁹

The experience in Nauvoo illustrates even more the Church's efforts toward amicable relations with those outside the fold. As the largest city in Illinois, and with its location on the Mississippi River, Nauvoo became an important commercial center. The Church encouraged the gathering of skilled craftsmen, and projected plans for a manufacturing economy which would make their city the "workshop of the Middle West."¹⁰ A privileged charter for the city was obtained from the state legislature. And the saints associated with nonmembers through Masonic activities. Finally, with the "Mormon vote" having become a political prize in Mid Western politics, Joseph Smith decided to run as a candidate for the office of President of the United States.¹¹

⁹Andrew Love Neff, "The Mormon Migration to Utah 1830-1847" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, 1918), 68-69.

¹⁰Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1900 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 17-81.

¹¹A good description of the Nauvoo era may be found in E. Cecil McGavin, Nauvoo the Beautiful (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis, Inc., 1946). An example of the Whigs' soliciting the Mormon vote may be found in Lincoln's letter to John T. Stuart in 1840. Roy P. Basler (ed.), The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln (8 vols.; New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), I, 206. The primary source material here, as well as for the New York, Ohio and Missouri periods remains the first six volumes of the D. H. C.

The Prophet's platform was an example of ultra-nationalism. In his "Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States" penned in January and February of 1844, he strongly approved of annexation of all contiguous lands and territories. "When a neighboring realm petitioned to join the Union of the Sons of liberty, my voice would be, come - yea, come Texas, come Mexico, come Canada, and come all the world. . . ."12

Recognizing that his success in national politics was quite unlikely, the Prophet began formulating plans for the extension of American influence into the Western territories with the Mormon Church serving as the instrument of such advantages as might be gained. In March he presented the following request to Congress for power and authority to raise an Army for the purpose of securing the nation's interests in the west. Asserting that insofar as

The United States desires to see the principles of her free institutions extended to all men, especially where it can be done without the loss of blood and treasure to the nation; and whereas there is an almost boundless extent of territory on the west and south of these United States, where exists little or no organization of protective Government; and whereas the lands thus unknown, unowned or unoccupied are among some of the richest and most fertile of the continent; . . . Joseph Smith has offered and does hereby offer these United States, to show his loyalty to our confederate union and the constitution of our Republic; to prevent quarrel and bloodshed on our frontiers; to extend the arm of deliverance

¹²D. H. C., VI, 206-209. Recognizing that in the Mormon mind, Zion and the American continent were coterminous, Herbert E. Bolton has defined the Church's nineteenth century position on the great American social and intellectual spectrum in the following words: "The Mormons shared with other westerners the spirit of Manifest Destiny - destiny for the United States and destiny for the New Zion. Just before his death the Prophet Joseph Smith ran for the presidency of the United States, and his platform was in full keeping with the exuberant frontier spirit. . . . Judged by his platform he was an ultra-nationalist. This is pertinent in view of the old partisan charge that the Mormons were disloyal and hoped and desired to get out of the United States." The Mormons in the Opening of the Great West, "The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine (January, 1926), 48.

to Texas; to protect the inhabitants of Oregon from foreign aggressions and domestic broils; to prevent the crowned nations from encircling us as a nation on our western and southern borders, and save the eagle's talon from the lion's paw; . . . to open the vast regions of the unpeopled west and south to our enlightened and enterprising yeomanry; to protect them in their researches; to secure them in their locations, and thus strengthen the government and enlarge her borders; to extend her influence; to inspire the nations with the spirit of freedom and win them to her standard; . . . therefore that the said memorialist may have the privilege . . . to carry out those plans and principles as set forth in this preamble. . . . Be it ordained by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled, that Joseph Smith. . . is hereby authorized and empowered to raise a company of one hundred thousand armed volunteers . . . as shall be necessary and convenient for the purposes specified in the foregoing preamble, and to execute the same.¹³

_____ for the purposes specified in the foregoing preamble, and to execute the same.¹³ _____

¹³Ibid., VI, 275-277. One of the results of the Prophet's proposals, naturally, was to stir suspicion of his own ambitions. This is best illustrated by claims of the apostate John C. Bennett, who said: "The States of Missouri, and Illinois, and the Territory of Iowa, are the regions to which the Prophet has hitherto chiefly directed his schemes of aggrandizement, and which were to form the nucleus of the great MORMON EMPIRE. The remaining states were to be licked up like salt, and fall into the immense labyrinth of glorious prophetic dominion, like the defenceless lamb before the mighty king of the forest!

.....
In the Great West, the seat of this contemplated vast Western Empire, the water is pure, the land fertile, the climate salubrious, and the beauty of the scenery unsurpassed--presenting at once the NE PLUA ULTRA of an earthly Elysium.

These extensive regions of country, . . . were to form the remaining portion of the vast domain of the nucleus before which nations, kingdoms and empires, were to fall. As the great plot and League is now fully before the nation. . . the public weal requires the vigilant eye of the body politic to look well to the west!" John C. Bennett, The History of the Saints; or, An Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism (Boston: Leland and Whiting, 1842), 293, 301-302. Such ideas were perpetuated and have been used recurrently as an accusation against the Mormon leader. Harper's magazine could say in 1881, for example, that "Joe Smith wanted to imitate Mohammed--to raise his flag and go out and conquer a kingdom." "The Mormon Situation," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, vol. LXIII, no. 377 (Oct., 1881), 760. And Fawn M. Brodie, in her widely heralded naturalistic interpretation of Joseph Smith says that Thomas B. Marsh and Orson Hyde "in a rare document" are reported to have said that Smith intended to take the United States and "ultimately the whole world." No Man Knows My History, The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), 244n.

The presidency of the Church had not waited on visionary expectations of congressional assent to their request. Keenly aware of growing friction and jealousies threatening the saints, plans were made for a more secure rooting in the nearly uninhabited Rocky Mountain West. If removal to the western and southwestern regions of the country was a commonplace utopian scheme of the time, few pursued the vision with such vigor as the Mormon prophet and his successors.¹⁴

As early as August of 1842, Joseph Smith tells us that he prophesied that the Saints would continued to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains, many would apostatize, others would be put to death by our persecutors or lose their lives in consequence of exposure or disease, and some of you will live to go and assist in making settlements and build cities and see the Saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains.¹⁵

¹⁴See, for example, the case of Robert Dale Owen. Richard William Leopold, Robert Dale Owen, A Biography (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), 183, 186, 205-206, 375. For Owen's attraction to Mexico and the southwest compared to Joseph Smith's concern with the area see Dean Depew McBrien "The Influence of the Frontier on Joseph Smith" (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, George Washington University, 1929), 129. That even the Catholics had western ambitions is the testimony of James P. Shannon, Catholic Colonization on the Western Frontier, vol. I: Yale Publications in American Studies (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957). Perhaps the clearest statements of the Zeitgeist explanation can be found in Frederick Logan Paxon, The Last American Frontier (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913), 86 ff. and Milton R. Hunter, The Mormons and the American Frontier (Salt Lake City: L. D. S. Department of Education, 1940), 19-20 passim. For the contention that the Mormons were lulled westward by their romantic attachment to the Indian see Brodie, 359-360; cf. Doc. & Cov. 28:8, 49:24.

¹⁵D. H. C., V, 85; pp. 509, 542 give an account of Elder Jonathan Dunham who was sent on an early exploring mission into western lands along the Platt River. Compare the reports of this prophecy described by Anson Call in Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah (4 vols.; Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons Co., Publishers, 1904), IV, 143 with that in Edward W. Tullidge's Tullidge's Histories (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor, 1889), II, 171-172. Also see O. B. Huntington, "Prophecy," The Young Woman's Journal vol. II, no. 7 (April, 1891), 314-315.

On February 23, 1844 the Western Exploration Company was organized to explore the far west for the purpose of removing the saints to such locations as might be found suitable.¹⁶ Prompted by attractive reports from Rocky Mountain explorers and by increased hostility in Illinois, the Prophet himself had crossed the Mississippi in company with his brother Hyrum, O. Porter Rockwell and others on June 23, 1844 intending to make a direct overland journey to the Great Basin.¹⁷ But, persuaded by friends and the promises of Governor Ford that his life would be protected, Joseph returned only to be assassinated with Hyrum four days later in Carthage jail. The flock was not left, however, without a shepherd. Notwithstanding the succeeding difficult months of gentile antagonism from without and divided councils within, Brigham Young emerged as the directing force and was soon acknowledged to have inherited the mantle of the Prophet. And despite their devotion to the seemingly incongruous objectives of completing the Nauvoo Temple while at the same time making adequate preparations for an

¹⁶D. H. C., VI, 222-227.

¹⁷C. H. C. II, 246-248. Joseph Smith had read Irving's Adventures of Captain Bonneville which had been published in 1837. He had also received reports of the explorations and wealth in furs of William Lewis Sublette. And Stephen Douglas had fired the Prophet's imagination by giving him a map of Oregon and a copy of Fremont's Journal describing his journey through the Great Basin in 1842 and 1843. D. H. C., V, 85; VI, 373-76; Gustive O. Larson, Outline History of Utah and the Mormons (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1958) 41-42, 44; William James Snow, "The Great Basin Before the Coming of the Mormons" (Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, University of California, 1923). Statements like the following, taken from the 1845 printing of Fremont's report, indicate the favorable impressions created in the minds of Smith and others who read it concerning Utah and the Salt Lake Valley: "We had now entered a region of great pastoral promise, abounding with fine streams, the rich bunch grass, soil that would produce wheat, and indigenous flax growing as if it had been sown.

.....

exodus to beyond the Rocky Mountains, more than 12,000 wagons were outfitted and ready to go by the early spring of 1846. Thus, "by the middle of May it was estimated that sixteen thousand Mormons had crossed the Mississippi and taken up their line of march with their personal property, their wives and little ones, westward across the continent to Oregon or California; . . .¹⁸

It would seem that the Great Salt Lake was, as yet, but one of several alternatives considered by Brigham Young as a gathering place for the saints. And, the fact that he had unsuccessfully petitioned Governor William Owsley of Kentucky for asylum in that state is another indication of the essential preference which most Mormons still felt for gentile society to life in the unsettled and nearly unexplored trans-Mississippi west.¹⁹ It is of further significance that though forced beyond the boundaries of the United States, during the late spring of 1846 while located at Mount Pisgah, Iowa, they gladly forfeited 500 of their most able bodied men to help wrest land and glory for their country's

¹⁷(continued) Crossing the next day a slight ridge along the river, we entered a handsome mountain valley covered with fine grass, and directed our course towards a high snowy peak, at the foot of which lay Utah Lake.

.....
 This would be an excellent locality for stock farms; it is generally covered with good bunch grass, and would abundantly produce the ordinary grains. "John C. Fremont, Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842, and to Oregon and North California in the years 1843-44 (Washington: Gales and Seaton, Printers, 1845), 271-277.

¹⁸Thomas Ford, A History of Illinois From Its Commencement As A State in 1818 to 1847 (Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co., 1854), 412; C. H. C., II, 504-540.

¹⁹"Kentucky Discovers Letter Mailed by Brigham Young," Deseret News and Telegram April 6, 1962, 25a; C. H. C., 226-227, note 3.

honor from Mexico.²⁰ And, it is a major contention of this dissertation that it was more than an unindulgent environment which, after the proverbial forty year sojourn, would induce these Mormon-Americans to once again carry their country's flag south into Mexico. Both the Exodus of 1846 and that of 1885 may be seen to share in the Providential nationalism expressed by one member of the Battalion, Henry Standage, when he said: "Surely the Lord is on our side and is opening the way before us so that we may march into the Upper California... all praise be ascribed to God and His Sons."²¹

The Mormon migration to Utah was then, rather than a modern Hegira, a movement of patriots giving confirmation to their religious dedication to the nation's geographical ambitions. Lewis Barney, one of the advance party preceding Brigham Young into the Salt Lake Valley,

²⁰"Practically five hundred wagons were left without teamsters, and in the same manner five hundred families were left without their natural protectors, and providers. A call to war always involves sacrifice, but under the physical circumstances in which the Latter-day Saints were placed--exiled from their homes--nay, even worse, under enforced expatriation from their homes. Enforced expatriation, I say, except for the love of their country, which still glowed brightly in their hearts and knew no such thing as alienation from the country with which their destiny was inseparably interwoven." C.H.C., III, 92. That the Saints were party to the government's request because of financial and other advantages which would redound from the Battalion's employment see Ibid., III, 94-99; cf, the speech of Brigham Young in Daniel Tyler, History of the Mormon Battalion (n.p., 1882), 351-356. Rather than a lapse of memory, one would probably be more correct to agree with Franklin D. Daines in saying: "Brigham Young knew better than that.... This remarkable statement was made at a time when Brigham Young had special reason for creating a sentiment hostile to the administration." "Separatism in Utah, 1847-1870." Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1917 (Washington, 1920), 338.

²¹Frank Alfred Golder, The March of the Mormon Battalion From Council Bluffs to California Taken from the Journal of Henry Standage (New York: The Century Co., 1928), 171.

after climbing Ensign Peak, could later proclaim to Parley Pratt that he had helped fulfill Isaiah's prophecy in establishing Zion in the tops of the mountains and in the same breath boast of raising the stars and stripes over Mexican territory.²²

Having found peace in their distant and protected valleys the Mormons were free to carry their theological and social theories into practice. But to underline polygamy or communal economics as evidences of their cultural peculiarity is to forget that the essential characteristic of American society before the Civil War was, as James Russell Lowell said, one where "every possible form of intellectual and physical dyspepsia brought forth its gospel."²³ And with regard to polygamy, in the words of William Mulder: "Sooner or later an expansive American had to produce its cult of fertility to match its own teeming natural abundances."²⁴ As for efforts to live the "law of consecration," like almost all other experiments with communism in America, they were not only forced to yield before the acquisitive demands of human nature, but ironically, seemed only to provide a

²²"Autobiography of Lewis Barney" (Typewritten M. S. in possession of the L. K. Barney family, Provo, Utah), 25; the prophecy is found in Isaiah, 2:2-3; 18:3; 30:17 and 40:9. For an adequate and more extensive treatment of the western migration see volume III of the C. H. C.; also Preston Nibley, Exodus to Greatness, The Story of the Mormon Migration (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1947) and Ray B. West, Jr., Kingdom of the Saints, the Story of Brigham Young and the Mormons (New York: The Viking Press, 1957). An excellent short treatment can be found in the chapter "The Mormons and settlement of the Great Basin" LeRoy Hafen and Carl Coke Rister's Western America, The Exploration, Settlement, and Development of the Region Beyond the Mississippi (2nd ed.; New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954), 333-351.

²³William Smith Clark, Lowell, Essays, Poems and Letters (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1948), 94-96.

²⁴William Mulder, "The Mormons in American History," Bulletin of the University of Utah, vol. 48, no. 11 (Jan. 14, 1957), 9.

protective and nourishing mulch from which a thoroughgoing capitalism would sprout and mature.²⁵

The rapid and early erection of a political structure in Utah has often been viewed as demonstrating a desire to protect the saints in their strange habits and to begin preparation for ultimate independence from the society and governments of the world.²⁶ And, to be sure, Mormons occasionally made statements which bespoke such independence of spirit and devotion to the Kingdom as to suggest to their critics a kind of treason.²⁷ What is not often remembered,

²⁵See the excellent treatment in Arrington, 257-349.

²⁶Daines, 336-343; Bernard DeVoto, Forays and Rebuttals (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1936), 109-110; J. Cecil Alter (ed.), "The State of Deseret," Utah State Historical Society Publications, vol. VIII, no. 's 2, 3 and 4 (April--October, 1940), 79-81; Milton R. Hunter, "The Mormon Corridor," The Pacific Historical Review vol. VIII, no. 2 (June, 1939), 179-200.

²⁷See, for example, John Taylor in J.D., I (1853), 230; also Ibid., XXI (1879), 8; and The Deseret News, May 12, 1880, 226-227. The question of Mormon political loyalty is a complicated one. As indicated in the introduction to this study, the traditional assumption was that the Mormons actively sought the creation of an independent kingdom for themselves eschewing all allegiance to the government in Washington. DeVoto, for example, has said of them, "Departure from American control was a lively desire." Forays and Rebuttals, 109-110; also Daines, 341; there is ample evidence for such a view in a long series of reports sent to Washington by Colonel Edward P. Connor who was stationed at Fort Douglas throughout the Civil War. Daniel S. Lamont (comp.), The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Series I, 53 vols.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), vol. L, pt. 2, 256, 318, 334, 344, 370, 410, 492 passim. Apparently the Confederates had counted on Mormon assistance in their plans for a corridor to the Pacific. W. H. Watford "Confederate Western Ambitions," The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, vol. XLIV, no. 2 (Oct., 1940), 162. And all of this was preceded by an era of bitter feelings which prompted criticisms that led up to and precipitated the Utah War, see Norman F. Furniss, The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960). In addition to the materials presented so far in this dissertation which argue for a more native interpretation of Mormon political and cultural sympathies see A. Russell Mortensen, "A Pioneer Paper Mirrors the Breakup of Isolation in the Great Basin," Utah

however, is that the Church's religious aspirations were directly tied to a similarly ambitious image of the nation. There is not, for example, the slightest suggestion of separatism in the famous letter to the saints in Great Britain which declares the authorities' intent to solicit Congress for territorial control over the region extending from Oregon to the Rio Grande and from the Rockies to the Pacific.²⁸ Even the Kingdom of God, as construed by Brigham Young, would accomodate

²⁷(continued) Historical Quarterly, vol. XX, no. 1 (Jan., 1952), 77-92; And the inviting attitude of George Q. Cannon toward gentile railroads in his Writings from the "Western Standard" Published in San Francisco, California (Liverpool: Published by George Q. Cannon, 1864), 394-395; also The Deseret Weekly, June 29, 1889, 15. The Mormons themselves never questioned their own patriotism but believed like Andrew Jenson that "though they had suffered persecution and violence, their leaders had been killed, and they had been driven from their homes by mobs, they were still willing to contend for their rights in the government and not outside of it; and therefore made no attempts to set up an independent government when they settled in the Great Salt Lake Valley." See his "Nauvoo," The Historical Record, vol. VIII, no. 's 2 and 3 (March, 1889), 810; and Hubert Howe Bancroft, who said "the Mormons were always loyal to the republic;..." History of California volume V, 1846-1848, vol. XXII: The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft (San Francisco: The History Company Publishers, 1886), 470. And yet, the heart of Chief Justice Waite's decision in the Polygamy Case was to contend that Mormon society was inherently undemocratic. Reynolds v. United States, 98 U.S. 145 (1878). Also see Klaus J. Hansen, "The Political Kingdom of God as a cause for Mormon-Gentile Conflict" Brigham Young University Studies, vol. II, no. 2 (Spring-Summer, 1960), 241-260. One may safely conclude by agreeing with Howard R. Lamar that adequate understanding and knowledge of political theory and structure during the territorial period of the trans-Mississippi West is still to be desired. "Political Patterns in New Mexico and Utah Territories 1850-1900," Utah Historical Quarterly, vol. XXVIII, no. 4 (Oct., 1960), 363-364.

²⁸"An Epistle of the Twelve to President Orson Pratt, and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles-- Greeting," The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star, vol. XI, no. 16 (August 15, 1849), 244-248.

believers and non-believers alike.²⁹ And Mormons never forgot the stirring prediction of Joseph Smith that it would be the Latter-day Saints who "would come to the rescue of that great and glorious palladium of our liberty"--the United States Constitution--when it "would hang as it were by a thread...."³⁰ Consequently, when Apostle Moses Thatcher, right on the eve of the Mormon exodus to Mexico in 1885, said that it was the "destiny" of the Church to grow and colonize until it should be at the "head" of the western hemisphere's greatest republic, he was declaring Mormonism's relationship to the United States government to be like that of the carpels and seeds to the stalk and petals of a flower.³¹ For, in his opinion, the Mormon theocratic kingdom was the pure residuum which would survive to bring forth and guarantee again the principles of human dignity after the governments of men had collapsed from the weight of human imperfection. In the words of another Mormon spokesman, church government in Utah was but the "shadow" of that "Divine system of government or theocracy, which was to spread and increase until the kingdoms of this world have become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ."³²

²⁹J.D., II (1855), 310; For a complete analysis of the Kingdom of God as politically constructed in Mormon theology and history see Klaus J. Hansen, "The Theory and Practice of the Political Kingdom of God in Mormon History" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959).

³⁰J.D. XX (1879), 318, 357; XXI (1879), 8, 31; XXIII (1882), 239; XXV (1884), 274; XXVI (1885), 142.

³¹Journal of Jesse Nathaniel Smith, The Life Story of a Mormon Pioneer 1834-1906 (Salt Lake City: Jesse N. Smith Family Association, 1953), 300.

³²"Causes of Opposition to the Truth--Internal, Economy of the Kingdom of God," The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star, vol. XXVII, no. 15 (April 15, 1865), 236-237. Or, the words of Eugene Henriod in an article from the same journal entitled "How and when will the King-

Nourished on the promise of a proliferating dominion which was cradled and sustained by the nation's divinely patented constitutional democracy, the Mormons commenced the building of their kingdom. Disregarding the English Common Law rule of riparian rights, the saints inaugurated the first extensive use of irrigation in Anglo-Saxon America. Spreading enclosures of cultivated lands were soon junctioned by villages of typical Mormon design.³³ Under the stewardship practice of land ownership, every deserving Latter-day

³²(continued) dom of God Become Independent": "Our Heavenly Father has so far used natural means to accomplish what has been done, and will continue to do so; and all the steps that will enhance its [the Kingdom of God on earth] further progress will be of that nature. An increase of faith and works among his people will naturally call for an increase of Territory and resources to maintain its wants, and that will be obtained legally, and as far as practicable with the sanction of that government in the midst of which the Saints dwell; for it should be remembered that, the elements of increase and progression are to be found within the Constitution of the United States, which secure unto all men, who become citizens of that government, a right to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' and those when fully enjoyed by a people who would rise and apply them to the establishment of righteousness, would bring about the purposes of the Almighty, in liberating His people from all former bondage, and thus, as his Kingdom increases, diminish the power and reduce the influence of that or any other nation connected with them." Ibid., vol. XXIV, no. 22 (May 31, 1862), 338. The Mormon emphasis on home industry and cooperative enterprise is, then, a logical corollary to the concept of the saints as having an ameliorative and saving mission to the United States. See, e.g., the remarks of President John Taylor in The Deseret News, May 5, 1880, 210-211.

³³A good description of Mormon land and water practices with regard to the development of their commonwealth may be found in Hamilton Gardner, "Cooperation among the Mormons," The Quarterly Journal of Economics, vol. XXXI (May, 1917), 461-499; Also the following: George Thomas, The Development of Institutions Under Irrigation with Special Reference to Early Utah Conditions (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920); George D. Clyde "History of Irrigation in Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly, vol. XXVII, no. 1 Jan., 1959), 27-36; Vernon D. Malan, "The Development of Irrigation Institutions in the Semi-Arid West" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Oregon, 1955); and, as with all facets of Mormon history having economic ramifications, the foremost work remains Leonard Arrington's Great Basin Kingdom, 45-160. With regard to the pattern of settlement

Saint, regardless of social or economic status, was provided with land and implements ample for his needs. In the words of Charles E. Cummings, "all were proprietors and none were tenants. Brigham Young insisted that each family strive to make its farm, as far as possible, industrially independent."³⁴

The combined attractions of a patriarchal kingdom and free land brought thousands of converts flooding into the Great Basin from Europe and the eastern parts of the United States. The Perpetual Emigrating Fund alone assisted upwards of 100,000 people to migrate and find new homes in the West.³⁵ When, in the mid-1850's, the "Fund" began to falter, hand carts and numerous private ventures sustained the westward flow.³⁶ Before long, the arid plains and valleys were transformed into verdant fields and attractive communities.

³³(continued) and city building, which would be retained by the saints in Utah, Mexico or Canada, the controlling study is Lowry Nelson, The Mormon Village A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952), esp, 37-40; also see D. H. C., I, 357 ff.

³⁴Charles Edwin Cummings, "The Mormon System of Colonization" (Unpublished Mater's Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1946), 24; also Hunter, The Mormons and the American Frontier, 106-108. The emphasis on land holding and economic self-sufficiency prompted a kind of romantic agrarianism which was often expressed as by James Johnson who said the Saints had inherited "a place where a man can sit under his own fig tree and vine unmolested. . . ." The Deseret Weekly, July 6, 1889, 50.

³⁵Gustive O. Larson, "The Story of the Perpetual Emigration Fund," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. XVIII, no. 2 (September, 1931), 184-194; more completely described in the same author's Prelude to the Kingdom, Mormon Desert Conquest, A Chapter in American Cooperative Experience (Francestown, New Hampshire: Marshall Jones Company, 1947).

³⁶Larson, Prelude to the Kingdom, 194-227; LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, Handcarts to Zion the story of a Unique Western Migration 1856-1860 with contemporary journals, accounts, reports; and rosters of members of the ten Handcart Companies (Glendale California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1960).

"The Mormon settlement in Utah. . . by its own fertility emphasized the barren nature of the rest."³⁷

Brigham Young had foreseen and anticipated the problem of space to pasture his growing flock. In addition to cities of broad boulevards and abundant foliage, a planned program of colonization was projected which, it was hoped, would care not only for the saints of that day but for generations of their posterity as well. Located, as Juanita Brooks has said, "literally on top of the world," the brethren seemed to stream off in all directions, forming new settlements wherever attractive locations were found.³⁸ Wherever missionaries were sent, scouts and permanent settlers would almost always follow.³⁹

Although settlements fanned out from Salt Lake City to every quadrant of the compass, the Southwest seems to have been favored from the very beginning. Joseph Smith had, in 1844, sent Lucien Woodworth to negotiate with Sam Houston for a portion of the Republic of Texas on which to settle the saints.⁴⁰ And later, a schismatic minority, believing it to have been the Prophet Joseph's intention, actually settled there, refusing to follow Brigham Young to the Great

³⁷Frederic Logan Paxon, The Last American Frontier, 87. It is of interest to remember that the great western trapper and explorer, Jim Bridger, had offered Brigham Young \$1000, 00 for the first bushel of corn that could be produced in the salt crusted Basin. C. H. C., III, 201.

³⁸"The Land that God Forgot," Utah Historical Quarterly vol. XXVI, no. 3 (July, 1958), 219.

³⁹Ila Dastrup, "Mormon Colonization: A type in the Westward Movement" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1931), 35-49.

⁴⁰Hyrum L. Andrus, Joseph Smith and World Government (Salt Lake City: The Deseret Book Company, 1958), 50-51 ff.

Basin.⁴¹ The Mormon Battalion, while camped on the Salt River of Arizona in December of 1846, had considered the circumstances there as being auspicious for the location of Brigham Young and the Church.⁴² Five years later, in the autumn of 1851, a colony of Mormons did settle in Tubac, Arizona, when that region was still a part of northern Sonora.⁴³ And there is significance in the projected southern exodus of 1857-1859 when the Mormons prepared to leave their homes in Utah before the invasion of Johnston's army. John R. Young, returning from a mission in Hawaii, described it as follows:

At Parowan, two hundred miles south of Salt Lake City, we encountered a scene that I shall never forget. I remember distinctly, the "Exodus," as it was called, from Nauvoo, when sixteen thousand souls left their homes and commenced that marvelous journey of fourteen hundred miles to the unknown valley of the Salt Lake. But that exodus was like a small rivulet by the side of a mighty river when compared with the seventy-five thousand men, women and children that we now met in one continuous line of travel.

Horses, Oxen, and cows were harnessed or yoked to wagons and carts; and one family by the name of Syphus was moving their effects on a handcart drawn by a pair

⁴¹C. Stanley Banks, "The Mormon Migration into Texas," The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, vol. XLIX, no. 2 (October, 1945), 233-244; Carl Russell Hearne, "The History of the Mormon Colony of Kelsey, Upshur County, Texas" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, East Texas State Teacher's College, 1949).

⁴²James H. McClintock, Mormon Settlement in Arizona, A Record of Peaceful Conquest of the Desert (Phoenix: The Manufacturing Stationers, Inc., 1921), 14.

⁴³The Tubac Colony remains one of the interesting puzzles of Western American and Mormon history. First mention of the colony is made by the U. S. Commissioner of the Boundary Surveying Commission which surveyed the United States-Mexican border in keeping with the peace treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. John Russell Bartlett, Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua (2 vols.; New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1856), II, 304; The best account of Tubac following the mysterious disappearance of the saints in 1852 is to be found in Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico 1530-1888, vol. XVII: The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), 475-476 n.

of yearling steers. Mothers and children walked along as merrily as if going to a corn husking; each family moving its little bunch of cows and flock of sheep, and all starting on the journey (that was never completed) to Sonora, in Mexico, or some other place.⁴⁴

Finally, there was remembered a prophecy made by Joseph before his death which endorsed the Mormon interest in the "South" as it was called in Utah.⁴⁵ The story is told by Mosiah Hancock who says that when he was a boy in Nauvoo,

the prophet came to our home and stopped in our carpenter shop and stood by the turning lathe. I went and got my map for him. "Now," he said, "I will show you the travels of this people." He then showed our travels through Iowa, and said, 'Here you will make a place for the winter; and here you will travel west until you come to the valley of the Great Salt Lake! You will build cities to the North and to the South, and to the East and to the West; and you will become a great and wealthy people in that land. But, the United States will not receive you with the laws which God desires you to live, and you will have to go where the Nephites lost their power. . . .' Placing his finger on the map, I should think about where Snowflake, Arizona is situated, or it could have been Mexico, he said, 'The government will not receive you with the laws that God designed you to live, and those who are desirous to live the laws of God will have to go South.'⁴⁶

As early as 1858, Brigham Young had sent a group of missionaries south among the Moqui Indians of Arizona to investigate a rumor of a surviving Welsh dialect in their speech.⁴⁷ In subsequent

⁴⁴John R. Young, Memoires of John R. Young, Utah Pioneer 1847 (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1920), 113-114; Also see Edward W. Tullidge's account of the "move South" in Tullidge's Histories (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor, 1889), II, 30-31.

⁴⁵It was the practice among Mormons to refer to any region north of Ogden as the "North" and to anything south of Provo as the "South." The area around St. George is yet referred to as "Utah's Dixie."

⁴⁶Mosiah Levi Hancock, "The Life Story of Mosiah Levi Hancock" (Mimeographed M. S., Brigham Young University library), 28.

⁴⁷McClintock, 63-65.

years Jacob Hamblin, Ammon Tenney and others made frequent visits to the "Lamanites" in the arid southland valleys. Bishop Anson Call was sent to establish a colony on the Colorado River in 1864.⁴⁸ And the concluding decade of Brigham Young's life saw the Southwest given almost exclusive attention in the Church's colonizing program.⁴⁹ This was accomplished primarily by the establishment of colonies on the Little Colorado, the Gila, and Salt and San Pedro Rivers of Arizona territory.⁵⁰ And Lorenzo Hatch, also under assignment from Brigham Young, led the first Mormon colonists into New Mexico at the same time.⁵¹

James S. Brown, who had served as a missionary-settler to New Mexico and Arizona in 1876, was asked by Brigham Young to lead

⁴⁸Milton R. Hunter "The Mormons and the Colorado River," The American Historical Review, vol. XLIV, no. 3 (April, 1939), 549-555.

⁴⁹Milton R. Hunter has divided the Church's colonizing efforts into three distinct periods. The first extends from the Saints' arrival in the Valley in 1847 until the temporary contraction incident to the "Mormon War" of 1857. The second comprehends the period from 1857 to the arrival of the railroad in 1867. The third and final period of colonization extends from 1867 until the death of Brigham Young in 1877. Brigham Young the Colonizer (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1940), 355-357; also see his The Mormons and the American Frontier, 143-145.

⁵⁰C. H. C., V, 475-76; Andrew Jenson, Church Chronology (2nd ed.; Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1899), 95-97; McClintock, 232-236 passim; Herbert Howe Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico 1530-1888, XVII, 530-534.

⁵¹A. N. Sorensen, Biography of Hezekiah Eastman Hatch (n.p.: Published by the family of Hezekiah Eastman Hatch, 1952), 40-41; a more complete account can be found in H. Mannie Foster, "History of Mormon Settlements in Mexico and New Mexico" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1937), 66-99. Mormon settlement in New Mexico during these years was not extensive. An actual count in 1891 found only 442 Latter-day Saints in the entire territory. The Deseret Weekly, July 4, 1891, 39.

another mission "South," and was given a letter written by the Prophet to use in obtaining subscriptions to support the undertaking. Since this was a common device used in those times to finance such ventures and since President Young's views on expansion are voiced in this particular letter, it is worth reproducing here.

Brother Brown is . . . authorized to receive the names of those who are willing or desirous of helping to build up the Kingdom of God in that region. . . . it is our intention to keep pushing out and onward as fast as prudence and the whisperings of the Spirit of the Lord shall dictate We have no fear that too many will respond to this invitation, as the rich southland valleys south and east of the Colorado offer homes for hundreds of those who desire to extend the curtains of Zion in that direction.

Signed by Brigham Young and
dated September 16, 1876.⁵²

And so the far southwest witnessed the advance of Mormon missionaries who, after carrying the Gospel to the Indian, sought out locations to be cultivated and settled by their own people. As the saints grew in number and secured holdings of available land, conflicts were occasionally generated between themselves and earlier residents.⁵³

⁵²James Stephens Brown, Life of a Pioneer; being the Autobiography of James S. Brown (Salt Lake City: Cannon and Sons, 1900), 466.

⁵³Notwithstanding what seems to have been a very sympathetic attitude toward the Indian and Mexican, some friction was unavoidable. "The belief that the earth is the Lord's gave cause for preemption of Indian lands that were not under cultivation; for man is entitled to just that which he can use. There were, therefore, no scruples regarding the placing of settlements in the regions claimed by the various tribes." Dastrup, 39-40. An example of where one such conflict erupted into violence and bloodshed is recorded in the Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal (Mimeographed M. S., Brigham Young University, 1958), 128. Periodic accusations claiming the Mormons to be instigators of Indian uprisings were not uncommon. One such report by Chris Gilson, a respected southwestern scout and explorer, and endorsed by the wealthy Arizona mine owner and financier Thomas F. Hopkins, was presented to Congress. It asserted Utes, Piutes and Navajos "are being freely furnished with arms and provisions by the Mormons, who are affiliating with the Indians and giving them all the whiskey they want." U. S., Congress,

Generally, however, the work and progress of their settlements went on unimpeded, attended by the cordial admiration of Indian and gentile alike.⁵⁴

This final gesture of Mormon energies in the southwest represents more than a simple response to the yielding and unobstructed avenue-like terrain which courses south from the Great Basin to the windswept plateaus of Chihuahua. For Arizona and New Mexico's southern borders constituted the most recent achievement of the United States in rounding out her continental domain. Like other western Americans who were moving in this same direction, the Mormons were reacting to the discomfort of national geographical confinement. And as time carried them closer to that moment when the Superintendent of the Census would declare our boundaries confirmed by human occupation, Mormons found themselves increasingly pressured into this pocket of the frontier's last reserve.

⁵³(continued) House, Alleged Connections of Certain Mormons with the Piute and Navaho Outbreak, 47th Cong., 1st Sess., 1881-82, Exec. Doc. 65, pp. 1-2. cf., The Deseret News, March 1, 1882, 83; and Ibid., October 5, 1881, 567.

⁵⁴The general assessment of Mormon settlement in Arizona has been quite favorable. Bancroft's appraisal is typical. "The Mormons have always been regarded as among the best of Arizona settlers, being quiet, industrious, and economical in their habits, and not disposed to intrude their religious peculiarities. . . . Their neat adobe houses, orchards, gardens, and well-tilled fields form veritable oases in the desert." History of Arizona and New Mexico 1530-1888, XVII, 533-534; also see the testimony of the non-Mormon, James H. McClintock in his Mormon Settlement in Arizona, 2-3. With regard to the Indian, not only did the Mormons favor "the Indian more than other settlers," Bancroft, XVII, 550 n., but in the words of Ila Dastrup, "this policy gave to the saints a singular distinction. The white invaders of the territory were classified [by the Indians] as Americans and Mormons, with the credit balance in favor of the latter." "Mormon Colonization," 39-40.

But whether from population pressures, lure of the interesting and mysterious Indian or from a singular devotion to building up the Kingdom, whatever the cause, Mormonism had functioned as a vanguard to the rest of America in its quest for western lands. Brigham Young had led his Mormon Israel to the land of Canaan. And under his direction a viable commonwealth had been established, making Joseph's dream of an expanding Mormonism which in time should become the American Religion seem a distinct if distant possibility.

It was Prince Paul Wilhelm of Würtemberg who said of Mormonism, "There is human stuff in this empire that will one day be sung in an epic great enough to dim the glory of all the songs of antiquity."⁵⁵ But if this seems excessively charged with hyperbole, there is justification in Milton R. Hunter's contention that 'Brigham Young as a colonizer has no peer in American history.'⁵⁶ For it remains a matter of historical fact that within a decade of his death Brigham's followers had established over 600 settlements involving locations in almost all of the eleven western states, some eighteen other communities in the Midwest and had extended missionary and colonization activities into Canada and Mexico.

In all of this the Church saw the fulfillment of prophecy and the blessings of Providence. But even more, the Church was encouraged in its belief that in time all of North and South America would be but garden and vineyard of the Saviour's master estate, minions of a New

⁵⁵ Taken from Louis C. Butscher, "A Brief Biography of Prince Wilhelm of Würtemberg (1797-1860)," New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. XVII, no. 3 (July, 1942), 211.

⁵⁶ Hunter's case is stated in Brigham Young the Colonizer, 358; cf., Larson, Outline History of Utah and the Mormons, 73-74.

Jerusalem which would descend to crown the labors and conquests of His Rocky Mountain Saints.

Such was the vision, then, which would prompt Apostle Erastus Snow to say to the Saints in St. Johns, Arizona on September 25, 1884, "I have truly aided and cherished the settlements in this part of the country. This was put upon me to do before President Young's death. He felt to stretch out in this direction."⁵⁷ Brigham Young's successor, John Taylor, proclaimed to the brethren in Snowflake, Arizona in early January of 1885 that when "Zion will shine in triumph" it will occupy all of "North and South America."⁵⁸ And Benjamin F. Johnson reflects the general sentiment of most Mormons of this period in his statement that

from boyhood I . . . had been taught by the Prophet as to the travel of the Church I listened to President Young in referring to the Gila River and the country beyond, as the direction of our march and the scenes of great future events. My feelings and faith were always in that direction.⁵⁹

The Mormon poet Orson F. Whitney had ample store then from which to draw when he depicted Mormonism's dramatic conception of its latter-day mission to the Americas as extending

north unto south, east unto western wave.

 A modern march of ancient destiny,
 Another exodus and Israel,
 Carving Columbia's ever conquering name
 Where looms the Aztec's altar, quenched of its ancient flame.
 There bringing forth the promise of the land,
 Thesaurus of the West! -- the prophecy
 Of glittering cities strewn along the strand,
 Of splendrous empires spreading from the seas.⁶⁰

⁵⁷Journal of Jesse N. Smith, 294. ⁵⁸Ibid., 301.

⁵⁹Benjamin Franklin Johnson, My Life's Review (Independence, Missouri: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1947), 268.

⁶⁰Orson Ferguson Whitney, Elias an Epic of the Ages (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1904), 144, 151.

CHAPTER II

It is significant that burgeoning industrialism and a retreating frontier in post-Civil War America coincided with the liberal Juárez reforms which succeeded the demise of Maximilian Mexico. And as American dollars were attracted south by the new and accommodating atmosphere, Yankee religion was soon to follow.

Beginning their efforts in the early and mid-1870's, American Protestants commenced a general infiltration of the Republic of Mexico which was often viewed, particularly by the Catholic Church as a greater threat than the hostile and oppressive measures of the Mexican government.¹

Frederick A. Ober, the American ornithologist, after listing the numerous American enterprises profiting from the liberality of the new reforms in Chihuahua City around 1880, concluded that "hand in hand with other American institutions the Protestant Mission

¹The most comprehensive work done on the history of Protestantism in Mexico is the large Ph. D. dissertation of James Ervin Helms entitled "Origins and Growth of Protestantism in Mexico" (Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Texas, 1955). Giving greatest attention to the Baptists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists, this work now replaces the more fragmentary accounts of G. Baez Camargo and Kenneth Grubb, Religion in the Republic of Mexico (London: World Dominion Press, 1935) and that of Charles S. Macfarland, Chaos in Mexico, the Conflict of Church and State (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1935). Two other sources which are old but still useful are: John W. Butler, Sketches of Mexico in Prehistoric, Primitive, Colonial, and Modern Times (Lectures at Syracuse University on the Graves Foundation) (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1894); William F. Cloud, Church and State or Mexican Politics from Cortez to Diaz under X Rays (Kansas City: Peck and Clark, Printers, 1896).

has secured a foothold here."² And Hubert H. Bancroft, an observer of Mexico's northern provinces at this same time, found the Mexican government so inviting that "even the Mormons established colonies in Mexican territory, and an association of free-thinkers was formed in Mexico in 1870."³

Bancroft's use of the expletive "even" suggests Mormon activity in Mexico as extraordinary or unexpected. But, as already shown, the 1870's and 80's saw Mormon colonization pushed to the limits of the nation's southwestern boundaries. And this accretion of settlements, combined with the Mormon attraction to the rich reserve of Lamanite blood in Mexico, when further abetted by the appeal which inviting con-

²Frederick Albion Ober, Travels in Mexico and Life Among the Mexicans (St. Louis, Missouri: T.N. James and Company, 1883), 616-617.

³Mormon colonial intrusions into Mexico did not officially begin, of course, until 1884. Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Mexico 1861-1887, vol. XIV: The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1888), VI, 589. The inviting commercial and religious conditions in Mexico were widely advertised in American publications. See, for instance, Gorham Summer Abbot, Mexico and The United States; their Mutual Relations and Common Interests (New York: G.P. Putnam & Son, 1869); and especially the series of articles under the title "Our Nearest Neighbor," Harpers New Monthly Magazine, vol. XLIX (1874), 1-15, 168-180, 323-334; or F. Francis' "A Glimpse of Mexico," The Nineteenth Century, Vol. XII, no. 68 (October, 1882), 591-601 and Senator John T. Morgan's "Mexico," in the North American Review, vol. CXXXVI, no. 318 (May, 1883), 410-418. American enthusiasm for the Latin republic finds its apotheosis in a story written for the very first issue of Scribner's. This is the tale of a New England engineer, George Rand, who went to Mexico to make his fortune. Before he could return with his trove, however, he became captivated with Mexico and its people, fell in love with a beautiful senorita and melodramatically dies in her arms. Thomas A. Janivier, "In Mexico," Scribner's Magazine vol. I, no. 1 (January, 1887), 67-79.

ditions made to the Yankee sense for economic gain, could only result in an immediate Mormon descent into the southern republic.

In direct response to the Mexican reforms, in June of 1874, Brigham Young asked Daniel W. Jones and Henry Brizzee to prepare for a mission to Mexico.⁴ Asserting that the time had come to carry the Gospel to the "millions of descendants of Nephi in the land," the missionaries were instructed to give close attention to possible sites for Mormon settlements in Arizona and points further south.⁵

The first major effort to colonize Arizona had occurred in 1873. Because of extreme hardships the venture failed.⁶ President Young was determined, however, that the Southwest be brought within Zion's fold. Daniel W. Jones tells of Brigham's views on the matter in the following recollection:

One little incident I will relate, to show how I came to be called to explore Arizona in connection with this mission to Mexico, which could have been made in an easier way than travelling so far with pack mules. I was in President Young's office one day when several others were present. Brother W. C. Staines came in and was telling about having heard a Brother McMaster, of the 11th Ward, relate a remarkable occurrence whilst on this first Arizona trip [the 1873 expedition]. Brother McMaster's statement, as told by Brother Staines, was that there were several hundred persons, with teams, in a perishing condition.

⁴Daniel W. Jones, Forty Years Among the Indians (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1890), 212-220. This work was recently republished as volume XIX in the Great West and Indian Series (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1960).

⁵Ibid., 212; Journal of Anthony W. Ivins (Microfilm copy of typewritten M.S., Brigham Young University Library), 6. B. H. Roberts' Comprehensive History... is, at this point, quite general and incomplete. cf., C.H.C., V, 475-476.

⁶C.H.C., V, 476-477; James H. McClintock, Mormon Settlement in Arizona A Record of Peaceful Conquest of the Desert (Phoenix, Arizona: The Manufacturing Stationers, Inc., 1921), 92-93, 135-138.

They has passed some forty-five miles beyond the Colorado and no water could be found. Someone had gone on up the Little Colorado and found that entirely dry. Brother Mc Master being chaplain went out and pled with the Lord for water. Soon there was a fall of rain and snow depositing plenty of water for the cattle, and to fill up all their barrels. They were camped in a rocky place where there were many small holes that soon filled up. In the morning all were refreshed, barrels filled up, and all turned back rejoicing in the goodness of the Lord in saving them from perishing. They returned to Salt Lake and reported Arizona uninhabitable.

After Brother Staines had finished, some remarks were made by different ones. I was sitting near by and just in front of Brother Brigham. I had just been telling him something about my labors among the Indians. He said nothing for a few moments, but sat looking me straight in the eye. Finally he asked, "What do you think of that Brother Jones?"

I answered "I would have filled up, went on, and prayed again." Brother Brigham replied putting his hand upon me, "this is the man that shall take charge of the next trip to Arizona."⁷

The primary objective, however, continued to be Mexico. This meant extensive preparation in language training and the need for translated materials to dispense among the people. Jones and Brizzee labored together for some months attempting to perfect their Spanish and render a satisfactory translation of segments of the Book of Mormon. Finding the task difficult and becoming increasingly discouraged with their progress, a native of Spain came to Salt Lake City just in time to give new hope and needed stimulation to the project.⁸

⁷Jones, 234-235. Inasmuch as the larger number of Arizona settlements were established subsequent to this expedition by Jones, it could be argued that colonization in Arizona was largely incident to the primary interest of the saints in proselyting and settling Mexico. Jones himself was to say, "The greater portion of the settlements in Arizona, New Mexico and Old Mexico are on lands explored by our party on this trip." (the 1876 expedition). Ibid., 300.

⁸Ibid., 220-222.

Melitón G. Trejo came from a distinguished and wealthy family of western Spain.⁹ After receiving the degree of Docteur de L'Université from Bordeaux, France, he embarked on a career in the military service of Spain. Serving in the Philippine Islands, Trejo received what he considered to be a vision vouchsafed from God, which directed him to seek out Brigham Young and the saints in the Rocky Mountains in America. After making the necessary arrangements, he sailed for the United States and arrived in San Francisco on July 4, 1874. From there, he immediately set out for Salt Lake City. Finding a "Brother Blanchard," an instructor of Romance Languages at Brigham Young Academy in Provo with whom he could communicate, Trejo was instructed in the precepts of Mormonism and was soon baptized at the hands of Henry Brizzee.¹⁰

After giving an account of his life and the remarkable dream which he had in the Philippines, Trejo told Brigham Young of a compelling desire to translate Mormon scripture into his native tongue. Obtaining the prophet's sanction, Trejo then began to work with Daniel Jones in translating Parley P. Pratt's Voice of Warning, a missionary tract, and portions of the Book of Mormon.

By the spring of 1875, nearly one hundred pages of the Book of Mormon had been translated and it was decided that the time had come for the Mexican missionary expedition to commence its work. Subscriptions for the cost of publication were made and the summer of 1875 was spent in selecting the men who would be asked to make

⁹K. E. Duke, "Melitón González Trejo, Translator of the Book of Mormon into Spanish," The Improvement Era, vol. LIX, no. 10 (October, 1956), 714.

¹⁰Ibid., 714-715; Jones, 222.

the journey.¹¹ Those called to participate under the leadership of Jones were Anthony W. Ivins, Helaman Pratt, James Z. Stewart, Robert H. Smith, Ammon M. Tenny and Wiley C. Jones.¹²

Men and supplies were ready by early Autumn, and all parties gathered for the journey in Nephi, Utah on September 10, 1875. Crossing the Colorado, the missionaries first heeded instructions from Brigham Young to survey the Colorado and Salt River regions as prospective colonization sites.¹³ After returning favorable reports on these areas the expedition journeyed on to Tucson where they had a pleasant visit with Governor Safford. It was here that they received a communication from Brigham Young telling of a party of saints which had been directed to follow Jones and his missionaries into Arizona and commence the settlement of that territory.¹⁴

Because of hostilities then existing between the Yaqui Indians and the government of Sonora, Jones decided to lead his group south-east to El Paso and enter Mexico there. Travelling through a country heavily populated with Apaches, the missionaries found ample opportunity to expound the Gospel. They also indicated their intention of

¹¹Jones, 222-225. Henry Brizee, by this time, had become disinterested and had been released by President Young from his commitment to the Mexican undertaking.

¹²C. H. C., V, 475; confirmed by the Journal of A. W. Ivins, 6. Also Jones, 233. Wiley C. Jones was the oldest son of Daniel W. Jones.

¹³Jones, 235-245.

¹⁴Ibid., 245-252; McClintock, 137-140. This was the company led by James S. Brown, a typical Mormon-American and frontiersman. Brown's career had begun in Nauvoo under the Prophet Joseph. He had been a member of the Mormon Battalion, had been one of those to first discover gold at Sutter's Fort in California and had later forfeited one of his legs to a party of hunters who had fired on him thinking he was a bear.

colonizing the region and sought the favor of the Indians toward such a project. Finally, in late January of 1876, the expedition arrived in Paso del Norte.¹⁵

The first official Mormon entry into Mexico was heralded by a Catholic Priest, Father Borajo, who, in the words of Jones, said:

"The world's history gives an account of great plagues that have visited the world from time to time. Mankind has been subjected to great calamities, such as wars, storms, cholera, smallpox, great drouth and floods. We of this land have been subjected to many plagues. The murderous Apaches have made war upon us for many years. We have had our ditches and dams destroyed by floods, so that some seasons we have had to suffer hunger.

"We have had many revolutions and thousands have been killed. Lately we have had the grasshoppers come and destroy every green herb and product. But all these things have made war only on the body of the man. None have had a tendency to destroy the soul.

"Now of all the plagues that ever visited the earth to curse and destroy mankind we have the worst just come to us and there stand the representatives of this plague. Look at them. Their faces show what they are.

"Thanks to God we have been warned in time by the Holy Pope that false prophets and teachers would come among us.

"These men," pointing to us, "represent all that is low and depraved. They have destroyed the morals of their own people, and have come here to pollute the people of this place." (I thought if that was so we had a hard job on hand.) "They have no virtue. They all have from six to one dozen wives. Now they have come here to extend the practice into Mexico. I denounce them. Yes, here in presence of the image of the Virgin Mary, I denounce them as barbarians. . . . And I want you all to get their books and fetch them to me and I will burn them."

I began to feel as though it would be best for us to get out of the crowd before the spirit got too high, as some fanatic might be tempted to slip a knife in among our ribs.¹⁶

The effect of this introduction was to so frighten Ammon Tenney and Robert Smith that they begged leave from the expedition and com-

¹⁵Ibid., 250-256.

¹⁶Ibid., 256-257.

pleted their mission among the Pueblo and Zuni Indians of New Mexico and Arizona.¹⁷ Adhering to their original purposes, Ivins, Pratt, Stewart, Daniel Jones and his son Wiley departed for the interior of Chihuahua on March 20, 1876. Generally, they were received far better than they expected. "The reception given us by the padre had . . . been heralded abroad. This caused the more liberal minded to sympathize with us."¹⁸

Confining most of their missionary activity to the Indians, they followed closely the counsel of Brigham Young, "to visit the old original blood as much as possible."¹⁹ After the brethren arrived in Chihuahua City, their method of locating liberals with whom to lodge and converse was to go to the cathedral and watch for those who passed in front of it without taking off their hats. Jones who had been in Mexico in 1847 noticed that at that time, "all had to take off their hats, or run the risk of getting a good pelting with rocks."²⁰ The Juárez Reforms thus gave those of liberal or independent dispositions opportunity to ignore both shrines and tradition.

In addition to preaching to the people, the missionaries mailed some five hundred copies of Trejo's "Selectos" or translated extracts from the Book of Mormon to prominent men and officials in all of the major cities of Mexico.²¹ Governor Luis Terrazas was very

¹⁷Ibid., 260. ¹⁸Ibid., 269; Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 17.

¹⁹Ibid., 260-261, 273-274.

²⁰Ibid., 274-275. Jones had engaged in the War with Mexico as a volunteer in 1847 and had then remained there for three years indulging "in many of the wild and reckless ways of the people." He was baptized a member of the Church after journeying north into Utah territory in January of 1851.

²¹These extracts were entitled "Trozos Selectos del Libro de Mormon." C. H. C., V., 475n. Copies are available in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City, Utah.

kind to the party and freely gave them advise concerning the price and availability of lands in Chihuahua.²² After spending some time in Chihuahua City, they travelled westward to Concepción. Holding to the counsel given by Liberal friends that "we would be alright so long as we let the subject of polygamy alone; but if that was ever taught the women would knife us," Jones and his party met with a warm response, especially among the Tarahumara Indians.²³

On April 18, 1876, after a series of brief meetings with the Indian inhabitants in the foot hills of the Sierra Madre Mountains, the company of missionaries began their return to Zion.²⁴ Aside from their noting that the lands in the Casas Grandes River valley would make a particularly pleasing location for colonies, the return trip to the United States was largely without incident. Daniel Jones personally reported the success of the mission to President Young at Kanab, Utah in late June of 1876. Of the interview, Jones says "Brother Brigham expressed himself well satisfied with the results of our trip; said it was an opening for a greater work."²⁵

With the great colonizer's death in 1877 and the succeeding three year apostolic interregnum, one would expect that plans for settling the saints in Mexico would have been temporarily forgotten. But the flow of migrants into Arizona continued until there existed

²²Ibid., 276-279; Andrew Jenson, Church Chronology (2nd rev. ed.; Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1899), 95-96.

²³Ibid., 280-284.

²⁴Ibid., 289-90; Jenson, 95-96.

²⁵Ibid., 303. For an additional account of the Jones expedition see Mariam Stewart, The Story of James Z. Stewart (Microfilm of typewritten M.S., Utah State University Library, Logan, Utah), 10-16.

a chain of settlements from Moenkopi on the Little Colorado to St. David on the San Pedro.²⁶ And with the borders of the kingdom extended to southern Arizona there followed numerous forays into Mexico by Mormon missionary and explorer.

Sonora seemed to be of particular interest to the Arizona Saints. In the words of one missionary, "the people of Sonora are a more intelligent class of people as a rule than the Mexicans of New Mexico or those of Arizona... and I hope to live to see the day when a mighty work will be done in that land."²⁷ A second missionary expedition, much like the Jones party, undertook a four month journey through Chihuahua and Sonora just before President Young's death. In addition to their preaching activities the missionaries concerned themselves with the location of possible sites for what they were sure

²⁶McClintock, 199-206. passim. Most of those who had participated in the 1875-76 expedition into Mexico returned to Arizona as settlers. Daniel W. Jones even led a colony south with the presumed intentions of settling in northern Mexico but was forced to arrest his travels on the Salt River near Phoenix. Upon learning of this, Brigham Young wrote to Jones, asking him, "We should also like to know what your intentions are with regard to settling the region for which you originally started [Mexico]? We do not deem it prudent for you to break up your present location, but possibly next fall you will find it consistent to continue your journey with a portion of those who are now with you, while others will come and occupy the places vacated by you.

"We do not, however, wish you to get the idea from the above remarks that we desire to hurry you away from where you now are, or to force a settlement in the district to which you refer, until it is safe to do so free from the dangers of Indian difficulties; but we regard it as one of the spots where the Saints will, sooner or later, gather to build up Zion, and we feel the sooner the better." Jones, 311-312, and esp. p. 347.

²⁷Llewellyn Harris in a letter to The Deseret News, January 18, 1882, 803; also see Andrew Jenson, Church Chronology, 98 and the Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal (Mimeographed M.S., Brigham Young University Library), 137.

would soon be a heavy influx of Mormon settlers.²⁸ Elder Alexander F. Macdonald, who was presiding over the Salt River settlements, led two more expeditions into Sonora in 1880 and 1881 with a view to introducing the Gospel to the people and scouting out possible locations for the saints.²⁹ And in late 1882, a party of men actually travelled to the San Bernardino Ranch in the northeastern corner of Sonora intending to take possession and make settlement there. But finding the land and facilities poor, the project was abandoned.³⁰

Perhaps the most singular of these missionary ventures took place in November of 1884. Apostles Brigham Young Jr. and Heber J. Grant travelled south to Mesa and there organized a party of brethren from the Salt River and St. Joseph settlements of Arizona to accompany them to the Yaqui Indian lands in southwestern Sonora. The intent, again, seems to have been to negotiate for lands to settle on as well as to carry the Gospel to the Lamanites. Benjamin F. Johnson who accompanied this expedition tells how the party first travelled to Nogales and then on to Hermosillo, the capital of Sonora, where they arrived on December 3, 1884.³¹

²⁸Those on this expedition were Helaman Pratt, James Z. Stewart, Issac Z. Stewart, George Terry, Louis Garff and Meliton G. Trejo. Mariam Stewart, *The Story of James Z. Stewart*, 18-19; Thomas Cottam Romney, *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret Book Company, 1938), 42-43. Because this work by Romney will serve as a thread for much of the succeeding narrative, it will hereafter be noted simply as the M. C. M.

²⁹M. C. M., 53; Lycurgus A. Wilson, "The Mexican Mission," *Deseret Weekly*, August 1, 1891, 161.

³⁰M. C. M., 53; Benjamin Franklin Johnson, *My Life's Review* (Independence Missouri: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1947), 284-285.

³¹Accounts of this expedition may be found in Johnson's *My Life's Review*, 287-296; L. A. Wilson's "The Mexican Mission," 161-163; Romney's M. C. M., 53-54; the brief extract from Heber J. Grant's

Warned that yellow fever was raging throughout the district, they decided to hazard the danger and travel anyway. Dividing their number in Hermosillo, it was decided that Apostle Young would lead those selected few who would continue on to the Yaqui country, while Apostle Grant should remain in waiting with the balance of the party. Before leaving, however, the brethren met with some former Salt Lake City residents then seeking their fortunes in Mexico. The group was also received by Governor Torres who, though apprehensive for their safety among the warlike Yaquis, was very kind and offered to send a military escort with the Mormon legation.³² Declining the escort, the party decided to travel by rail to Guaymas and from thence south by ship on the Gulf to the mouth of the Yaqui River where they would approach the warring Indian nation as ambassadors of peace, leaving all else in the hands of Providence.³³

After arriving in Guaymas, and consulting with the American consul, Mr. Willard, Johnson related the following:

³¹(continued) diary which constitutes Rachel Grant Taylor's "Journey to Mexico--1884," The Improvement Era, vol. XLV, no. 11 (November, 1942), 696-698 and the even briefer sketch written from Milton S. Ray's verbal accounts in the Journals of John Mills Whittaker, (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University), III, 36.

³²Johnson, 390.

³³For a good account of the causes which precipitated Yaqui hostility see Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of the North Mexican States and Texas vol. II, 1801-1889, vol. XVI: The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1889), 701-704. Other valuable comments may be found in the following: Aleš Hrdlička, "Notes on the Indians of Sonora, Mexico," American Anthropologist, vol. VI, no. 1 (January-March, 1904), 61-89; Frederick Webb Hodge (ed.), Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico: Smithsonian Institute Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 30 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912) Pt. II, 991-992; Rufus Kay Wyllys, The French in Sonora (1850-1954) The Story of French adventures From California into Mexico, vol. XXI: University of California Publications in History, ed. Herbert E. Bolton, William A. Morris

It had become rumored through the city that we were going to the Yaqui country, and as we brought our baggage to the wharf, the people gathered like a flock, and told us we would be killed by the Yaquis, and warned us not to go. The Catholic priest came also, and most vehemently warned us of certain death but if we would go, he commanded us to come to confession and get absolved from sin before starting; and at last came the Harbor captain to see the vessel clear and to give us final warning that we would certainly be killed by the Yaquis.³⁴

The Indian interpreter, Valenzuela, was so frightened by the people's warnings that he refused to go further with the expedition and Elder Milton S. Ray served in his place for the balance of the mission.³⁵

The journey by sea occupied four stormy days. Arriving at the mouth of the Yaqui River on December 9th, 1884, the men walked inland across a five mile plain of mud and swamp searching for Megano, the Yaqui village. All of the party were exhausted by sea sickness, and Apostle Young, whose weight made him sink deeper into the mud than anyone else, caught cold and became afflicted with what they feared might be the yellow fever.³⁶

Finally, their destination reached, the elders were quartered by their suspicious hosts in bamboo huts, where they made ready a presentation for the local chieftains who would meet that night. Find-

³³(continued) and Paul B. Schaeffer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1932), 1-33; Dean Harris, By Path and Trail (Chicago: Chicago Newspaper Union, 1908), 5-65.

³⁴Ibid., 291

³⁵Wilson, 162. Wilson takes his account from the now lost diary of Milton S. Ray.

³⁶"In this tiring and tedious tramp, Brother Young was signally unfortunatate in his avoirdupois and no. 6 boots, both tending to his greater depth in the mud. And here was my advantage and triumph, both in being web-footed and no. 10 boots, and in being like Pharaoh's lean kine, for I was the only one of the party that passed that terrible ordeal with dry feet, which took nearly three hours to wallow through." Johnson, 293; also Wilson, "The Mexican Mission," 162.

ing one Bonafacio Martinez who could speak both Spanish and Yaqui, the elders spent the evening discussing the Gospel around a campfire with the tribal council. Telling them of the Book of Mormon, its significance for their own genealogy and history and the blessings which were reserved for their race and people, the missionaries were greeted by an enthusiastic response. A later special hearing with the leader himself was equally encouraging. Promising protection and support for the Mormons in their missionary and colonizing projects, the Yaquis asked only that the brethren return and bring translated copies of the Book of Mormon with them.³⁷ The party, heartened by their warm reception returned to Guaymas on December 13, 1884 and from there to Hermosillo and on to their various homes in Arizona.

Since the Church never exploited the Yaqui invitation nor made any subsequent visits to them, this episode marks the closing of formal Mormon relations with the Lamanites of Sonora.³⁸

³⁷The Mormon Elders may have found the Yaqui practice of polygamy of particular interest because of their own peculiar beliefs. C. C. Seltzer and others, Studies of the Yaqui Indians of Sonora, Mexico, vol. XII, no. 2: Texas Technological College Bulletin (Lubbock, Texas: Texas Technological College, 1936), 26-27.

³⁸Johnson, 293-296. It is difficult to understand why the Church never made an attempt to profit by the Yaqui cordiality, unless because the anti-polygamy crusade, which descended on the Mormons in the 1880's, obscured all other concerns. See Romney's M. C. M., 54-55. There can be no question about the feelings of this original company of missionaries. In Johnson's words, "All the principal natives again gather around our little campfire to learn more of what we have to tell them, and late at night they still appear unwilling that we should retire. They readily accept our testimony as true, and say they shall wait with great anxiety for their book to come to them in the Spanish language, and ask how soon they may expect it, with someone to teach them further. And they seem so filled with confidence and anxiety upon the subject that we felt that truly the Lord had sent us to them. They said we were welcome to come to their country, and as soon as they got their book, and were better taught, they would

During these years, however, while the saints of Arizona were chafing at the restraints of national boundaries, the authorities in Utah were providing leadership and direction for establishment of a mission in Mexico City.

One of the copies of Trejo's tracts which had been carried into Mexico and mailed to various cities in the republic by the Jones expedition of 1876 had, by chance, fallen into the hands of a Mexico City resident, Dr. Plotino Constantino Rhodacanaty. After considerable study and prayer, Rhodacanaty had decided Mormonism, as he understood it, to be true and addressed letters to both D. W. Jones who was still in Chihuahua City and to church authorities in Salt Lake City.³⁸ As Rhodacanaty began to interest his friends in the new religion and as the number and enthusiasm of his letters to the Salt Lake brethren increased, the advisability of commencing missionary work in the Mexican capitol became a conscious consideration.

³⁸(continued) come to visit us. They took all our names in hope that some of us would come back with their book, and asked how soon they might look for it and were told they might expect it in six months. It is now ten years since then and no book had been sent them yet." Ibid., 295; cf. Jones, Forty Years . . ., 286-288. For the account of an abortive attempt in 1887 to revisit the Yaquis see Wilson, "The Mexican Mission," 162-163. The last gesture of interest occurred when in 1899 Anthony W. Ivins and Apostle John Henry Smith laid a project for introducing the gospel among the Yaqui of Sonora before the First Presidency of the Church. While they were encouraged in the venture no substantive assistance was given and the project seems to have never been implemented. Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 85. Although, purchase of the Morelos tract in Sonora seems to have been viewed as a potential base of operations for proselyting among the Yaquis. Journal History (Multi-volume compilation of typescript and newsclipping M. S. S., Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah), 22 October 1897, 11 April 1899.

³⁹Jones, 279; C. H. C., V, 568; M. C. M., 43 passim. I cannot identify Rhodacanaty further than the brief references made in the Mormon sources.

Finally, in the summer of 1879, the Council of the Twelve Apostles selected one of the youngest of their number, Moses Thatcher, to establish a mission for the church in the southern republic's capitol.⁴⁰ Taking the Spanish convert Melitón G. Trejo and James Z. Stewart with him, Apostle Thatcher left Utah on October 26, 1879 and, taking a steamer from New Orleans, arrived in Vera Cruz on November 14th of the same year.⁴¹ The passage from New Orleans to Vera Cruz and on to Mexico City was an important one for it placed the missionaries in company with the Belgium minister Baron Grenidl, his secretary Count Chastel and, most significantly, Gwyn Foster, a son of the

⁴⁰Apostle Thatcher was in Logan, Utah at the time of his appointment. Since the letter of appointment is typical of the directives so often used by the Church for such purposes in those days, it is reproduced here. "Salt Lake City Ut July 17th 1879 Elder Moses Thatcher, Logan: Dear Brother at a meeting of the Apostles, held on Thursday, July 10, 1879, the question of sending some missionaries to the City of Mexico was considered: when, upon whom it was decided that yourself as an Apostle, also Elders M. G. Trejo and J. Z. Stewart be called and set apart as missionaries to carry the Gospel to that City (Mexico). You will therefore take the necessary steps for proceeding on this Mission as soon as practicable. It is true the Sicly (sic) season is now on in that country, yet with proper precaution, all fears of disease may be avoided. Elder Trejo has arrived from the San Pedro and is now in this City, and Elder Stewart is at Draperville: these brethren are ready to proceed when required. With kind regards your Brother in the Gospel. John Taylor" Thatcher's response, as recorded in his journal, is equally typical. "The wealth of this world would never induce me to make the sacrifice of parting from home kindred and all indeed on earth to which my heart is, by every cord of nature and affection bound. But I shirk not from Calls of this Nature, knowing that when God Calls 'obedience is better than sacrifice and to hearken than the fat of rams.'" The Journals of Moses Thatcher 1866-1881, (6 vol's; Salt Lake City: Microfilm of originals at Utah State Historical Society), II, 18-21. A good secondary account may be found in Andrew Jenson's "Moses Thatcher" The Historical Record (August, 1889), VI, 244-256. Also see the same author's sketch of Moses Thatcher in the Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia (4 vols.; Salt Lake City: The Andrew Jenson History Co.; 1901-1936), I, 127-136.

⁴¹Journals of Moses Thatcher, II, 28-34. For other brief accounts of this mission see A. Jenson's "Moses Thatcher," 249-250; and the same author's Church Chronology, 105.

American Ambassador John Watson Foster. These friends were to give needed status to and open important doors for the Mormon missionaries after their arrival in Mexico City.⁴²

After meeting Dr. Rhodacanaty and his interested friends, plans were made for their baptism and the formal organization of a branch of the Church in Mexico City. The baptisms were performed on November 20, and the organization of the local branch on the following Sunday, November 23, 1879.⁴³

The missionaries were aided in their proselyting activities by the already formed nucleus of people who constituted Rhodacanaty's circle of friends. One of these, Aurelio Perez, was a Mexican Episcopal minister and it was expected that his congregation would follow him into the waters of Mormon baptism.⁴⁴ Further assistance was rendered by the missionary work this small group had already been able to accomplish through a regular publication, La Voz del Desierto.⁴⁵ The greatest help, however, proved to be the connections available to Thatcher through his acquaintance with the family of Ambassador Foster and other high officials. Though living in a hotel which cost the missionaries about 50 cents per day for room and 75 cents for meals, Thatcher was frequently invited to social gatherings

⁴²Ibid., The party arrived in Mexico City, by rail, on November 15, 1879.

⁴³Ibid., II, 54-60. A further description of the Mexico City mission from 1879 until early 1881 may be found in Mariam Stewart's, The Story of James L. Stewart, 22-25.

⁴⁴Ibid., II, 60-61. Rhodacanaty who taught Greek at the Episcopal Academy was dismissed because of his connection with the Mormons.

⁴⁵Ibid., II, 48-49; C.H.C., V, 569.

and other affairs by the Foster family.⁴⁶ He was particularly grateful for the opportunities provided by the Fosters to visit the National Museum.⁴⁷ The Aztec artifacts and art treasures so impressed the Apostle that he wrote a series of articles describing these remains for the saints in Utah.⁴⁸

Soon, descriptions of the missionaries' activities were being carried in the newspapers. An article in the New York Sun on December 9, 1880 which described the Mormons as contemplating a mass removal from Utah to Mexico was reprinted by a number of Mexico City's leading presses.⁴⁹ A considerable amount of criticism was levelled at the Mormons by the Two Republics and especially caustic

⁴⁶Ibid., II, 50-51, 57 passim. A reading of Thatcher's journal suggests that the majority of the missionaries' time was spent in proselyting among people of class and distinction. Typical are meetings held with the honorable Ignacio M. Altamirano, associate justice of Mexico's Supreme Court. Ibid., 50, 56-59, 65-66.

⁴⁷A privilege which was reserved, apparently, only for foreigners of high rank, such as the Fosters. Ibid.

⁴⁸Moses Thatcher, "Montezuma," The Contributor, vol. I, No. 7 (April, 1880), 145-416; "Mexico and the Mexicans," Ibid., Vol. II, No's. 1-6 (Oct., 1880-March, 1881) 1-4, 33-35, 65-67, 129-132, 161-165; "Divine Origin of the Book of Mormon" Ibid., Vol. II, No's. 7-11 (Apr., 1881-Aug., 1881), 193-198, 225-228, 257-261, 290-292, 321-324. Thatcher was especially impressed with what he considered a similarity between a facsimile of Book of Mormon writing and the Mexican hieroglyphics. See The Pearl of Great Price (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1956), 34. Also Jenson, "Moses Thatcher," 249. The works of students of American antiquities were as influential as the Mexican remains themselves. His entry for January 28, 1880, for example, reads: "We three visited the Museum today and spent two hours most happily in the library. How beautifully do the writings of Lord Kingsborough and others confirm the Divine Origin of the Book of Mormon." The Journals of Moses Thatcher, III, 54.

⁴⁹Journals of Moses Thatcher, III, 9, 63.

commentaries were carried in the El Monitor Republicano.⁵⁰ The articles, entitled "Filibusterism," "Spread of Mormonism," and "Yankee Diplomacy," were countered by Apostle Thatcher and his companions through the columns of the La Tribuna. After interviews had been held with the editors of the newspapers involved, articles were publicly retracted and favorable accounts began to characterize most of the comment thereafter devoted to the Church in Mexico.⁵¹

One of the results of such notoriety was a number of visits by landowners and realtors who were anxious to interest the Mormons in purchasing their holdings. Believing that there was at least some truth to the rumor, a host of offers were made which it was hoped would further tempt any Mormon plans for a colonizing effort in Mexico. Even though Thatcher denied that such a move was being contemplated at the time, the idea carried an appeal which would later impress him to declare that an extensive seeding of the saints among Mexicans was the only sure way of obtaining extensive and permanent conversions.⁵² This notion was complemented by the enthusiasm shown by most government officials at the prospect of leavening Mexico's economy with the vigorous aid of some hardy Anglo-Saxon immigrants.⁵³

⁵⁰A good summary may be found in the C. H. C. V, 571-572.

⁵¹Ibid.; Journals of Moses Thatcher, III, 9-21.

⁵²Journals of Moses Thatcher, III, 43-44.

⁵³Ibid., III, 22 passim, esp. 39-42, 76-77. Most of the lands offered the Mormons were on the Gulf Coast in the state of Guerrero. With regard to the influence of positivism and the favor shown to foreign interests in Mexico see Ernest Gruening, Mexico and Its Heritage (New York: The Century Co., 1928), 60-53 passim and especially Justo Sierra's El Apogeo del Régimen Porfiriano: Evolución Política Del Pueblo Mexicano, Vol. XII: Obras Completas (Ciudad México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma De México, 1948), 361-399.

A Mr. Alexander G. Greenwood, a former soldier in the Confederate Army then seeking his fortune in Mexico, made especially strenuous efforts to interest Thatcher in real estate. While refusing to negotiate for land, Elder Thatcher found Greenwood to be a valuable assistant in obtaining interviews with high officers in the Mexican government.⁵⁴ But though the missionaries were favored to enjoy gatherings with cabinet members and even President Díaz himself, none of these contacts proved so important as the relationship established with Emelio Biebuyck.

Biebuyck was first introduced to the Mormon Elders by William Pritchard, another American who had come to Mexico as a journalist after the Civil War. Biebuyck was a Belgian entrepreneur who possessed a large colonization contract with the Mexican government. He had visited Utah on a number of previous occasions, was an acquaintance of President Brigham Young and was favorably disposed toward the Mormons.⁵⁵ He was so enthusiastic and persuasive in his conversations with Thatcher that the Apostle was soon convinced of the need to begin colonizing in Mexico at once. Biebuyck first proposed that Mormon converts in Europe be shipped directly to Mexico.⁵⁶ But it was decided all specific plans and arrangements should wait until there was consultation with the Council of Apostles in Salt Lake City.

Thatcher was so imbued with conviction concerning the rightness of the colonization idea that he determined to return to Salt Lake

⁵⁴Ibid., III, 11-14.

⁵⁵Ibid., III, 22 passim; C. H. C., V, 572-573; M. C. M., 44-45.

⁵⁶Ibid., Biebuyck remains obscure to this student except through the contacts he had with the Mormons as recorded in their diaries.

and there, in company with Biebuyck, press for acceptance of the notion before the Council of the Twelve.⁵⁷ After praying for inspiration in the matter and making the necessary arrangements, Thatcher left Mexico City on the evening of February 4, 1880 and arrived in Ogden, Utah by rail from New Orleans on February 21.⁵⁸

Thatcher describes the deep disappointment which he and Biebuyck shared when the Quorum of the Twelve rejected their plans for colonization on the grounds that they were premature.⁵⁹ But, devoted to the will of his brethren, Thatcher submitted to their decision, participated with them in selecting a new President to succeed Brigham Young and prepared to return to Mexico.⁶⁰ Taking Feramorz L. Young with him to further strengthen the missionary force there, Thatcher returned to Mexico City once again in late November of 1880.⁶¹

One of the most memorable events during these early years of Mormon missionary work in Mexico was the conference held in early April of 1881. It was decided that April 6, the date on which Joseph Smith had organized the first branch of the Church in 1830, would make an appropriate time for a general convocation of the saints, both new and old, who lived in Mexico. Gathering a half dozen or so converts together with the missionaries themselves, plans were made to ascend Mt. Popocatepetl and from the top of her lofty slopes pronounce a blessing on the land.

⁵⁷Ibid., III, 44, 54-55.

⁵⁸Ibid., III, 83-84.

⁵⁹Ibid., III, 101.

⁶⁰Ibid., III, 116-124. The Quorum selected the senior apostle, John Taylor, to be their new President.

⁶¹Ibid., III, 133; The Deseret News, December 29, 1880, 753.

The company seems to have gone ill-equipped, for the first night's camp at the base of the mountain proved intensely cold for their few cotton sheets. Thus, everyone was kept awake most of the night by the need of frequently restoring the camp fire and by the distant but shrill and arousing cry of mountain lions.⁶² Deciding that further efforts at sleep were futile, the party commenced climbing at 4 A. M. on the morning of the sixth. Three hours later found them still short of the halfway mark but the lack of sleep combined with exertion in the rare atmosphere compelled them to hold the services at their present station. Sheltering themselves beneath some convenient rock ledges so as to obtain a modicum of protection from the piercing winds, the conference began. After all present had prayed, Brother Thatcher presented the names of the presiding authorities of the Church for acceptance by the saints in Mexico. This accomplished, the conference was adjourned. Then, taking Feramorz Young and two of the native converts with him, Apostle Thatcher began climbing further toward the summit. After reaching what they calculated to be about the 15,500 foot level, the four brethren, encouraging each other against the nearly intolerable cold, crowded "close up to the frozen snow" under a rocky precipice. Apostle Thatcher read a few scriptures from the Book of Mormon which referred to the Lamanites and then delivered a dedicatory prayer, invoking a blessing upon the native inhabitants of Mexico and upon their land. Then began the descent and return to Mexico City of which Thatcher says the only thing notable

⁶²Ibid., IV, 50-52.

was the fleas, or "Pulgas," bequeathed by the native converts, from which he said he nearly perished.⁶³

Thatcher and Elder Young closed their mission in Mexico in August of 1881. Since Trejo and Stewart had completed their terms of service earlier in 1880 and 1881 respectively, a new team of missionaries under the direction of August H. F. Wilcken had been dispatched overland through Chihuahua to continue the work. After a comparable period of time these were in turn replaced by other missionaries from the United States. This system continued until by 1889, when all the missionaries were withdrawn from Mexico City because of pressures and difficulties in Utah, there had been a total of 241 baptisms performed since the mission was first opened by Apostle Thatcher.⁶⁴

Compared to the success other missions of the Church were enjoying, work in Mexico was slow. The 241 baptisms during ten years of activity seem paltry when compared to the fortune of Elder Orson Pratt, for example, who in one and one half years of labor in England had superintended the induction of 11,000 people into the Church.⁶⁵ One cannot but reflect on what might have happened had greater missionary efforts been focused upon the northern provinces rather than in and around Mexico City. Certainly, the reception given the Mormons by the Yaqui, Tarahumara, Papago, Pimas and Yumas of Sonora and the border region promised a far greater number of converts than were ever baptized in the urban centers further south.

⁶³Ibid., IV, 54-59, 68. For other accounts of this conference see Thatcher's "Feramorz L. Young," The Contributor Vol. III, No. 2 (November, 1881), 39; M. C. M., 46; Rey L. Pratt, "History of the Mexican Mission," The Improvement Era vol. XV, No. 6 (April 1912), 487; and The Deseret News, May 18, 1881, 246.

⁶⁴Ibid., IV, 62; Pratt, "History of the Mexican Mission," 486-498; Journal of A. W. Ivins, 26-36.

⁶⁵C. H. C., III, 402-404.

There were several difficulties hampering the activity of missionaries in Mexico City which would have existed to a reduced degree in either Sonora or Chihuahua. Not the least of such problems was the greater strength of both Catholic and Protestant persuasion among city dwellers than among rural folk.⁶⁶ Because of the structure of urban economic interdependence, it was not uncommon for investigators and converts to be threatened with loss of employment if affiliation with the Mormons continued.⁶⁷ Thatcher also contends that the Mormon cause suffered because the Church was unwilling financially to subsidize its converts, a practice which he says was widespread among the Protestants of urban Mexico.⁶⁸ Many of those who originally manifested considerable enthusiasm for Mormon theology soon apostatized and, as in Rhodocanaty's case, even became bitterly anti-Mormon when the expected monetary assistance was not forthcoming.⁶⁹

Poverty itself, which is never so wretched as when in the city, disposed large segments of the missionaries' hearers against concern with anything but food and subsistence. This is what prompted one missionary, Horace Cummings, to write that what Mexico City and its

⁶⁶See the chapter "Religion and the Rural Church" in Nathan L. Whetton's Rural Mexico (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), 454-483; also Wendell C. Bennett and Robert M. Zingg, The Tarahumara An Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935), 319-325.

⁶⁷Journals of Moses Thatcher, III, 70-71; The Deseret News, Sept. 26, 1883, 572. The experience of Dr. Plotino Rhodocanaty has already been cited. Where occasionally the Elders either converted or obtained the favor of a minister, however, his entire congregation would often follow his example. E. g., see the Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 36; The Deseret News Feb. 3, 1886, 34-35.

⁶⁸Ibid., II, 114 passim.

⁶⁹Ibid., IV, 10-12, 63, 83.

environs needed more than anything else was a vigorous middle class.⁷⁰ Not only would this factor have diminished in importance had the missionaries circulated more extensively among the more independent and self sufficient natives of the agrarian north but their own needs, as with the Jones and Yaqui expeditions, would have been more easily met. Conditioned by treatment which Mormon missionaries received in Europe and other parts of the United States, the Elders in Mexico City were often disgruntled at the near complete dearth of meals, laundering facilities and other services proffered by the native converts.⁷¹ Moreover, living expenses in the city had to be defrayed with currency. Apostle Thatcher was completely responsible for the keep of Elders Trejo and Stewart during the last six months of their missions because their personal funds had become exhausted.⁷² And August Wilcken claims to have supported himself only by selling the

⁷⁰The Deseret News, July 7, 1886, 386-387.

⁷¹Journals of Moses Thatcher, II, 114 passim. Daniel Jones was to later advise, regarding these experiences, that "a person to know and understand Mexico and her people, as the Latter-day Saints should know and understand them, will have to go into the interior away from the commercial towns and cities.

"There are large districts of country inhabited by an almost pure race, descendants of Lehi. Anyone conversant with the Book of Mormon will have no trouble in finding abundant proof that the greater portion of the inhabitants of Mexico are descendants of the Jews, and are the very people, or a great portion of them, to which the gospel is to go to immediately from the Gentile. That the work in Mexico seems a little slow is a fact, but no fault can be laid to the natives, according to my observation and experience in that country.

"When those whose duty it is to teach them are ready, according to the revelations given, the natives will receive them gladly." Jones, 384-385. Missionaries did report that their greatest success came with the old "pure blooded" native stock. The Deseret News, July 7, 1886, 386-387; February 3, 1886, 34-35.

⁷²Ibid., II, 118-119.

horse, wagon and harness which had carried him on the forty day journey from Utah to Mexico City and then, in addition, taught classes in German, English and Spanish to provide for his continuing financial needs.⁷³

Climate and sickness proved to be deterrents to Mormon success in Mexico. Not only did the transition from the Great Basin to the crowded, often filthy and flea-ridden conditions of central Mexico require adjustment but there was always the haunting fear of disease. Minor maladies were both common and frequent among the missionaries but somehow these were tolerated. It was the threat of yellow fever which most worried the Mormon Elders. Feramorz L. Young was one of the first to fall victim to the disease.⁷⁴ The same dread sickness later took the lives of Elders Silvester O. Collett and Elmer Hooks and in 1904 it resulted in the tragic deaths of Apostle A. O. Woodruff and his wife Helen who were touring the Mexico City mission.⁷⁵ These were the circumstances which prompted Moses Thatcher, in describing the needs of a "Lamanitish missionary in Mexico," to say that "thin skins and sensitive and acute nostrils are at a disadvantage."⁷⁶

More discouraging than anything, however, was the indolence, spiritual lethargy and superstition which characterized the majority

⁷³The Deseret News, May 23, 1883, 281.

⁷⁴Journals of Moses Thatcher, IV, 89-92; Pratt, "History of the Mexican Mission," 498; Jenson, Church Chronology, 108.

⁷⁵Pratt, "History of the Mexican Mission," 495-497. Journal of A. W. Ivins, 145-146; Jenson, Church Chronology, 174.

⁷⁶Journals of Moses Thatcher, IV, 68.

of Mexicans. Thatcher tells of travelling to Ozumba to hold a Sunday meeting at 11 o'clock and having to wait two hours for any of the seven Ozumba converts to appear. They later found that the native Elder whom they had left in charge of the Ozumba branch refused to attend meetings because he had a falling out with one of the other members over a stolen chicken.⁷⁷ On another occasion a plot was formed by a superstitious native to test the divinity of the missionaries' authority and calling by secretly administering poison to them to see if they would survive. At the last minute the nerve of one of the conspirators failed and the plot fell through.⁷⁸

But the Elders could easily thrive on attacks such as this, or on criticisms by the newspapers such as that of July, 1881 which asserted that it was a Mormon who shot President Garfield.⁷⁹ They preferred and sought such conditions, finding justification if not success in defensive activity. What wore on their morale was the complete apathy which the overwhelming majority of Mexicans displayed toward anything which had to do with religion. Apostle Thatcher was moved to declare:

I have never tried before to labor among a people so utterly indifferent to religious teachings as are the Mexicans. They don't seem to want to think or exercise their judgment on the subject of salvation at all, but are wholly (sic) apathetic. A gentleman said the other day 'Yes thats the truth but I don't want it.' Money is what they want.⁸⁰

⁷⁷Ibid., IV, 82.

⁷⁸Jenson, "Moses Thatcher," 254.

⁷⁹Journals of Moses Thatcher, IV, 77; C.H.C., VI, 26-27.

⁸⁰Ibid., IV, 63.

The fear that if Anglo-Saxon leadership were withdrawn the Mexican converts would drift into idle ways and heretical practices was confirmed when after 1889 missionaries were no longer sent to Mexico City. The little that had been accomplished in the ten year period from 1879-to 1889 was largely destined to schism and apostasy once the vital element of North American leadership was withdrawn. Anthony W. Ivins who visited Mexico City in 1898 said he could find only a half dozen who could still be recognized as members of the Church. "They are like children and must be carefully taught and removed from their old surroundings before they can be made to appreciate the blessings of the Gospel and live according to its precepts."⁸¹

It was a recognition of all these circumstances and needs that had encouraged Moses Thatcher to subscribe to the conclusion drawn by Daniel W. Jones before him, who had said, "we were united in one idea, and that was before any great work could be done in this country it would be necessary to colonize among the people."⁸² But as already indicated, Thatcher's colonization proposal in 1880 was adjudged "premature" by the ruling council of the Church. There was undoubtedly good grounds for such caution. After all, there was little more than presumption to recommend Jones' and Thatcher's contention. Furthermore, Mexico already had the reputation of being a graveyard for rash and ill-considered colonization schemes. Yet, had the move to colonize the saints in Mexico been made at this time, whether for the purpose of assisting missionary work abroad or for

⁸¹Stanley S. Ivins, "Letter from Mexico, Impressions of a Mormon," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXVI, no. 2 (April, 1958), 179-180. Also see Pratt's "History of the Mexican Mission," 492-493. cf., *The Journal History*, 27 Feb., 1902.

⁸²Jones, 283.

the simple but pressing need to provide new homes for the increasing number of American and European converts, the forced emigration of so many Mormons to Mexico which took place during the subsequent decade might not have been fraught with so much hardship, embarrassment and delay.

CHAPTER III

The Mormons were permitted less than a decade of grace after they publicly affirmed their allegiance to the principle of "celestial" marriage in 1852. But President Buchanan's efforts to compel obedience in matters pertaining to politics and matrimony only resulted in the costly and unsuccessful Utah War.¹ Lincoln pursued a much milder course and when asked concerning his policy toward Polygamous Utah, replied with one of his farm boy stories concerning a troublesome log. "It was too heavy to move, too hard to chop, and too green to burn. So we just plowed around it."² Even after the passage of the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act of 1862,³ the Federal government generally followed Lincoln's "three word policy" toward the Mormons which was to "let them alone."⁴

But with the emergence of Radical Reconstructionism, sentiments of abolition and force came to characterize Congress' view

¹Norman F. Furniss, The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960).

²Quoted from Gustive O. Larson's Outline History of Utah and the Mormons (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1958), 199.

³12 Stat. L. 501 (1862)

⁴A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I (6 vols; Salt Lake City: Published by the Church, 1930), V, 13-38. Hereafter cited as C.H.C. A superb essay on pertinent source materials for this segment of Mormon history may be found in Leonard Arrington's Great Basin Kingdom, An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1900 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 502-503.

toward the Mormons as well as the South. Republicans had yet to fulfill their pre-Civil War pledge of ridding the nation of the "twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery."⁵ The anti-Mormon activities of Colonel Patrick Connor, who occupied Fort Douglas until after the Civil War, was followed by those of a series of Governors and Judges who were determined to bring the Mormon pattern of marriage into harmony with United States law.⁶

Typical of those dedicated to the eradication of Utah's irregular practices was James B. McKean, Chief Justice of the Territorial Court, who said:

The mission which God has called upon me to perform in Utah, is as much above the duties of other courts and judges as the heavens are above the earth, and whenever or wherever I may find the Local or Federal laws obstructing or interfering therewith, by God's blessing I shall trample them under my feet.⁷

Further legislative efforts were finally culminated by action in the United States Supreme Court which upheld the Morrill Act of 1862 as constitutional.⁸ A subsequent judicial contest which pointed to certain weaknesses in Federal anti-polygamy laws⁹ resulted in

⁵Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, The Growth of the American Republic (4th ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), I, 624.

⁶C. H. C., V, 305-477.

⁷Taken from Edward W. Tullidge, Life of Brigham Young; Or, Utah and Her Founders (New York: n.p., 1917), 420-421.

⁸Reynolds v. U.S., 98 U.S. 145 (1879). The most succinct account of these developments, in this student's opinion, remains the important work of Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 353-379. The best sociological study is Kimball Young's Isn't One Wife Enough? (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1954).

⁹Miles v. U.S., 103 U.S. 304 (1881).

the non-Mormon "Utah Ring" collaborating with congressional delegates to enact the drastic but typically "Radical Reconstruction" Edmunds Act of 1882.¹⁰

The Edmunds Law, with its severe penalties, extending even to those who professed "belief" in the doctrine of polygamy, when implemented by bold and vigorous United States Marshalls and their deputies sent hundreds of Mormon polygamists to prison and drove other hundreds into hiding. But when law officers found that channels of priesthood authority remained intact and that they were often unable to do more than compel many Mormons to just "stay out of the way," a final effort was decided upon by the crusaders. This was the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887.¹¹ The new law shattered the temporal foundation of the Church through wholesale confiscations and the abolition of every institution of substantive importance from schools to female suffrage. It soon became apparent to the ecclesiastical authorities that the Church was without alternative. The result was the famous Woodruff "Manifesto" of 1890 which declared an end to the performance of plural marriages by the Mormon Church.¹²

Before the amnesty which followed the "Manifesto," however, Mormon polygamists were hard pressed to avoid the clutches of the law. Some, like Benjamin F. Johnson, found it to be little more than a matter of keeping "in the shade from public view."¹³ For

¹⁰22 Stat. L. 30 (1882).

¹¹24 Stat. L. 635-641 (1887).

¹²See the "Official Declaration" which constitutes the closing statement of the Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Salt Lake City: Published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1948), 256-257. C.H.C., VI, 210-229.

¹³Benjamin F. Johnson, My Life's Review (Independence,

others, the "crusade" proved a grievous burden. It brought the disintegration of communities living the "United Order."¹⁴ Many fled their homes for the safety of obscure retreats in Montana, Colorado, Nevada and Arizona.¹⁵ Whereas in one instance, persecution became so intense in eastern Arizona that one hundred Utah families were sent on a mission to strengthen the voice of the Church in that region, others found there the sought for haven.¹⁶ Thomas S. Terry built his home on the Arizona-Utah border with one room in each territory so that if law officers should come for him, he had only to move to the room which placed him outside their jurisdiction.¹⁷ Another group of Mormon convicts were sent to the House of Correction in what President John Taylor called "the American Siberia," Detroit,

¹³(continued) Missouri: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1947), 323.

¹⁴See, e.g., the case of Edward Milo Webb of the Orderville, Utah Community. Edward Milo Webb, *His Ancestors and Descendants*, Compiled by a Daughter Irene Adell Webb Merrell (Mimeographed M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 12; or that of Levi Mathers Savage of the Sunset, Arizona community, as reported in his *Family History Journal* (Mimeographed M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 36-37. Both of these men were finally forced into Mexico. "That the issue of polygamy played a major role in this campaign can hardly be denied, but it seems to have been neglected that Mormon collectivism, in economics and politics, was also under attack. The crusade which stamped out polygamy also succeeded largely in putting an end to most of the unique and noncapitalistic economic institutions for which the Mormons had been noted." Arrington, 356.

¹⁵*Journals of John Mills Whittaker* (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), III, 35, 57 passim.

¹⁶Pearl Udall Nelson, *Arizona Pioneer Mormon David King Udall his story and his family 1851-1938* (Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1959), 106; C. H. C., VI, 259-260.

¹⁷Juanita Brooks, Dudley Leavitt, Pioneer to Southern Utah (n. p.; 1942), 93.

Michigan.¹⁸ And yet others, such as the famous Jacob Hamblin, "Apostle to the Lamanites" and even President Taylor himself died under equally humiliating conditions while trying to conceal themselves by disguise, moving in exile from one Mormon village to another.¹⁹

Refusing to take the advice which rumor contends was given by William McKinley--that the Mormons should do as he did, enjoying all the women they wanted but to refrain from calling them their wives--the Church found more palatable the implications of the suggestion made by Apostle Lorenzo Snow that "where there is no law there is no Manifesto."²⁰ Mexico had long been under consideration as a land of refuge for the saints. The Jones expedition of 1876 was under clear assignment to concern itself with possible sites for colonization. Subsequent missions were dispatched into Chihuahua and Sonora, including a special exploratory visit by Apostles Thatcher and Snow in 1882.²¹ But whether for reasons of uncertain relations

¹⁸For President Taylor's statement see The Deseret News, February 25, 1885, 82.

¹⁹The famous farewell address given by Jacob Hamblin in the Tabernacle before removing to Mexico in 1885 is typical of Mormon feeling at the time. "My great grandfather fought in the French and Indian War. My grandfather in the Revolutionary war and my father in the War of 1812." He then went on to assert that he was fleeing to Mexico to seek the very religious liberty his forefathers had fought to obtain. Pearson H. Corbett, "Jacob Hamblin, Western Frontiersman, Pioneer Colonizer, Indian Missionary, Peace Maker, and Trail Blazer in the Southwest" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1944), 137-138. The announcement of Hamblin's death in Pleasonton, New Mexico is found in The Deseret News, September 29, 1886, 581. On President Taylor see the C. H. C., VI, 187-189.

²⁰Austin and Alta Fife, Saints of Sage and Saddle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956), 171.

²¹Journal of Anthony W. Ivins (Microfilm of Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 31.

with the Indians or failure to find a location of sufficient fertility and promise to suit the brethren's tastes, nothing further was done until the mid-1880's.²²

By late 1884, circumstances were becoming so uncomfortable for many of the saints in Arizona that President John Taylor wrote to Christopher Layton, then acting as President of the St. Joseph Stake, and advised him to instruct the people under his jurisdiction to cross into Mexico if it became impossible to maintain themselves against the "Crusade."

Our counsel has been and is to obtain a place of refuge under a foreign government to which our people can flee when menaced in this land. Better for parts of families to remove and go where they can live in peace than to be hauled to jail and either incarcerated in the territory with thieves and murderers and other vile characters, or sent to the American Siberia in Detroit to serve out a long term of imprisonment.²³

Layton seems to have anticipated President Taylor's instructions, for he had already directed John K. Rogers, Peter H. McBride, John Loving and others to take their families and seek new homes across the border.²⁴

Recognizing that organization and cooperation were necessary if a movement of families of any proportion was to take place, President Taylor made plans to visit with and counsel the Arizona saints himself. Taking both of his counselors, Joseph F. Smith and

²²Romney, M. C. M., 42-43.

²³Cited in Ibid., 51-52. A copy of President Taylor's letter to Christopher Layton and the three other Arizona Stake Presidents with an account of Elder Seymore B. Young of the 1st Council of Seventy who was sent to give more detailed information to these brethren may be found in Andrew Jenson, Juarez Stake (Typewritten M.S., Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah). Hereafter this work will be cited simply as J.S.

²⁴J.S.; Also Autobiographies of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Franklin

George Q. Cannon, along with a considerable number of the Quorum of the Twelve, Taylor boarded a private railroad car in Salt Lake City on January 3, 1885 and, going by way of Denver, rendezvoused with a conference of Priesthood leaders from Arizona in St. David the following week.²⁵ Here he dispatched an exploring party into Chihuahua to scout that province once again for colonization sites. Then, in company with Joseph F. Smith, Erastus Snow, Moses Thatcher, Jesse N. Smith, Lot Smith, Meliton G. Trejo and James H. Martineau, the President continued his own journey into Sonora.²⁶ Leaving a portion of these brethren in Magdalena to examine that region for suitable colonization sites, he went on by rail to Guaymas on the Gulf, where he was very graciously received by Governor Luis Torres.²⁷

All the parties regathered at St. David on January 18, 1885 at which time President Taylor decided that the Casas Grandes

²⁴(continued) Moffett, vol. 15: Miscellaneous Mormon Diaries (Mimeographed M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 2.

²⁵A complete listing of those in the party may be found in Joseph Fielding Smith, Life of Joseph F. Smith, Sixth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1938), 261.

²⁶In the account given of this journey in his biography of President Taylor, Brigham H. Roberts is vague in the statement that Taylor "sent two parties down into Mexico to find suitable place for the settlement of those who had to flee from this unhallowed persecution." The Life of John Taylor, Third President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons Co., 1892), 381. Jesse N. Smith, who accompanied President Taylor, makes it clear that Taylor and his party was itself one of these two companies. Journal of Jesse Nathaniel Smith, the Life Story of a Mormon Pioneer 1834-1906 (Salt Lake City: Jesse N. Smith Family Association, 1953), 302.

²⁷Smith, Life of Joseph F. Smith, 261.

Valley of Chihuahua should be the place of gathering for the persecuted Mormons.²⁸ Indicating that the Church would assist in the acquisition of appropriate lands in Chihuahua, Taylor then appointed a purchasing committee consisting of Moses Thatcher, Alexander F. MacDonald, Christopher Layton, Lot Smith and Jesse N. Smith.²⁹

Since McDonald and Layton had already rented about 300 acres of fertile ground in coralitos, the brethren were told to disperse to their various homes and spread the word that President Taylor counselled all who felt need of relief from persecution to flee to Mexico.³⁰ Jesse N. Smith, returning north to Snowflake, tells how he broadcast the news at each settlement along the way:

Before leaving Omer gave the message sent by Pres. Taylor to Bro. s. E. L. Taylor and Jensen of that place, to all brethren exposed to arrest under the Edmunds Law to immediately repair to the Valley of Cases (sic) Grandes River in Chihuahua, Mexico. Sent the same word to Bishop Udall for the members of his ward in a note per hand of Benj. Jones. At Erastus stayed with sister Wilhelm, but gave the message to Bishop S. E. Johnson. etc.³¹

²⁸Journal of Jesse N. Smith, 303. Daniel Jones was in the Salt River Region of Arizona in 1884 and claimed Brigham Young had shown him the exact spot on a map to which the Saints should remove, but none of the brethren or exploring parties were willing to take his advice. Jones, 347-348.

²⁹Ibid. I can find no evidence to support Robert's statement that after the return from Guaymas, President Taylor "decided in his capacity as Trustee-in-Trust of the Church to assist in purchasing a place which had been selected by Christopher Layton, just over the line in the state of Sonora." The Life of John Taylor, 382. Though President Taylor does seem to have favored Sonora from the first, The Quorum of the Twelve, on the other hand, leaned more toward Chihuahua as a land of refuge. Andrew Jenson, Juarez Stake Wards (Typewritten, M. S., Church Historians Office, Salt Lake City, Utah), hereafter cited as J.S. W.

³⁰Andrew Jenson, Church Chronology (2nd ed.; Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1899), 117; Journal of Jesse N. Smith, 303.

³¹Journal of Jesse N. Smith, 303.

Soon, wagon loads of migrants began streaming toward the border. William C. McClellan was the first to arrive. Escorted by border guards to La Ascensión, the custom house, McClellan thus established the precedent which would be followed by hundreds of Mormons in the next few years.³² Arriving at Lake Federico on the Casas Grandes River on February 22, 1885, McClellan had to wait until March 1 before he was joined by Apostle Thatcher and Alexander F. MacDonald who were leading another company of saints to Mexico.³³ Thatcher and MacDonald had come to make final arrangements for the purchase of land for the colonists. Directing McClellan to provide for a temporary settlement which would serve as a central station for others who would be arriving, Apostle Thatcher along with MacDonald and Lot Smith journeyed to El Paso to meet with a Senor R. J. García to complete negotiations for a \$10,000 land purchase.³⁴

Within six weeks 350 more colonists had arrived. The migrants continued to pour in from Arizona and New Mexico. Crossing the border and passing through customs was a trying ordeal. Every dutiable item had to be stamped and listed in Deming, New Mexico, the new port of entry, before duties could be paid at La Ascensión. More difficult than the expense and delay attendant to the customs ordeal, however, was the pall of discouragement which settled over

³²Nelle Spillsbury Hatch, Colonia Juarez, An Intimate Account of a Mormon Village (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1954), 1-2.

³³Ibid.; J. S.

³⁴Journal of Jesse N. Smith, 306; Hatch, 2-3; M. C. M., 55-57; Jesse N. Smith says they were authorized to pay up to \$17,500 for the Garcia lands. Journal of Jesse N. Smith, 307.

the colonists with nothing to do but wait. Nelle Spillsbury Hatch describes well the feelings of these first Mexico Mormons in the spring of 1885 when she tells how

as days passed into weeks with no word from the land conference in El Paso, restlessness became hard to control. It was spring. It was planting time, a dangerous season to neglect if winter were to be provided for. Peach trees in full bloom in La Ascensi3n and fields green with growing wheat stirred inhibited desires. A constant increase in camp membership intensified grazing problems and increased the worry of providing winter protection. Land to them was the source of life.³⁵

Then, on March 26, came word that purchase of the Garc3a ranch had not materialized. "After days and days in session. . . with closer inspection of land titles making the situation more intense, Senor Garc3a had suddenly gathered up his papers, withdrawn his offer and left."³⁶ Other land offers were investigated but with no satisfactory results.³⁷

Chafing to get seed in the ground, the colonists now petitioned to establish new camps where lands could be rented that planting might begin. In addition to the Ascensi3n site, one group of colonists under the leadership of Isaac Turley moved further south and located near the town of Casas Grandes. "Camp Turley," as it was called, eventually became Colonia Ju3rez. Another group located at Coralitos, about twelve miles north of Casas Grandes.³⁸ The brethren immediately commenced the renting of lands from local Mexicans for the purposes of grazing and planting.

³⁵Hatch, 4.

³⁶Ibid., 5.

³⁷Journal of Jesse N. Smith, 308.

³⁸M. C. M., 56-57; Hatch, 5. President Taylor wrote to

On April 9, just when preparations for planting had buoyed up their hope, A. F. Mac Donald received a letter from the Governor of the State of Chihuahua demanding the withdrawal of all Mormons from the province within fifteen days.³⁹ The sudden and unannounced influx of Americans had alarmed certain of the Mexican officials who believed a forced conquest to be the only explanation for the Yankees' conduct.⁴⁰ Moreover, the American press had by this time received word of the exodus to Mexico and was exploiting the story as the latest Mormon scheme for evading the Edmunds Law.⁴¹

³⁸ (continued) Apostle Thatcher on March 19, 1885 indicating that the Church was unable to make a large purchase of land at that time and that where smaller ones could not be made at a suitable price, the brethren should lease their lands until it would be possible to buy. J. S.

³⁹ Journal of Jesse N. Smith, 309; Jenson, Church Chronology, 119; M. C. M., 57; Hatch, 7. A copy of this edict issued by Eduardo Delhúmea, Secretary of State of Chihuahua, is contained in Andrew Jenson's J. S.

⁴⁰ M. C. M., 57. Andrew Jenson, in his article "Moses Thatcher," The Historical Record, vol. VI, no's. 6-8 (August, 1887), 256, claims the order to have been issued "Under the influence of Americans at the City of Chihuahua. . . ."

⁴¹ Note, for example, the long series of statements made by the Deseret News denying the claim that the Mormons were planning an "en masse" removal from Utah to Mexico. The Deseret News Weekly, Feb. 4, 1880, 8; The Deseret News, March 30, 1881, 135; Ibid., March 10, 1883, 88; Ibid., February 4, 1885, 40; The Deseret Weekly, January 24, 1891, 132. For similar assertions concerning the Mormon movement into Canada taking place at this same time, see Ibid., June 22, 1889, 809; Ibid., September 7, 1889, 325-326; and Ibid., December 14, 1889, 774. The often made assertion that Mormonism was, by the very nature of its precepts, hostile to the United States government was picked up by Mexican writers. The editor of the Mexican Financier, for example, after reviewing the long conflict between Mormonism and the U.S. government over polygamy asked the question: "Is not Mormonism in its essence hostile to the Civil Authority"? As quoted in Warner P. Sutton's "Mormons," United States Consular Reports, no. 97 (1887-88), 575-576. With regard to the practice of polygamy in Mexico, the Mormons denied that it existed. See the statement made by Apostle Brigham Young, Jr. to the Liverpool Post republished by

The expulsion order was met by a combined program of diplomacy and faith. Appointing Sunday April 12 as a day for prayer and fasting, the brethren were counselled to go ahead with their plans to plow and plant. Meanwhile Apostle Teasdale and A. F. MacDonald journeyed to Chihuahua City in hopes of mollifying the acting Governor, General Fuero.⁴² Finding him unrelenting, however, a message was immediately sent to the authorities in Salt Lake City who dispatched Apostles Moses Thatcher and Brigham Young Jr. to Mexico City with intentions of obtaining support from the Federal government. Telegraphing Helaman Pratt, then serving as a missionary in Mexico City, to do all within his means to obtain a delay for the saints, the two Apostles arrived in the Mexican capitol on May 9. They received almost immediate satisfaction from Secretary of State, Mariscal and Don Carlos Pacheco, Secretary of the Interior.⁴³ Pacheco, who was

⁴¹(continued) The Deseret Weekly, January 17, 1891, 127, which flatly denies the rumor of a Mormon exodus to Mexico, saying only that, as always, there is a building up of the colonies on the frontier of the Church "to meet the requirements of our rapidly increasing population." He then goes on to aver that in Mexico polygamy is against the law and these laws are very stringent. As for the Mormons, they are abiding those laws "in every particular."

⁴²Journal of Jesse N. Smith, 309-310. Neither the Mormon sources nor Hubert Howe Bancroft in his History of the North Mexican States and Texas vol. II, 1801-1889, vol. XVI; The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft (San Francisco: The History Company Publishers, 1889), 624-625, give the full name of "General Fuero."

⁴³Ibid., 310-311; J. S. W.; Jenson, Church Chronology, 119, 120; M. C. M., 57-59; Hatch, 7-11; Rey L. Pratt, "History of the Mexican Mission," The Improvement Era, vol. XV, no. 6 (April, 1912), 490.

also the Governor of Chihuahua, seemed offended at the order issued by General Fuero and promised all possible assistance to the colonization project. A subsequent interview with President Díaz was even more encouraging. Declaring that the Mormons were not only welcome as colonists but that they were anxiously solicited by the Mexican government to stay and help develop Mexico's natural resources, President Díaz officially annulled the edict calling for Mormon ejection from Mexico.⁴⁴

Permission to remain inside Mexico's boundaries did not solve the colonists' problems however. Some who had located within what was called the Zona Prohibida were told they could remain only long enough to harvest their crops. Others were ordered to pay revenues in addition to their customs duties while yet others were fined for no apparent cause whatever.⁴⁵ And then there was the rumor that the United States Government was negotiating an extradition treaty with Mexico which was aimed directly at the Mormons and that

⁴⁴M. C. M., 59; Hatch, 10-11; A good description of the attitude of Mexican officials toward the Mormon colonists may be found in Charles W. Kindrick's "The Mormons in Mexico," The American Monthly Review of Reviews, vol. XIX, no. 6 (June 1899), 702-703. Cf. Autobiographies of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Franklin Moffett, 2. For a good account of Díaz's liberal policy toward foreign interests as it grew out of Mexico's difficult economic conditions during the years 1884-1885, see Ricardo García Granados, Historia de México Desde la Restauración de República en 1867 Hasta la Caída de Porfirio Díaz (Mexico: Editorial Andrés Botos e. Hijo, 1923) III, 127-128 ff. The reception given the Mormons was no different than that tendered all American protestants during this period. This was not so much an anti-Catholic policy as an effort to invite American economic interests in whatever form, to Mexico. See the accounts of John W. Butler, Sketches of Mexico in Prehistoric, Primitive, Colonial, and Modern Times, Lectures at Syracuse University on the Graves Foundation (New York: Hunt and Eaton, 1894), 298-314 and William F. Cloud, Church and State or Mexican Politics from Cortez to Diaz under X Rays (Kansas City: Peck and Clark, Printers, 1896), 227-235 passim.

⁴⁵Journal of Jesse N. Smith, 311, 316; M. C. M.,

"spotters" from the U. S. were already in the vicinity preparing to make arrests.⁴⁶ More despairing than anything was the failure to find land on which to settle. Camping in wagon boxes, caves and tents, the settlers became more discouraged as the months passed with progress by the land committee seemingly at a standstill.⁴⁷

The abject and trying conditions of these months are hard to imagine. Miles P. Romney who went about with only sandals strapped with rawhide to his feet for shoes made his home from four posts bounded by walls made of burlap sacks, brush and a wagon box.⁴⁸ A reading of the journals kept at this time conveys an impression of continual sickness, and disappointment.⁴⁹ In the words of one migrant,

⁴⁵(continued) 59. The Zona Prohibida is the same as the Zona Libre, a strip of land 20 kilometers in width bordering the United States wherein no land could be purchased by foreigners. See J. Harvey Brigham, "Growing importance of Paso Del Norte," Commercial Relations of the United States with Foreign Countries During the Years 1885-1886 (Washington, D. C.: Govt. Printing Office, 1887), I, 896-897.

A second expulsion order issued by General Fuero had resulted in his dismissal as acting Governor of Chihuahua. Jenson, "Moses Thatcher," 256.

⁴⁶Journal of Jesse N. Smith, 318.

⁴⁷Ibid. Living in wagon beds was not a new experience for the Mormons. Two years after the founding of Salt Lake City many pioneers were still using their wagons for shelter. Charles Edwin Cummings, "The Mormon System of Colonization" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1946), 23n.

⁴⁸Thomas Cottam Romney, Life Story of Miles P. Romney (Independence, Missouri: Zion's Printing and Publishing Company, 1948), 181.

⁴⁹Levi Mather Savage, Family History Journal (Mimeographed M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 39-40; Journal of Jesse N. Smith, 308-312.

We still lie here . . . anxiously waiting for a land purchase to be made upon which we can settle

We are pilgrims in a strange land, among strangers, exposed to the heat of summer and the cold of winter. We camp in tents, wagons and "dugouts" and for 10 months we have expected every mail to bring us tidings of success of our brethren who are negotiating for land in this republic. We are harrassed by horse thieves and the people, among whom we have come to dwell seem to be almost a nation of thieves.⁵⁰

These were the conditions which would later move Lycurgus A. Wilson to remark that "when the history of the first two years of settlement of the Mormon people in Mexico shall be written, it will form one of the most interesting leaves in the annals of hardship and patient endurance."⁵¹

During the entirety of these months of waiting a number of the leading Elders were busy exploring possible land purchases. One expedition explored the area to the north, between themselves and the United States, along the Janos River.⁵² Another, in July, struck west across the Sierra Madres.⁵³ Both were without success. At the

⁵⁰Levi M. Savage, Family History Journal, 40.

⁵¹Lycurgus A. Wilson " 'Mormons' in Mexico," The Deseret Weekly, October 10, 1891, 481. It was circumstances of this kind however, which most assured the successful planting of colonies under primitive and trying conditions. Daniel Jones, when first called by Brigham Young on a colonizing mission to "the far south" in 1876, said he would go only on the condition that he be given men with large families and small means "so that when we get there they will be too poor to come back." Jones, 304; also Hatch 18.

⁵²M. C. M., 56; Romney, Life of Miles P. Romney, 182.

⁵³Journal of Jesse N. Smith, 312-316; Jenson, J. S. and the same author's "Francis Marion Lyman," The Historical Record, vol. VI, no. s 9-12 (December, 1887) 269. For the account of another expedition which, following the Sierra Madre venture was led by Brigham Young, Jr. into Sonora. See the J. S. ; and the M. C. M., 61-62.

same time negotiations were carried on both in El Paso and Mexico City in an effort to obtain permanent lands for colonization.⁵⁴

On October 21, 1885, Apostle George Teasdale received a letter from one Ignacio Gomez del Campo. The letter indicated that the order to collect additional duties from some of the brethren had been rescinded. It also offered for sale certain lands for which Campo was the contracting agent.⁵⁵ It had been the desire to examine some of Campo's lands which was largely responsible for the July expedition into the Sierra Madre mountains. Thinking the fruitless survey had ended their relations with Mr. Campo, the letter of late October which reopened negotiations was unexpected. Apostles Lyman, Young and Snow were in fact, at this time, planning to reconnoiter Sonora once again in hopes of finally locating a suitable colonization site there.⁵⁶ By November 25, a conditional contract had been signed wherein the saints were to obtain more than 100,000 acres of land from Campo. These lands were located near Ascension, Corrales and on the Piedras Verdes River.⁵⁷

⁵⁴Jenson, "Francis M. Lyman," 268; Pratt, "History of the Mexican Mission," 490-491. Journal of Jesse N. Smith, 306-208, 316.

⁵⁵Journal of Jesse N. Smith, 318.

⁵⁶Ibid., 319.

⁵⁷Ibid.: Jenson, J. S. Hatch says the purchase amounted to 50,000 acres on the Piedras Verdes and 60,000 acres each at Díaz (La Ascension) and Corrales. Hatch, 18. Romney contends the final sale consisted of 49,400 acres on the Piedras Verdes, 7,000 acres at Colonia Díaz and 60,000 acres of timber land in the Sierra Madres. The Church in Salt Lake contributed \$12,000 toward the purchase of these lands. M. C. M., 62. I have been able neither to ascertain which is correct nor to learn the total purchase price of this original sale.

It was with difficulty that the colonists relinquished the skepticism which the long months of waiting had made a companion to their hope. The habit of disappointment was reinforced at this time by the assertion of Daniel W. Jones, then visiting the colonists, that the land purchased would prove a failure because it was not located where Brigham Young had told him the saints should settle. Wearied beyond care, the colonists rebuked Jones and told him that Campo "was one like Hiram of old raised up for the salvation of the people. . . . and that anything I (Jones) might think or say would avail nothing."⁵⁸

In December of 1885 the tired but anxious pilgrims at Camp Turley moved to the newly purchased Church lands on the Piedras Verdes. And on February 12, 1886, the final negotiations took place in Mexico City.⁵⁹ Committees were appointed to arrange for surveying the township, erecting buildings and digging a canal to carry badly needed water. By mid-March adobe homes had replaced the dugouts and wagon boxes; planting had begun; and to the accompaniment of constructive village activity the animating signs of a fecund spring made their appearance in the garden plots and fields.⁶⁰

Under the direction of Apostles Erastus Snow and George Teasdale, every effort was made to insure adequate civic planning and an abundant harvest. The colonists were continually assured from

⁵⁸Jones, Forty Years Among the Indians, 353, Jones countered that Campo "was a fraud raised up to swindle them out of their money."

⁵⁹M. C. M., 62. Jenson, Church Chronology, 126.

⁶⁰Hatch, 19-23.

reports north of the border that droves of other Mormons were pushing south to Mexico in search of asylum.⁶¹ Opportunity and success seemed so promising that a special celebration was planned for March 21, the birthday of the Mexican hero, Benito Juárez. Officials from Casas Grandes were invited to attend. Graced by food, music and patriotic oratory, beneath the red, white and green flag of Mexico, the celebration provided an occasion for officially naming Colonia Juárez in honor of the great Mexican reformer.⁶²

It seemed impossible that everything could be going well for the Mormons after so many months of anxiety and failure. This hesitation to accept, without suspicion, the fortune of recent events was confirmed when in the late spring word was received that their present location must be abandoned.⁶³ An error had been made in

⁶¹Apostle Snow is reported to have told these colonists "plant all you can, for by July there will be plenty here to help you eat it." Ibid., 21. And Andrew Jenson in introducing the year 1886 in his Church Chronology, 127, writes: "The prosecutions under the Edmunds law for polygamy and unlawful cohabitation were continued, and nearly every settlement of the Saints were raided by U. S. deputy marshals, in search of polygamists. Fearing the impossibility of a fair trial, hundreds of the brethren and many families went into exile, some of whom sought refuge in Mexico and others in Canada. Nearly all the leaders of the Church were in hiding, and the situation throughout Utah was truly critical."

⁶²Ibid., 22-23. Romney, Life of Miles P. Romney, 184-185; Jenson, Church Chronology, 130. The colonists themselves often called the new settlement "Stink Town." Autobiographies of Mr. and Mrs. Franklin Moffett, 2.

⁶³Ibid., 23-24; Romney, Life of Miles P. Romney, 191-192.

establishing the correct boundaries of the Campo purchase and the colonists had actually settled on a portion of the great San Diego ranch of Don Luis Terrazas. The correct location of the Campo lands was determined and the colonists were required to forsake all but the harvest of their crops and remove to the new site as soon as possible. It was situated about two miles north of their present settlement in a very narrow and rocky valley of the Piedras Verdes River.⁶⁴ The soil was poor and the prospect for obtaining sufficient water for irrigation was worse. There can be little doubt that it was with downcast countenances that the migrant families considered uprooting themselves once again and moving onto the inferior site.

The colonists had only been on the new location for a few months in the spring of 1887 when water in the Piedras Verdes sank perilously low. The problem was compounded by increasing complaints from Mexicans down river regarding the little water which remained after the saints had finished with their own needs.

Then about 3 o'clock in the afternoon of May 7, the earth began to swell and quake beneath the colonists' feet. Men dropped their tools and implements. Women ran from the houses crying "It is an earthquake! It is an earthquake!" Soon all eyes were turned on the Sierra Madres which as far as one could see seemed to sway to and fro like a giant whiplash. The cleft and falling rocks raised a tremendous dust. This was followed by smoke from friction-created forest fires which were to burn on for days and leave the sides of the mountains charred

⁶⁴Ibid.

and bare. But to the colonists "the Lord was in the earthquake," for fissures were opened which increased the water in the river by a third.

In the words of one observer,

we all felt thankful for the shaking and are willing to stand another . . . for by that providential event we have had an abundance of water for our crops and the Mexican population below us feel that we will not be any injury to them, as they also have had plenty of water, all having abundance. We give God the praise for the increase.⁶⁵

Thus, by patient endurance of their many hardships were the first Mormon colonists established in Chihuahua, Mexico. Whether an acceptance of the recommendations made by Moses Thatcher regarding the need for early colonization would have saved the Mormons some of their trials cannot be determined. But however difficult the efforts of these first pioneers, they opened the way for thousands of followers who would stream south across the border until eight major colonies had been founded in both Chihuahua and Sonora.

⁶⁵Drawn from the remarks of "Amram" or Miles P. Romney in The Deseret News, September 21, 1887, 574. Other accounts include that of Thomas C. Romney, a son of Miles P., who was a boy attending school on the new site of Colonia Juarez when the earthquake struck. See his Life Story of Miles P. Romney, 184. Also see Autobiographies of Mr. and Mrs. Franklin Moffett, 2; Levi M. Savage, Family History, 41. Hatch, 24; and Leslie L. Sudweeks, "The Miracle of the Piedras Verdes, The Story of the Founding of Colonia Juarez," The Improvement Era, vol. XLIX, no. 1 (January, 1946), 40-41.

CHAPTER IV

While the Mormons of Colonia Juárez were struggling to establish themselves on the banks of the Piedras Verdes, some were moving onto the sites purchased near La Ascensión. Others were passing on up into the mountains.¹ But whatever their destination, there was an almost constant flow across the border south to the haven promised by the newly purchased lands.² The continued threat of imprisonment made foreign exile a preferred alternative to anxiety and fear at home. William Morley Black tells how after the Edmunds-Tucker law was passed "I spent one year playing hide and seek with the deputy Marshalls but got tired of the play so I took Louisa the youngest family and skipped for old Mexico."³

The need for deciding between a more obscure location north of the border or the assured acceptance of a residence south of the boundry

¹Thomas Cottam Romney, The Mormon Colonies in Mexico (Salt Lake City: The Deseret Book Company, 1938), 74-75, 103-104. Hereafter sited as M. C. M. Jenson, Church Chronology (2nd ed.; Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1899), 147.

²In his introduction to the year 1887, Jenson says "during this year nearly two hundred of the brethren were imprisoned in the Utah Penitentiary, besides a number in Idaho for infractions of the provisions of the anti-polygamy laws. The settlements of the Saints in Mexico and Canada were greatly strengthened by 'Mormon' exiles from the United States." Church Chronology, 142.

³Journal of William Morley Black 1826-1914, vol. II: Miscellaneous Mormon Diaries (Typewritten MSS., Brigham Young University Library), 19.

line was generally resolved as with Eunice S. Harris who said, "we chose Mexico where we could all go and live in peace. . . ." ⁴

Preparations for the journey to the colonies varied with circumstances. Occasionally it was a rushed and secret departure. ⁵ More often, weeks of baking, drying of fruit, mending of clothes and the arranging of necessary church and civic affairs preceded the actual trek. ⁶ Edward M. Webb tells how his children went about for days chanting "Minnie Minnie, Miny, Mo. On the Road to Mexico, To Mexico We'll go or Bust, When we Start Just See the Dust." ⁷

⁴Autobiographical Sketch of Eunice Stewart Harris (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 26. Many of the saints were set apart and sent on missions to participate and assist in the colonization of northern Mexico. See, e. g., The Journal of Henry Eyring, 1835-1902 (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 63; George Teasdale, Short Autobiographical Sketch (Microfilm of original M. S., Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah), 21; William Culp Darrah (ed.), "Beaman, Fennemore, Hillers, Dellenbaugh, Johnson and Hattan," Utah Historical Quarterly, vol. XVI (1948-49), 502; K. E. Duke, "Melitón González Trejo, Translator of the Book of Mormon into Spanish," The Improvement Era, vol. LIX, no. 10 (October, 1956), 715.

⁵See, for instance, the Life of Henry Lunt and Family together with a portion of his diary (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 244.

⁶Note the preparations and supplies suggested by Lycurgus A. Wilson, "Interesting Letter from Mexico," Deseret Weekly, August 8, 1891, 211-212. See esp. the church "recommend" obtained by Edward M. Webb prior to his departure. Edward Milo Webb prior to his departure. Edward Milo Webb, His Ancestors and Descendants, Compiled by a Daughter Irene Adell Webb Merrell (Mimeographed M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 15. When the requirement regarding "recommends" was relaxed, so many "undesirables" came in among the colonists that recommends were insisted on again after 1895. The Deseret Weekly, August 31, 1895, 344.

⁷Ibid., 20.

The journey constituted an effort of large proportion. Depending on one's point of origin, most prospective colonists were faced with a march of from 400 to 1000 miles in length, occupying generally, from thirty to sixty days.⁸ The distance would have been of less importance had trails and roads been of better quality. But, as it was, depending on the season, one was faced with unending mud, snow and cold, or thirst and discouraging stretches of deep sand. One account tells of a party, which, travelling in February, made only seven miles a day due to having "encountered some bad roads, crossed hills, mountains and ravine, wallowed in mud and snow, jammed over rocks, logs, etc. . . ." ⁹ Those who travelled in the warmer months were faced with wilting heat and poor grazing for

⁸For a description of routes, including mileage, see Alexander F. Macdonald and William Derby Johnson's "The Mexican Colonies," a circular written in 1888 and contained in Andrew Jenson, Juarez Stake (Typewritten M. S., Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.) Hereafter this work will be cited as J. S. Also see The Deseret News, August 15, 1888, 491 and from the same organ, October 31, 1888, 670. For examples of time taken to make the trip from various points of origin see the Journal of Henry Eyring, 63; Diary of Winslow Farr 1856-1899 (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 75; Biographical Sketches of John W. McLaws, Mary Ellen Owens Bradshaw, Horace Burr Owens, Sally Ann Layne Owens (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 13; Journal of Anthony W. Ivins (Microfilm of typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 655; William Culp Darrah (ed.), "Beaman, Fennemore, Hillers, Dellenbaugh, Johnson and Hattan," 502.

Because the journey was such an extensive one, and because in some instances certain migrants met with "disastrous" circumstances, it was recommended that wherever possible the brethren should transport their families and possessions by rail to Deming, New Mexico. The three day journey was relatively inexpensive. A freight car for carrying horses, wagons and machinery could be chartered for about \$200.00 and would accomodate four families. An additional \$35.00 would obtain a separate coach for a party of fifteen to twenty people. Lycurgus A. Wilson, "An Interesting Letter from Mexico," The Deseret Weekly, August 8, 1891, 211-213; Diary of Winslow Farr, 74; Thomas C. Romney, Life of Miles P. Romney, 186-188.

⁹As quoted from an unnamed chronicler in Jenson's

heat and poor grazing for the animals. Even when efforts were made to stay as close to rivers as possible they often found the water "so thick with mud it couldn't be settled; . . ." ¹⁰

Unlike the sweeping and level prairies encountered in the "Exodus" of 1847, these pioneers were confronted with every variety of obstacle imaginable: hills so steep that "doubling" was necessary to make the ascent while "rough locking" was combined with trees which were hewed down and tied to the rear of wagons to keep them from tumbling end over end when descending the other side; ¹¹ passages so irregular with rocks and broken surfaces that women with babes-in-arm were thrown from the wagons. ¹² In the words of one of the colonists, the journey consisted of "the roughest roads I've ever seen or that ever was . . ." ¹³ Oft-times the way became so difficult and slow that the morning's camp fires could still be seen when the parties bedded down again at night. ¹⁴ It is not surprising that it was common in their morning and evening prayers to invoke the blessings of Providence on the animals and wagons as well as upon the people themselves. ¹⁵

⁹(continued) Juarez Stake Wards (Typewritten M. S., Church Historian's Office Salt Lake City, Utah). Hereafter noted simply as J. S. W.

¹⁰Edward Milo Webb, His Ancestors and Descendants . . . , 13

¹¹J. S. W.

¹²Life of Henry Lunt and Family together with a portion of his diary (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 23-24.

¹³Biographical Sketches of John W. McLaws, Mary Ellen Owens Bradshaw, Horace Burr Owens, Sally Ann Layne Owens, 46.

¹⁴Edward Milo Webb, His Ancestors and Descendants . . . , 13

¹⁵J. S. W.

At first the colonists tended to migrate in companies of fifteen and twenty families at a time. The heads of families were generally organized as captains, assistant captains, (or captains of 10) chaplain, etc., much after the pattern followed during the "Exodus" from Illinois to the Great Basin.¹⁶ Singing and dancing were a regular part of every evening's camp. And, as with the pioneers of 1847, these companies tried to leave trail markers for any who might be following. These generally took the form of notes pinned to trees or conspicuous rock cairns.¹⁷ For the most part, however, the parties enjoyed little certainty in the direction of their travels. In the words of one migrant "we . . . travelled partly after the very imperfect written guides, partly by directions of Brother William's company, partly by enquiring of strangers and considerable of the time by guess."¹⁸

Later, due to the difficulty of finding ample forage for the livestock and the frequent desire of colonists to interrupt their

¹⁶Ibid., Journal of Jesse Nathaniel Smith, The Life Story of a Mormon Pioneer, 1834-1906, (Salt Lake City: Jesse N. Smith Family Association, 1953), 304-305; The Deseret News, October 31, 1888, 670.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid. Occasionally the colonists would add converts to their number as they passed through gentile communities. Jesse N. Smith tells of a Baptist preacher who was converted to the Mormon Church and joined Smith's Mexico-bound party from fear of being lynched due to the rumor that in addition to his conversion he had added a new young wife to his household. Journal of Jesse Nathaniel Smith, 305. At other times the colonists were treated quite abusively such as in Separ, Arizona where the only female at that railroad stop refused them any facilities, declaring: "I hope to God either the Mexicans or Yankees will kill you, everyone of you, I would rather be a hundred times a prostitute anyday than to be a polygamous wife." J. S. W.

journey for extended periods in the Mormon communities of Arizona, the expeditions were generally constituted from no more than two to three families.¹⁹

Due to difficulties associated with the Mexican customs officials, passing over the international boundary line was a major obstacle itself. Leaders in the colonies were always sending notes and directions to the brethren in Utah hoping to save them time and expense at this near concluding phase of the journey.²⁰ But even then, to be fined for having made some mistake in the preparation of lists and papers was not uncommon and to be delayed was an unavoidable expectation.²¹ Martin P. Mortensen was left in "straightened circumstances" after being forced to pay \$190.00 because his son, ignorant of the law, had brought his mother into the colonies without clearing with the custom's house.²² And Edward M. Webb seems only typical in being forced to lay over several weeks at the border

¹⁹Edward Milo Webb, *His Ancestors and Descendants . . .*, 14-17; *Life of Henry Lunt and Family*, 244; *Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal* (Mimeographed M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 164; Daniel W. Jones, *Forty Years Among the Indians, A True yet thrilling narrative of the author's Experience Among the Natives* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1890), 362.

²⁰*The Deseret News*, September 24, 1888, 389; and all of the following from *The Deseret Weekly*: April 20, 1889, 541-542; December 7, 1889, 739; April 5, 1890, 500; June 21, 1890, 857-858; September 20, 1890, 428-429; January 17, 1891, 105.

²¹See the discussion of duties in Thomas Cottam Romney, *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret Book Company, 1938), 67-69. Hereafter cited as the *M. C. M.* By early 1890 when the flow of settlers had become so large, it became necessary to employ a special agent to stay at the custom's house and assist the Mormons through the ordeal. *The Deseret Weekly*, April 5, 1890, 500.

²²*The Deseret News*, December 21, 1887, 769.

"waiting for the Mexican's 'Manyana' to come when they would let us through the custom house; . . ." ²³

Having passed the customs ordeal, little was left but seventy miles of largely level plain before reaching the first Mormon Colony of Díaz. If one were travelling during the winter or early spring months, even this leg of the journey could be difficult. Winslow Farr, travelling south along the Casas Grandes River said

it rained nearly every day & the river was very high and the water was spread out for miles we tipped out or over in to the river & broke up some of our boxes & dishes & got some things wet we took one of the teams & hitched on to the wagon & pulled it right side up My feet slipped and fell under the Wheel and got my thigh hurt me very much we finally got reloaded & started again had very heavy roads ²⁴

But, the hardships of the journey notwithstanding, most felt like John R. Young who, after transporting his three wives and their families over the rough trails from Utah to Colonia Dublán, said "the journey to Mexico was long, tedious and expensive, but we were happy, for we had escaped imprisonment." ²⁵

As the stream of Mormon colonists continued to pour inhabitants into northern Chihuahua, communities of typical Latter-day Saint design began to appear on the various locations purchased for settlement. Colonia Díaz, named after President Díaz, was built

²³Edward Milo Webb, *His Ancestors and Descendants* . . . , 20

²⁴Diary of Winslow Farr, 75.

²⁵John R. Young, *Memoires of John R. Young, Utah Pioneer*, 1847, (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1920), 254.

on a 7,000 acre tract purchased from Señor P. G. Del Campo near Ascensión. Some two hundred miles southwest of El Paso, Texas, Díaz was laid out on the same pattern as Mormon communities in the United States. It was surveyed into 144 blocks with each block measuring 27 rods square, separated by streets which were an even six rods wide.²⁶

The first inhabitants of Colonia Díaz, like those of Juárez, had been kept idle for several months before the purchase from Campo provided them with land.²⁷ When this was accomplished, they began building adobe homes and constructing their city. So anxious were the colonists to get settled and begin cultivating the soil that they commenced their efforts before church authorities approved their location. When Apostle George Teasdale finally arrived he dedicated a site for the community two miles west of the spot on which the colonists had begun to build. Most of the settlers were loath to forfeit their labor, however, and Joseph Rock, as Apostle Teasdale named it, was never settled. He was later vindicated when Díaz was plagued by heavy and frequent flooding.²⁸

The first inhabitants of Colonia Díaz were confronted with the same hardships confronted by the pioneers of all the Mormon colonies in Mexico. An inadequacy of moisture combined with the continual threat of disease provided the chief anxieties of the young colony.

²⁷M. C. M., 74-77; Levi Mathers Savage, Family History Journal, (Mimeographed M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 40-41; William Culp Harrah (ed.), "Beaman, Fennemore, Hillers, Dellenbaugh, Johnson and Hattan," 502.

²⁸Sullivan C. Richardson, "Remembering Colonia Díaz," The Improvement Era, vol XL, no. 5 (May, 1937), 298.

Yet, by February of 1887 a Ward organization was in full operation with William Derby Johnson acting as Bishop. And most of the residents of that small and struggling village felt as did

Eunice S. Harris:

After our long separation I was so happy to be reunited with my husband I did not notice that our floors were bare, that our furnishings were so meagre, or that our woodwork was without paint. There was a dearth of these conveniences in most of the homes in Colonia Díaz. True, our table was not spread with many delicacies, but we had plenty of good substantial (sic) food, which was partaken in love, contentment and peace, and we were all happy and satisfied.²⁹

Colonia Díaz grew and prospered until the time of the Exodus in 1912. The ravaging years of the Revolution, however, left it in a near demolished state. The result has been that those pre-Revolutionary years which saw Colonia Díaz share honors with Juárez and Dublán as the three most populous Mormon colonies in Mexico, constitutes the sum of its history.

It was of Colonia Juárez that Levi M. Savage spoke in 1886 when he said the saints there were "left very much to themselves, and to their own judgement about their course of life."³⁰ The next few years however, witnessed the growth of this little colony into the leading Mormon settlement of northern Mexico. In fact, every-one of the half-dozen apostles who came to make their homes in

²⁹Autobiographical Sketch of Eunice Stewart Harris, 29; Jenson, Church Chronology, 140; Levi M. Savage, Family History 41. Some, like Winslow Farr, found the need to live in tents with two inches of snow on the ground all winter somewhat less idyllic. Diary of Winslow Farr, 75-76.

³⁰Levi M. Savage, Family History, 40. Evidence of the popularity of Juárez as a place of settlement may be seen from an examination of the series of statistical reports on the colonies

Mexico during the next decade or so chose Juárez for their abode.³¹

Here, as elsewhere in Mormondom, the city was laid out according to the prophet Joseph's plan for the City of Zion. And through dint of untiring labor, Juárez grew to prosper. Henry Eyring tells how in May of 1887 he felt himself among the elite of the community with his log cabin home, for "the first floor laid in Juárez was in that cabin."³² Apostle Moses Thatcher alone spent several thousand dollars in St. Louis, Missouri purchasing machinery and equipment needed by the colonists.³³ And by the mid-1890's, Colonia Juárez was known throughout Mexico for the quality of its fruit and dairy products.³⁴

³⁰(continued) contained in the J. S. The one for March 31, 1887, for example, shows C. Díaz to have consisted of 20 families or 157 souls. Juárez could claim twice this number with 2 apostles, 41 families or 310 souls.

³¹Thomas Cottam Romney, Life Story of Miles P. Romney, (Independence, Missouri: Zion's Printing and Publishing Company, 1948), 248-249, 276-277; Nelle Spilsbury Hatch, Colonia Juarez, an intimate account of a Mormon village (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1954), 141.

³²Journal of Henry Eyring, 64. Even in later years, nearly every migrant and his family found it necessary to make their start under the same humble conditions as the original settlers. Brigham Stowell and his family, responsible for erecting the first mill in C. Juárez, lived in a "one room rock house near the mill" and "a brush shed and a tent by the side of the rock house which helped to shelter us until a better home was built near by." Gertrude S. Romney, Sketch of the Life of Brigham Stowell (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 9.

³³Andrew Jenson, (ed.), "Moses Thatcher," The Historical Record, vol. VI, no. 's 6-8 (August, 1887), 256; The Deseret News, August 22, 1888, 499.

³⁴J. S. W.; M. C. M., 71-73; Hatch, 105-112. At this same time the Juárez Ward (church) organization with all its attendant auxiliaries was being effected with equal vigor. See Andrew Jenson, Church Chronology, 128, 139, 149, 150.

Situated on the banks of the Piedras Verdes River about one hundred sixty miles south of Deming, New Mexico, Colonia Juárez was to be the administrative center of the colonies. And while the scarcity of good soil and land tended to channel a large portion of the colonists' energies into industry, Juárez never lost its Arcadian atmosphere. Even today, in the words of one of its more eloquent inhabitants, Colonia Juárez "is an unforgettable spot, remembered as a symbol of peacefulness, of neighborliness, of unity, bringing nostalgic longings for a return of old times."³⁵

As the largest of the Mexican colonies and one of the two which yet survives, Colonia Dublán had its beginning in 1888. George M. Brown who had arrived in Mexico in 1887 from Provo, Utah contracted with Lewis Huller, a German-Mexican, for the purchase of 73,000 acres which were located just north of Casas Grandes, Chihuahua. The easy terms of the contract were contingent on Brown being able to get 500 colonists to settle on the tract.³⁶

³⁵Nelle Spillsbury Hatch, Colonia Juarez, xiii.

³⁶J. S. W.; M. C. M., 95-96. Huller had acquired these lands as part of a two million acre tract, title to which he transferred to the Northwestern Colonization and Improvement Company of Chihuahua. This company he had incorporated on the sale of some 700 bonds valued at \$1,000.00 gold each. And of this number all but 28 were held by various bankers in the United States. Such was the attraction which Mexican land held for American capital in the age of "imperialism." The complicated nature of this arrangement was later to result in numerous trips to Cleveland, Ohio and other eastern cities by Anthony W. Ivins in an attempt to secure the colonists' holdings. Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 79, 119.

Brown returned to Utah and vigorously proselyted for Mormons to settle on the Huller lands. By early 1891 there were 380 colonists who had gathered on a site five or six miles south of Casas Grandes expecting to negotiate for the purchase of ground on the attractive terms originally advertised by Huller. A committee was appointed to make arrangements for sale, but at the last moment, Huller experienced a severe financial setback leaving creditors in possession of his lands. And these new owners were unwilling to offer the tract on Huller's original terms. The brethren then secured their holdings by purchasing "quit claim deeds" from the local resident Mexicans in the hope of obtaining more permanent titles from the government later.³⁷ They had to wait for ten more years, however, before Anthony W. Ivins was able to obtain deeds to their lands from various financiers in the United States.³⁸

Located at a distance of one hundred fifty miles south from Deming, New Mexico, Colonia Dublán enjoyed some of the richest soil available anywhere in the region. All kinds of vegetables grew profusely and corn commonly reached a height of twelve feet with ears as long as a man's forearm from fingertips to elbow.³⁹

Like Colonia Juárez, Dublán was host to a number of successful local industries. Mercantile and department stores, flour mills, dairy processing plants and other endeavors enriched the populace of the Mormon community. Its assets continued to

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 134, 214; Diary of Winslow Farr, 230.

³⁹M. C. M., 96-97.

to attract settlers until by the time of the Exodus, Dublán had a population of more than 1200 people.⁴⁰

Originally organized as the San Francisco Branch of Colonia Juárez in April of 1889, Dublán received church recognition as a Ward in July 19, 1891 at which time it was named after Emanuel Dublán, Secretary of hacienda (Treasury) in President Díaz's cabinet. After the interruption of the Revolution in 1912, Colonia Dublán was reorganized in May of 1915 and has continued to exist ever since.⁴¹

It was probably a combination of the western pioneer impetus and a dissatisfaction with certain limitations in the plateau colonies which prompted many to press on up into the Sierra Madre Mountains.⁴² Such was the case, for example, with the seventy year old and nearly blind Henry Lunt who, finding fuel and water too scarce for his liking in Colonia Díaz, moved southwest into the mountains where he broke sod and farmed a "few acres of land between the hills."⁴³

The mountain colonies were small and never very prosperous. Their physical setting was one which prevented either extensive cultivation or easy access to markets. When President Joseph F. Smith visited these colonies in 1900, he was required

⁴⁰Ibid., 98.

⁴¹Jenson, J. S. W.; and the same author's Church Chronology, 173.

⁴²I am adopting Thomas C. Romney's appellation of "plateau" for the three settlements of Díaz, Juárez and Dublán. He further classified the other colonies into the "mountain" and "Sonoran" divisions. M. C. M., 102.

⁴³Life of Henry Lunt and Family, 24.

to travel through what he described as " 'the roughest, rockiest, nearest impassible mountain passes' he was ever called to encounter. ⁴⁴

The consequence was that in at least one case, that of Cave Valley or Colonia Pacheco as it was called after 1891, the saints experimented with a renewal of the communal "United Order. "⁴⁵

Colonia Pacheco, named after General Carlos Pacheco, high official in President Díaz's cabinet, Governor of Chihuahua and friend of the Mormons, arose on lands which had been explored by Church agents in 1885. Not until 1887, however, did "parson" George C. Williams, his son-in-law Peter Dillman and perhaps ten other families settle in the area. Originally organized as the Corrales Branch of the Juárez Ward in April, 1889, the community was officially established as Colonia Pacheco on February 12, 1891. ⁴⁶

Struggling to maintain itself on the lumbering trade and what few crops could be raised at the 7,000 ft. elevation, these mountain settlers sent an appeal to their brethren elsewhere for help. "We have a hard mission -- our numbers are few and means limited.

⁴⁴Joseph Fielding Smith, Life of Joseph F. Smith, Sixth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1938), 311-312.

⁴⁵J. S. W. ; M. C. M., 104-108. Many of the inhabitants of Colonia Pacheco came from Orderville, Utah where there had been a dedicated effort to live the "law of consecration." In Pacheco they not only practiced the principle of stewardship but a scrip for exchange was produced which circulated only among their own number. See the Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1948), Sec. 104.

⁴⁶The Corrales Basin including Hop and Strawberry Valleys was purchased for settlement of Mormons by Apostles Erastus Snow and Moses Thatcher in Mexico City in October of 1886. The total tract amounted to about 75,000 acres. Jenson, "Moses Thatcher," 256; Also the same author's Church Chronology, 199.

If we could be strengthened by a few staunch brethren with faith, muscle and means, it would tend to encourage those who are here and facilitate the development of our limited resources."⁴⁷

But the hoped for help never came. By 1900 so many had become discouraged and moved away that the colony reverted to the status of a "branch" of the Juárez Ward and was officially abandoned at the time of the Revolution in July of 1912.⁴⁸

In the early March of 1894, Alonzo L. Farnsworth and his family located in the high meadow lands of the Sierra Madre in what was known as Round Valley or, as it was later called, Colonia García. By December of 1895, a sufficient number of others had joined him to justify organizing the company of pioneers into a Ward.

These lands had been obtained by Farnsworth and Benjamin J. Johnson in a contract with the proprietors, Mariano and Telésforo García of Mexico City. Farnsworth and Johnson had each purchased lots containing 2500 hectares or 6,175 acres at \$2500.00 per lot. While the initial payment had been made, subsequent installments could not be met. The consequence was that in 1898, Anthony W. Ivins paid the balance of the debt from his own personal funds and, for the security of the colonists, transferred the title of these lands to the Mexican Colonization and Agricultural Company.⁴⁹

Living under much of the same conditions as the inhabitants of Colonia Pacheco, these frontiersmen devoted most of their time to farming and lumbering. The life was hard and with the Exodus

⁴⁷The Deseret Weekly, March 23, 1895, 428-429.

⁴⁸J. S. W.

⁴⁹Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 78

of 1912, efforts to bring this region to maturity as a colonization center was largely finished. A few families re-organized the ward in 1917 only to have its membership gradually dwindle to such a point that the colony was disbanded once again in 1943.⁵⁰

Colonia Chuichupa was established on lands obtained by Benjamin J. Johnson in the contract with the Garcia brothers which has already been described. Originally named Mariano, after its former owner, the colony was soon renamed "Chuichupa" which in the language of the natives is supposed to mean "the place of the mist."⁵¹

Situated at an elevation of nearly 8,000 feet above sea-level, the romantic beauty of the area seemed to offset its economic limitations and by 1898 it had attracted, in combination with Colonia Garcia, a total of 43 settlers.⁵² In this same year, the settlers' lands were secured through the kindness of Anthony W. Ivins who, as with the García inhabitants, completed payment for their holdings from his own purse.⁵³

Attached to Colonia García as a branch for the first years of its existence, Chuichupa was organized as a Ward by Apostle Abraham O. Woodruff in 1900. Thereafter its history has been almost identical with its sister colony, Colonia García.⁵⁴

⁵⁰J. S. W.

⁵¹M. C. M., 112-113

⁵²J. S. W.; also Autobiographical Sketch of Eunice Stewart Harris, 43-44. cf. The Deseret Weekly, June 9, 1894, 780.

⁵³Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 78.

⁵⁴J. S. W.

The Sonoran colonies began with a month long expedition in February and March of 1892 which cut through the Sierra Madres into the northeastern section of the state of Sonora. Making their own road and passage through the rough, high terrain, these pioneers entered a region of such primitiveness that their wagons were said to be the first ever beheld by the natives.⁵⁵

William B. Maxwell and Robert E. Vance were the first of the company of fourteen wagons and twenty two men to descend to the headwaters of the Bavispe River.⁵⁶ Here a two hundred square mile tract of land, known as Los Horcones, had been purchased from a Colonel Emelio Kosterlitzky by George C. Williams. Some sixty-three other Mormons had agreed to join with Williams in buying the land. The cost of \$35,000 was to be met in three equal payments to be made on January 1, of 1893, 1894 and 1895.⁵⁷ When John C. Naegle and a very few others proved to be the only ones capable of making the necessary payments in support of the investment, Anthony W. Ivins was asked to give assistance in completing the purchase of the Sonoran lands.⁵⁸

⁵⁵Diary of James Henry Martineau, vol. 11: Miscellaneous Mormon Diaries (Typewritten M. S. S., Brigham Young University Library, 36. The Deseret Weekly, September 9, 1893, 383.

⁵⁶Edward Milo Webb, His Ancestors and Descendants...., 19. The Bavispe is a tributary of the Yaqui River.

⁵⁷Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 67-68; J. S. W.

⁵⁸Ibid., 63, 67-68; J. S. W.; M. C. M., 118-119. The lands were then surveyed and sold to the colonists according to their quality. A city lot was sold for \$25.00 while any of the 98,000 acres of range land could be purchased for 25 cents per acre. See the Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 68.

After Ivins had secured title to the tract, the lands were surveyed and sold to the inhabitants, gauging the price according to the quality of the soil and the extent to which the purchasing colonist had financially supported the original negotiation with Kosterlitzky.⁵⁹ Soon a thriving community began to rise where before had been only a heavy covering of foliage interspersed with clusters of large mesquite trees with strange forked branches from which the region's name of Los Horcones was derived.⁶⁰

Though at first the settlers found it necessary to obtain nearly all their supplies from Bisbee, Arizona, 100 miles north, they soon provided for the production of their needs so as to render themselves largely self-sufficient. And within two years of its founding, the new settlement was organized into a Ward by Apostles Brigham Young, Jr., John Henry Smith and George Teasdale. These brethren gave the name of Colonia Oaxaca to the community in commemoration of President Díaz's native province.⁶¹

Franklin Scott, first Bishop of the Oaxaca Ward, found his settlement suffering from the same problem which had hindered growth and prosperity in many Mormon colonies situated far from other communities or places of trade. In the spring of 1895, for example, he wrote "we sadly need help to enable us to complete our canal and build up the place."⁶² Yet, by the turn of the century, Oaxaca could

⁵⁹Ibid. Also see the Diary of James H. Martineau, 36-37.

⁶⁰M.C.M., 115-120.

⁶¹In addition to Los Horcones, the colony had for a time been called Fenochio before it assumed the permanent name of Oaxaca. The Deseret Weekly, April 16, 1892, 554-555; Ibid., June 16, 1894, 814; M.C.M., 115; Jenson, Church Chronology, 204.

⁶²The Deseret Weekly, March 16, 1895, 413-414.

claim a population of nearly 270 inhabitants.⁶³ And brick homes, with neatly kept farms and modern equipment, had come to characterize the community.

All seemed well for Colonia Oaxaca until 1905 when sudden flooding of the Bavispe River devastated the settlement.⁶⁴ The Mexican Revolution, which, in seven years, followed this disaster brought an end to the history of Sonora's first Mormon colony.

The last of the eight major settlements made by the Mormons in Mexico was Colonia Morelos. The 9,000 acres which constitute its extent was purchased by Anthony W. Ivins in the name of the Mexican Colonization and Agricultural Company from Colin Cameron, an American, on December 3, 1899.⁶⁵ The \$15,000.00 purchase was then divided into tracts of land depending on the location and quality of the soil. The best farm land was priced at \$6.25 per acre, second class soil sold for \$5.00 and the third or poorest for \$3.00. Ten percent interest was laid on all unpaid balances and the deeds were held by the Mexican Colonization and Agricultural Company

⁶³This includes farmers as well as those living in the city. Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 160. Many of the Chihuahua colonists moved to Oaxaca because of its milder climate. Esther W. Lewis, Life of Julia D. Wilson (Typewritten M. S., in possession of Franklin D. Haymore Family, Provo, Utah), 5.

⁶⁴Thomas Cottam Romney, A Divinity Shapes Our Ends as Seen In My Life Story (n.p.: Thomas Cottam Romney, 1953), 126-127; Edward Milo Webb, His Ancestors and Descendants, 25; J. S. W.; Esther W. Lewis, Life of Julia D. Wilson, 6.

⁶⁵Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 87, 103; J. S. W. This was the old Batapito ranch owned by Cameron who resided in Arizona.

for security until the purchase price was paid in full.⁶⁶

Morelos was located twenty miles north of Oaxaca near the junction of the Bavispe River and the Batapito Creek. It was a full one hundred miles from the Chihuahua colonies and sixty miles south of Douglas, Arizona. Unlike Colonia Oaxaca which drew a large proportion of its inhabitants from the Chihuahua settlements, Morelos was largely settled by migrants who came directly from the United States.⁶⁷ Here again, as with all the colonies, primitive and difficult conditions were the common lot of the community's first pioneers. Thomas C. Romney who, with his bride Lydia Ann Naegle, came to settle on the Morelos tract in 1903 lived in a tent and foraged in the hills and streams for food. He describes the area in the following way:

Morelos was in a virgin state when I first saw it. The plot of ground was located at a point just above where the Batapito Creek entered the Bavispe River. The whole area for a considerable distance was covered with sacaton grass as high as a man's head, in which herds of deer fed at will. Farther back and along the banks of each stream were thousands of acres of the most fertile land imaginable, covered with mesquite and catclaws.⁶⁸

Edward M. Webb who moved to Morelos from Colonia García in 1900 tells how he and his family lived

in tents, wagon boxes or, like the Mexicans, built rude 'hicals' made of Ocotillo a tall, slim thorny plant which on the end of its bare branches, in

⁶⁶Ibid., 95; T. C. Romney, A Divinity Shapes Our Ends . . ., 112; Jenson, in his J. S. W. sets the purchase price at \$10,000. Though the figure of \$15,000, seems to be confirmed in the story of Lorenzo Snow Huish (Typewritten M. S. in the possession of Mabel Todd, Salt Lake City, Utah), 37.

⁶⁷Ibid.; J. S. W. Before Ivins had even made the purchase, Lorenzo S. Huish from Payson, Utah contacted him and said several families from that community were anxious to move to the new colony and were ready to contribute \$5000 toward the purchase price. Ibid.: The Story of Lorenzo Snow Huish, 37.

⁶⁸Romney, A Divinity Shapes Our Ends . . ., 111-112.

season, came clusters of blossoms resembling the gladiola. The ocotillos were stood up on end side by side to make the walls of the house and were laid over the top then covered with dirt to make the roof. The floors were packed down dirt. The church house, used for school, amusements and all religious gatherings was made the same way. When dancing parties were held every one danced on the dirt floor.⁶⁹

But after the mesquite, catclaw, chaparal and cactus were cleared, grain and garden plants of all kinds grew rapidly and reached astounding size. The rivers themselves were so full of fish that catfish two feet in length could be speared at will with pitch forks from the clear rapids and pools.⁷⁰

Morelos' reputation for agricultural promise spread far. Whereas in 1900 there were only nine settlers living in the colony, within a year the population jumped to 147 inhabitants and by 1903 to 332.⁷¹ Originally organized as the Batapito Branch of the Oaxaca

⁶⁹Edward Milo Webb, *His Ancestors and Descendants . . .*, 24. Mary Ellen Owens Bradshaw, who had seventeen children, tells how her "husband took two wagon covers and made a tent the best he could, but it is miserable living out of doors with so many little ones to look after and such a little baby 4 months old, but small." *Biographical Sketches of John W. McLaws, Mary Ellen Owens Bradshaw, Horace Burr Owens, Sally Ann Layne Owens*, 47; Also see *The Story of Lorenzo Snow Huish*, 40, where we are told how "Annie Huish with her five moved into the tent which leaked badly from the heavy storms that came in the rainy season. We dipped out the water with cans as fast as it flooded the floor of the tent, and during some of the terrible sand storms that struck us, the family had to forcibly hold the tent to the ground to keep it from blowing away. All the elements seemed to be untamed. The dust storms were so thick for three days at a time you couldn't see across the street, and when the sun shone, it burned like an oven."

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹*Biographical Sketches of John W. McLaws, Mary Ellen Owens Bradshaw, Horace Burr Owens, Sally Ann Layne Owens*, 50; *J. S. ; Journal of A. W. Ivins*, 160.

Ward, Apostle Abraham O. Woodruff christened the community Morelos in honor of the Mexican patriot Jose Maria Morelos and established it as an independent Ward in the Juárez Stake of Zion in 1901.⁷²

Except for a flash flood in 1902 and the usual periodic adventures with Indians and outlaws typical of every frontier community's experience, life in Morelos was rural, puritanical and quiet. Then came the Revolution. Since the scourge of that upheaval overcame the little colony in 1912, it has never been resettled.

While there were a few minor colonies established as branches of these eight major centers, the purchase of land for Colonia Morelos in 1899 marked the close of colonization and expansion of the church in Mexico for nearly a half century.⁷³ The significance of this lies in the fact that Church colonization in general seems to have come to an end at about this same time.

One would, naturally, first seek an explanation for the death of the Church's efforts at geographical expansion in the geographical

⁷²For more regarding the establishment of Morelos see M. C. M., 120-123; Romney, A Divinity Shapes Our Ends , 112; Journal of A. W. Ivins, 95; J. S. W.

⁷³Examples of other and smaller branches are: William's Ranch and Cliff Ranch, two small settlements of two or three Mormon families located a few miles north of Colonia Pacheco and settled in the late 1880's; Guadalupe, a branch of the Dublán Ward organized on November 6, 1914; Galeana, a small branch of the Church located a few miles south of Dublán consisting of little more than the family of Franklin Spencer; San José, a branch located nine miles north of Morelos and constituted primarily from refugees of the Oaxaca flood disaster of 1905; Nopala, a branch located on "Larsen Flat" some distance up river from Colonia Oaxaca and organized in 1899. See the J. S. W. and the Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 84, 148; also Hatch, 261.

circumstances themselves. The dates involved would seem to confirm the claim of Frederick Jackson Turner and his disciples that by 1890 possibilities for the conquest and colonization of new lands had largely disappeared. And that the Mormons had found it necessary to go outside the United States to preserve the individuality of their faith and practice does itself testify of reduced opportunity for isolation and cultural separatism within the nation's borders. But that the Church's colonization impetus came to a halt in Mexico as well as in the United States suggests causes other than simple geographical limitations.⁷⁴

To begin with, the Church was under heavy financial strain throughout the decade of 1890's.⁷⁵ As late as 1905 opportunities to

⁷⁴Moreover, the Turner thesis has received impressive challenge in Fred A. Shannon's convincing argument that, contrary to the assertions of Turner, "the filling up of the West had merely begun by 1890." "The Homestead Act and the Labor Surplus," The American Historical Review, vol. XLI, no. 4 (July, 1936), 637-651; Also see Norman J. Simler, "The Safety-Valve Doctrine Re-Evaluated," Agricultural History, vol. XXXII, no. 4 (Oct., 1958), 250-257 and George Wilson Pierson, "The Frontier and American Institutions: A Criticism of the Turner Thesis," The New England Quarterly, vol. XV, no. 2 (June, 1942), 224-225. That land and opportunity continued to exist in northern Mexico is evinced, in the first place, by the appearance of recurrent advertisement of such opportunity: E. g., see the Journal History (Multi-volume compilation of typescript and news clippings M. S. S., Church Historians Office, Salt Lake City Utah), 28 June, 1900; and, in the second place, by the continuing stream of settlers which migrated to the colonies: Diary of Winslow Farr 1856-1899, 137, 231; Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 101, 106; Journal History, 16 April, 1897. See especially the negotiations in June of 1901 between Anthony W. Ivins and Mexico's Minister of Colonization regarding the direct planting of European converts on Mexican soil. Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 115.

⁷⁵Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom. An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1900 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 383; Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 64, 80.

colonize in British Columbia, the Society Islands and elsewhere were considered but rejected because of financial inability.⁷⁶ Not only had the Edmunds-Tucker Act dissipated the Church's wealth, but the long gruelling years of agricultural depression from the late 1880's through the 1890's had severely contracted the volume of tithing receipts on which the Church's financial structure rested.⁷⁷

The colonization effort itself was extending beyond the limit of the Church's economic abilities. One of the most frequent problems encountered by the colonies in Mexico was the shortage of manpower and consumers.⁷⁸ And the move away from communal, Church sponsored, undertakings to individual enterprise which illustrated the Mormon acceptance of the American business ethic after 1890 dealt a disintegrative blow to the coordinated and organic character of the colonization movement.⁷⁹

Finally, for reasons not entirely clear, the great attention formerly given to the idea of the "gathering" seems to have been terminated at about this time.⁸⁰ The lack of certainty concerning this

⁷⁷Ibid., 382-383, 400-404; C. H. C., VI, 351-362.

⁷⁸For indications of this same problem existing in other settlements see the Journal History, 16 April, 1897; The Deseret News, March 24, 1880, 122; The Deseret News Weekly, February 18, 1880, 41; Ibid., April 21, 1880, 186-187; The Deseret Weekly, July 6, 1889, 50. In 1902, Apostle A. O. Woodruff counselled the membership of the Church that "people who are active and young should not leave the older settlements in a state of decline. The settlement to the South of us is not a desirable one. People are there because they have been sent there and there they would (should?) stay if they starved." Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 132. Cf. Journal of Jesse N. Smith, 294-295.

⁷⁹Arrington, 384-386.

⁸⁰Ibid; 383, 510 n.

pattern and its nature results from the fact that the last Mormon colony to be established in Mexico, Colonia Morelos, was dedicated by Apostle A. O. Woodruff in 1899 to be "a gathering place for the Saints."⁸¹ Furthermore, the general concensus of the Quorum of the Twelve around the turn of the century seems to have favored a renewal of the Church's colonization undertakings.⁸²

But if there was any question concerning the need and value of further expansion in Mexico, the answer came with stinging suddenness when in 1912 the inhabitants of all eight colonies were ejected by Mexican revolutionaries and forced to retire north within the borders of the United States.

The trauma of the "Exodus," however, was preceded by an era of singular character, golden to the memories of all who lived during that time as pioneers and builders in those far off communities of Chihuahua and Sonora. A description of life and society in the colonies during these years will be the theme of the next chapter.

⁸²Journal History, 19 January, 1899. The problem is further complicated by the apparent certainty prevalent among the highest circles of the Church at this time that the "Second Coming" with its antecedent return of the saints to Jackson County, Missouri was imminent. Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 85, 98, 112, 127. There seems to have been an abortive Church-encouraged attempt to colonize on Topolobampo Bay in Sinaloa about 1908-1910 by Edmond Z. Carbine and other Mormons. Letter from Ivan L. Carbine to the author, January 18, 1963. And Ray L. Pratt alluded to President Harris of the Mexican Mission during 1906 as having "made an extended trip through South America, to look for a new country for colonization purposes." See his "History of the Mexican Mission," 497. All of this seems to have followed an interest in Tamaulipas by Anthony W. Ivins, who went there in 1903 "to look for lands which may be suitable for colonization purposes as it is plain to all of us that we must gather the people who are joining the Church and get them away from present environments." Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 106. But, again, these instances cannot be squared with the statement of President Joseph F. Smith, made in 1907, that "We are not sending out men to promote colonization schemes. Men who are doing this are doing it upon their own responsibility." Ibid., 166.

CHAPTER V

Located amid what Margaret K. Barron has called "a distant, alluring land which does not belong to this earth," the Mormon colonies of Chihuahua and Sonora soon began to exhibit that prosperity and comfort which is ever the reward of industry.¹ Laid out in harmony with the foursquare Mormon village pattern, thousands of shade trees and garden plants soon came to grace the streets and lanes of every one of the eight communities.²

¹Margaret Keeler Barron, A-Down the Piedras Verdi River (Columbus, New Mexico: Courier Press, 1919), I. Also see the idyllic description of Amy P. Pratt Romney, "Ranching in Old Mexico," Heart Throbs of the West, ed. Kate B. Carter (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1951), XII, 294-295.

²Bishop William Derby Johnson, Jr., in an interview in 1891, said "Our towns are laid out in blocks twenty-seven rods square, and are divided into four lots, so that each settler can have one on a corner. The streets are six rods wide and give ample accomodation for all kinds of travel. In the principal colonies about 50,000 fruit trees and about 200,000 vines besides a great many ornamental trees and shrubs have been planted. Each town has a public square, and in Díaz and Juárez we have two academies and graded schools, in which both English and Spanish are taught." The Deseret Weekly, June 21, 1890, 857-858; Ibid., January 24, 1891, 132; Ibid., May 6, 1893, 609-610; Nelle Spillsbury Hatch Colonia Juarez, An Intimate Account of a Mormon Village (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1954), 41-44; The words of Raymond J. Reed may also be cited here: "Not content to leave the beautification of their towns to nature, the Mormons lined their streets with shade trees, which, combined with the well kept orchards in every yard, make their colonies, to this day beautiful settlements. Practically all the houses in this town are made of red brick, and none of them are small; rather they are large and spacious many of them two stories; high. A Mormon colony in Mexico . . . could be compared very favorably with the best of small towns in the United States." "The Mormons in Chihuahua, Their Relations with

The chief monitor for the sale of lands and city lots was the Mexican Colonization and Agriculture Company. Formed under the laws of Colorado, the company originally operated according to the Mormon stewardship theory of land holding. This involved the purchase of lands with the use of company funds. Lots were then leased out to members in good standing who were permitted the continued occupancy and use of the land so long as they acquitted themselves as worthy stewards. Later, the right of individual ownership through purchase from the company came to supplant the stewardship practice. Under the direction of Apostles Moses Thatcher and George Teasdale, the enterprise was an effective instrument in coordinating and assisting in the settlement of the more than 3000 colonists who flooded into Mexico during the quarter century after 1885.³

One of the first concerns with Mexican colonists, as with the settlers of the Great Basin, was that of water. With every one of the colonies, the appointment of a committee to supervise the construc-

²(continued) Villa and the Pershing Punitive Expedition, 1910-1917" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1938), 2.

³Thomas Cottam Romney, The Mormon Colonies in Mexico (Salt Lake City: The Deseret Book Company, 1938), 63-68, 86. Hereafter cited as M. C. M. Journal of Anthony W. Ivins (Microfilm of typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 175 passim; The Deseret Weekly, August 8, 1891, 211-212; Ibid., September 20, 1890, 428-429; Ibid., October 10, 1891, 481-484; Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom; An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1900 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 383-384; Andrew Jenson, Juarez Stake (Typewritten M. S., Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah) and the same author's Juarez Stake Wards (Typewritten M. S., Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah). These two compilations will hereafter be cited as J. S. and J. S. W. respectively.

tion of canals and reservoirs preceded almost every other feature of their organic efforts.⁴ Generally, water for culinary purposes could be obtained at little more than fifteen feet below the surface. And this when combined with the common supply was usually ample.⁵ When the water flow was further harnessed to produce electricity the Mormon communities assumed an appearance of modernity singular in its example throughout northern Mexico.⁶

The consequence of their labor was soon the admiration of colonist and visitor alike. Whereas one observer, in 1887, could say of the Mormons, they "are building up fast,"⁷ by 1891 another was compelled to declare "everywhere one sees abundant evidence of prosperity."⁸ Even in the early years of settlement when material possessions were few, the unity, dedication and vigor of the colonists

⁴Ibid., 75-76, 86, 90-91, 96-97, 103, 109, 121; Hatch, 39-46; J. S. W.; Thomas Cottam Romney, A Divinity Shapes Our Ends As Seen in My Life Story (n.p.: printed by the author, 1953), 42 passim. Also see Milton R. Hunter, The Mormons and the American Frontier (Salt Lake City: L.D.S. Department of Education, 1940), 106-107, 114 passim.

⁵J. S. W.; The Deseret Weekly, June 21, 1890, 857-858; Ibid., August 8, 1891, 211-212. In many instances the Mormons found vestiges of prehistoric canals and waterways after which to pattern their own irrigation system. Hunter, Mormons and the American Frontier, 114; M.C.M., 96-97; The Deseret Weekly, August 8, 1891, 211-212.

⁶Hatch, 45-46.

⁷The Deseret News, December 21, 1887, 769.

⁸The Deseret Weekly, October 24, 1891, 589; Also see Ibid., May 24, 1890, 722-723; Ibid. April 2, 1892, 479; M.C.M., 82, 92-94 passim; The Journal of Henry Eyring, 1835-1902 (Typewritten M.S., Brigham Young University Library), 67; cf., The Deseret Weekly, August 8, 1891, 222-223.

conveyed a feeling of confidence in ultimate success. Most felt like Eunice S. Harris who, though compelled to share a humble four room home with her husband and a sister-wife, could say "we did not mind this inconvenience, but were all contented and happy."⁹

Much of the colonists' prosperity was due to their determination to attain an affluency comparable to that which had been enjoyed prior to their departure from the United States. This is particularly true of the three plateau colonies.¹⁰

Originally intending only to make themselves economically self sufficient, Mormon enterprise soon provided the saints with returns from a market which extended well beyond their own society. In Colonia Juárez, for example, the small cooperative mercantile establishment organized by Henry Eyring in 1889 was soon enjoying a lucrative trade with Mexicans throughout both Chihuahua and Sonora.¹¹ There soon followed a roller flour mill, a fruit canning factory, a tannery, a cheese factory and other undertakings.¹² Dublán, though more agriculturally

⁹Autobiographical Sketch of Eunice Stewart Harris (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 30.

¹⁰For an analysis of the profit motive in the Mormon colonies, see below, 150-164.

¹¹The Journal of Henry Eyring, 1835-1902, 66, 78, 80-81; M. C. M., 93. This had been preceded by a small cooperative venture by George W. Sevey and Ernest L. Taylor in 1886 which was absorbed by Eyring's undertaking. Thomas Cottam Romney, Life Story of Miles P. Romney (Independence, Missouri: Zion's Printing and Publishing Company, 1948), 201-203. For more regarding the cooperative nature of Mormon business enterprise as well as its transition to a pattern of private ownership see Arrington, 293-349, 380-412 and Hamilton Gardner, "Cooperation among the Mormons," The Quarterly Journal of Economics, vol. XXXI (May, 1917), 461-499.

¹²Ibid.; M. C. M., 93-94; The Deseret Weekly, May 6, 1893, 609-610.

inclined, displayed similar commercial efforts and Colonia Díaz gained distinction in its success with broom and candy factories.¹³

By the mid-1890's, sales and income from agricultural and industrial produce had been so gratifying that promotion committees were organized. In Juárez this was the Board of Trade with Joseph C. Bentley selected to be its manager. In Díaz it was called the Agricultural and Manufacturing Association.¹⁴ In both cases markets for Mormon goods were secured not only in Mexico City but in various cities of the United States as well. It became common for the Mormons nearly to monopolize the highest prizes granted at state and national fairs. A series of Presidential citations and compliments were proudly displayed along with a multitude of blue ribbons in the homes of many Latter-day Saints in Juárez, Díaz and Dublán.¹⁵ By 1896, the American consul in Chihuahua could say of them:

Their merchants, aside from the trade with their own people, do considerable business with the Mexicans who flock to the Mormon stores from all directions, coming with their pack trains and their mule and ox teams from hundreds of miles to lay in provisions and other supplies.¹⁶

¹³M.C.M., 81, 98-99; Edward Milo Webb, His Ancestors and Descendants, Compiled by a Daughter Irene Adell Webb Merrell (Mimographed M.S., Brigham Young University), 21; The Deseret Weekly, August 8, 1891, 211-212; Ibid., April 28, 1894, 573-574.

¹⁴Ibid., 82, 94; Hatch, 105; Romney, Life Story of Miles P. Romney, 203; The Deseret Weekly, December 23, 1893, 27.

¹⁵For an especially well written account of Mormon exploits at these public festivals see Hatch's "O, Come to the Fair" in her Colonia Juarez, 105-112; Also Leslie L. Sudweeks, "When Mormon Enterprise Won the Acclaim of President Diaz" The Improvement Era, vol. XLVIII, no. 10 (October, 1945), 570, 608-609.

¹⁶Louis M. Buford, "Mormon Colonists in Mexico," United States Consular Reports, no. 190 (July, 1896), 409.

And, that as late as 1900 the Juarez Cooperative Mercantile Company was able to declare a dividend of 25% for 13 months of operation, is indicative of the colonies' consistent growth and returns.¹⁷

The energies of most Mormons, however, were channeled into cultivation of the soil. From the beginning of their history, Mormons had given evidence of their agrarian penchant. Here again, they had been typically American in holding with most of their contemporaries "that agriculture was the basis of wealth and the proper foundation for community life" ¹⁸ And while it was going too far for Raymond J. Reed to say "all Mormons were farmers," it is a fact that the heavy majority of them felt a life lived close to the soil to be superior to any other. ¹⁹ John J. Huber, Ward Clerk in Colonia Morelos, more nearly stated the truth when he said "the Mormons have always been an agricultural people, preferring rather to till the soil than to engage in

¹⁷Journal of Dennison Emer Harris From October 13, 1899 to October 17, 1901 (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 59.

¹⁸Thomas F. O'Dea, The Mormons (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), 85. "It is a fact little appreciated that the Mormons have been first in agricultural colonization of nearly all the inter-mountain States of today Not drawn by visions of wealth, unless they looked forward to celestial mansions, they sought, particularly, valleys wherein peace and plenty could be secured by labor. Nearly all were farmers and it was from the earth they designed drawing their subsistence and enough wherewith to establish homes." James H. McClintock, Mormon Settlement in Arizona; A Record of Peaceful Conquest of the Desert (Phoenix, Arizona: The Manufacturing Stationers, Inc., 1921), 4. See the article "Ownership of the Soil" in The Deseret Weekly, April 6, 1889, 461 and "More Farmers Wanted," Ibid., June 24, 1893, 5.

¹⁹Raymond J. Reed, "The Mormons in Chihuahua Their Relations with Villa and the Pershing Punitive Expedition, 1910-1912," 2.

other occupations²⁰

Most of what the colonists did was without precedent in this part of Mexico. The natives had farmed no more than was required for their own needs. And their methods and machinery were usually of the most primitive kinds.²¹

The Mormon colonists, once water was provided, immediately commenced a program of producing a wide variety of farm goods. Grains seemed to grow poorly at first, disposing most of the settlers in favor of vegetables. Though after both farmer and soil had been trained, wheat grew very well. And in 1911, the colonists produced and stored 50,000 bushels of the seed.²² But those first years without

²⁰Quoted from the J. S. W.

²¹The United States Consul-General for northern Mexico in 1884-1885 had this to say of Mexican agriculture in this region: "Of this area about two-thirds is suitable for and more or less used for grazing. About one-third in mountains and barrens. The portion which now is and now can be used for cultivation is very small Of this not more than one acre in a hundred is under fence. It is a wonderfully fertile tract and if properly cultivated and irrigated would yield fine crops of corn, cotton, sugar, potatoes and other vegetables, fruits, etc. In this section very little, if any, irrigation is attempted, the rancheros simply putting in a small crop, usually of corn, and trusting to the rains to come in time to make the crop. If they fail they replot and try it again, having but little regard for the time of the year.

"The plow used is the ancient primitive wooden stick with occasionally an iron point. A bundle of brush makes the harrow. The hoes are grub-hoes, and grass is cut by digging it up with the hoe.

"A few American plows have been sold, but the average Mexican rancho has neither money nor inclination to try new tools." Warner P. Sutton, "Trade and Industries of Northern Mexico," United States Consular Reports, no. 49 (January, 1885), 2-3.

²²Edward Milo Webb, *His Ancestors and Descendants*, 28. For more regarding the Mormons' self-sufficient ideal see Arrington, 26, 112-113, 205-238, 324-338; Also see Charles Edwin Cummings, "The Mormon System of Colonization" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1946), 27.

flour were difficult ones. And in the mountains where skill was required to produce even vegetables, the diet at first often consisted of little more than "redroot, pigweed and alfalfa with meat from the abundant game in the region."²³

Juárez was ultimately to become most famous for its fruit. Notwithstanding the years required for orchards to come to maturity, by 1894 visitors were declaring Colonia Juárez to be one of the finest fruit producing districts in the nation.²⁴ On one occasion, in 1892, when late frosts injured a young crop, another appeared to replace it.²⁵ The production of superb apples and pears remains today a distinction of Colonia Juárez recognized throughout the Mexican Republic.²⁶

The region about Colonia Dublan was known as the Egypt of the state of Chihuahua. Cotton, grapes, sweet potatoes, corn and grains of all kinds flourished. Called a "string town" because its length exceeded its width, Colonia Dublán became a center for the storage, sale and shipment of all sorts of agricultural and commercial goods.²⁷

The Sonoran colonies seemed to produce everything in abundance. Wheat, beans, squash, melons, corn and peanuts all grew with ease. Everything which was native to temperate zones and many foods of

²³Thomas C. Romney, A Divinity Shapes Our Ends, 46-48. Though apples, strawberries, blackberries, cabbage, corn and oats were also grown later with success, M.C.M. 110.

²⁴J.S.W.

²⁵The Journal of Henry Eyring, 1835-1902, 68.

²⁶See Hatch, 243-251.

²⁷J.S.W.; The Deseret Weekly, August 8, 1891, 212. M.C.M., 96-99.

tropical origin as well were cultivated there with success.²⁸

Throughout the colonies livestock were raised with great interest and pride. While horses were always a concern with these folk, it was the Marino sheep and the Holstein and Short Horned Durham cattle which occupied most of their attention.²⁹

The large numbers of children in the Mormon families were capable of disposing of the hundreds of gallons of milk produced by the dairy herds. An unexpected abundance of cheese, however, soon proved to be one of the chief sources of income for the pioneer communities. Gertrude S. Romney, whose responsibility it was to milk ten head of cows before she walked to school each morning, describes a typical Mormon dairy, her father's as

a place where many hundreds of pounds of cheese were made. In the store room in the fall could be seen shelves of cheese (which had to be turned and rubbed each day), kegs of butter in brine, salted pork and smoked hams, and a large barrel of molasses; while in the cellar the shelves were filled with bottles and cans of fruit and pans of milk along with jars of cream waiting to be churned. As I remember, Father had about seventy-five cows that had to be milked twice each day.³⁰

It was only through long hours of intensive toil that the lands

²⁸Romney, A Divinity Shapes Our Ends, 114; M.C.M., 119, 123-124.

²⁹The Deseret Weekly, January 13, 1894, 123. Bees were also cultured in most of the colonies.

³⁰Gertrude S. Romney, Sketch of the Life of Brigham Stowell (Typewritten M.S., Brigham Young University Library), 9-10. For more comments regarding the cheese industry see the Journal History (Multi-volume compilation of typescript and news clippings, M.S.S., Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah), 30 October 1893. Hereafter cited as J.H.; Life of Henry Lunt and Family together with a portion of his diary (Typewritten M.S., Brigham Young University Library), 25; Hatch, 54-55; M.C.M., 94, 99.

and livestock were made to yield; many men and women finding in the all absorbing labor an outlet for the anxieties wrought by the crude frontier conditions and heavy sacrifices.³¹ But withal, the colonies were soon known as places where "everything grows to perfection" and to many the region cultivated by the Mormons seemed nothing less than a "veritable Garden of Eden."³²

Circumstances were more burdensome to the women than anyone else. They found the need to weave and fashion clothes from crude fibre an unending task. Baskets, hats and similar items were made from straw and corn husks. But for things made of cloth "they . . . had to go back to spindle swift and reel (sic)"³³ The women were sometimes unable to care for their families from sheer lack of anything to work with. Price W. Nelson, Presiding Elder in Cave Valley, described the circumstances there in the following manner:

The families were all destitute and hungry, there was no way to get clothing or food, except wild turkey and deer. Our clothes were ragged, but clean, when we assembled for church. I was barefooted. My pants had been patched so much it seemed as though there wasn't room for any more, so I put on two pair, turning one backward so the holes wouldn't match.³⁴

But in general, except for the early years when food was piti-

³¹See, e.g., the Autobiographical Sketch of Eunice Stewart Harris, 35.

³²From statements made in the New York Saturday Globe as quoted in The Deseret Weekly, April 11, 1891, 490.

³³Life of Henry Lunt and Family together with a portion of his diary, 19.

³⁴Price W. Nelson, "Experiences of Price W. Nelson," Treasures of Pioneer History, ed. Kate B. Carter (12 vols.; Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1952-1958), III, 219.

fully scarce, the women were well provided with staples for kitchen and table. Vegetables from the family garden, meat from field and stream and milk with all its by-products from the pasture were present in abundance. If sugar, salt or some other item needed to be purchased, eggs and cheese could always be bartered at the local mercantile establishment for the desired exchange.³⁵

Perhaps the best and most telling comment made concerning these pioneer women is that of Amy Romney who tells how

a prize possession of the family is a certificate from the President of Mexico, Porfirio Diaz, bearing his signature, saying that Helaman Pratt's cheese (or cass) was the best made in the Republic of Mexico. Father got the certificate and gold medals--mother did the work.³⁶

To add to the mothers' burden was the omnipresent threat of disease. Epidemics of scarlet fever, diphtheria, typhoid, malaria and even small pox struck every one of the small communities. The lack of screen doors and windows to shield the colonists from swarms of mosquitoes and flies during the warm months of the year increased the incidence of sickness. And there can be little doubt but that the problem of a sanitary water supply was a chief contributor to the colonists'

³⁵The best description of culinary trials and triumphs is that of Nelle Spillsbury Hatch, Colonia Juarez, 50-56. Other accounts may be found in Mildred Christopherson and Alex D. Christofferson, "Peter Julius Christofferson and His Family," Treasures of Pioneer History, III, 228-229; Biographical Sketches of John W. McLaws, Ellen Elsie Bradshaw McLaws, Mary Ellen Owens Bradshaw, Horace Burr Owens, Sally Ann Layne Owens (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 48; Amy P. Pratt Romney "Ranching in Old Mexico," 294; Edward Milo Webb, His Ancestors and Descendants, 26; Thomas C. Romney, Life of Miles P. Romney, 204-205 and the same author's, A Divinity Shapes Our Ends, 38-41.

³⁶Amy P. Pratt Romney, "Ranching in Old Mexico," 295.

woes.³⁷

Chills and fever seemed to be a frequent malady in every home. Quinine and calomel were most often used as remedies when the "chills" invaded a household even though the general concensus held that "the chief values of these medicines lay in the fact that their superlative bitterness enabled the sufferer to forget, for the moment, the diseased condition of his body and the pain incident thereto."³⁸ Malaria was probably the next most frequent cause of illness, occasionally carrying its victims to the grave. Miles P. Romney once had all thirteen of his sons down with the disease.³⁹ When any of the more dangerous sicknesses laid siege to a settlement, a quarantine was placed on the afflicted and every known precaution was taken to prohibit its spreading to other communities.⁴⁰

But with the many trials and hardships of pioneer life, Christian care and kindness was always present in abundance at times of sickness or bereavement. The elders were called in to bless the sick and were always capable of giving encouragement and faith and, when occasion required, to bear fervent testimony of the reality of life beyond the

³⁷Romney, A Divinity Shapes Our Ends, 36-37, 42-43, 130; Romney, Life of Miles P. Romney, 190; It was common for the brethren to choose some likely candidate and then "set her apart" as the official nurse or mid-wife for the community. Hatch, 37; Diary of Winslow Farr, 1856-1899 (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 140. Also see the M. C. M., 83 and The Deseret Weekly, October 21, 1893, 567.

³⁸Romney, Life of Miles P. Romney, 244-245.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Hatch, 36. The Story of Lorenzo Snow Huish (Typewritten M. S. in the possession of Mabel Todd, Salt Lake City, Utah), 38.

grave. Generally though, healthy bodies were the rule rather than the exception in Mexico. And there is commentary on our time as well as their's in the statement of Bishop W. Derby Johnson, Jr. of Colonia Díaz when he chided his parishoners in 1902: "we develop our physical strength to the neglect of our mental faculties."⁴¹

Diplomacy and feelings between the two races in the region proved to be fraught with many difficulties. Few were converted to the faith of the American insurgents. It was 1891 before the first Mexican was baptized, and subsequent conversions followed very slowly.⁴² Yet, frequent contact between the two races was inevitable if for no other reason than that the colonists were required to reserve twenty-five percent of the property in each settlement for occupation by natives.⁴³

It was probably in hopes of satisfying the dual objectives of respecting the law and at the same time implementing the "gathering" which prompted the brethren to settle Mexican converts from the Mexico City Mission in the colonies. The notion of the "gathering" went well with the idea held by many of the missionaries that exposure to American and European ways was necessary if the gospel was to be meaning-

⁴¹Quoted from The Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 124.

⁴²Diary of James Henry Martineau, vol. XI: Miscellaneous Mormon Diaries (Typewritten M. S. S., Brigham Young University Library), 35.

⁴³Elizabeth Hoel Mills, "The Mormon Colonies in Chihuahua After the 1912 Exodus," New Mexico Historical Review, vol. XXIX, no. 3 (July, 1954), 167. Some of the brethren were "called" to study Mexican law and commerce so as to both guide and protect the Mormons in their legal rights. Diary of Winslow Farr 1856-1899, 168; Beatrice Snow Winsor, "My Grandparents Pioneered in Mexico," Treasures of Pioneer History, III, 200-207.

ful in the Mexicans' lives.⁴⁴ Hence, when Alexander F. MacDonald and Apostle Erastus Snow negotiated the purchase of the original 20,000 hectares of land for the colonies in 1885 and were told that the colonies must be composed in part of Mexican natives, they immediately considered the possibility of leading some of the Mexico City converts north to help populate the Chihuahua settlements.⁴⁵

In pursuance of this plan, on December 1, 1886, Helaman Pratt led a company of Mexican-Mormons north from Mexico City to the colonies. They stayed only a very short time. Finding the climate and country foreign to their experience and confronted with the prospect of living in tents or dugouts while giving themselves to long hours of toil, the entire group soon became discouraged. Within a few months nearly every one of these Mexican migrants had made the three month journey by foot back to Mexico City.⁴⁶ The result was a kind of mutual disenchantment between the two peoples.⁴⁷

⁴⁴Above, 56-58, 65-66.

⁴⁵Rey L. Pratt, "History of the Mexican Mission," The Improvement Era, vol. XV, no. 6 (April, 1912), 491-492.

⁴⁶Ibid.; Journal of Henry Eyring, 1835-1902, 64-66; M.C.M., 92; The Deseret News, March 9, 1887, 113.

⁴⁷Henry Eyring, then serving as President of the Mexico City Mission of the Church relates the following: "On account of the return of so many of the Mexican saints, who had failed to make a location at Colonia Juarez and told exaggerated tales of woe and disappointment, it was very difficult to make any headway among the members of the Mexican mission. Nearly all of them believed the false statements about our colony and quite a bitter feeling was engendered by many. The consequence was that two branches of the Church, that at one time were considered among the most flourishing, declared themselves independent from us. In addition, a false prophet arose, who . . . taught all manner of false doctrine." Journal of Henry Eyring, 1835-1902, 65-66.

Generally, feelings were cordial during the early years when there was little disparity of wealth between Mexican and Mormon.⁴⁸ But as the Americans' prosperity increased, the natives soon came to begrudge the invaders their fortunes. Mormons, too, came to view the Mexicans as lazy and primitive. They were, in the words of Edward M. Webb, a people who were eternally content to live on "tortillas (sic) which they patted into thin cakes, sometimes on their bare knee, and baked on a hot rock or tin."⁴⁹ Forgetting their own humble beginnings in the land the saints were sometimes prone to spurn the Mexicans because of their lowly circumstances and crude ways. When, as a young man, Thomas C. Romney was moved by his father from Colonia Juárez to a ranch on the Casas Grandes River, he described what many Mormons undoubtedly felt when required to live in a house which was nothing more than

a Mexican adobe structure with dirt roof and dirt floor and no furniture except of the rudest sort. Worst of all, our neighbors for miles around were Mexicans--a people, up to this time, whom I profoundly disliked.⁵⁰

⁴⁸The Deseret News, September 21, 1887, 574; The Deseret Weekly, May 24, 1890, 722-723; Ibid., October 24, 1891, 589. Also see Daniel W. Jones, Forty Years Among the Indians. A True Yet Thrilling Narrative of the Author's Experiences Among the Natives (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1890), 393-394; and Autobiographies of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Franklin Moffet, vol. XV: Miscellaneous Mormon Diaries (Mimeographed M S. S., Brigham Young University Library), 4.

⁴⁹Edward Milo Webb, His Ancestors and Descendants, 26.

⁵⁰A Divinity Shapes Our Ends, 49. Also see the description of the American Protestant William F. Cloud in his Church and State or Mexican Politics from Cortez to Diaz under X Rays (Kansas City: Peck and Clark, Printers, 1896), 242 passim.

Then, as the years passed, there occurred the unavoidable incidents which would be cited and remembered as evidence of the Mexican's barbarity. Thievery was common. The Mormons even accused the Mexican officials of looting their mail when it passed over the border.⁵¹ And on at least three occasions Mormon efforts to resist the theft of their property by Mexicans led to the murder of the Mormons concerned.⁵²

The colonists' greatest apprehensions, however, undoubtedly came from the threat of Indians. The Sierra Madre mountains in the region of the colonies had been a favorite haunt for Apaches for many generations.⁵³ And Gertrude S. Romney says the colonists were always held in fear of their lives from raiding bands of the savages.⁵⁴

These fears found confirmation in the Thompson family massacre which occurred in the early autumn of 1892. The Thompsons had occupied Cliff Ranch in the Sierra Madres after it had been aban-

⁵¹See, e.g., The Deseret Weekly, November 4, 1893, 640 and Ibid., March 24, 1894, 417; also the M.C.M., 145 passim.

⁵²The cases referred to here involved Wesley N. Norton, Christopher B. Heaton and Agnes Macdonald. See the Diary of Winslow Farr 1856-1899, 141; Pearl Houtz Stock, "Death of Agnes," Treasures of Pioneer History, III, 221-222; The Deseret Weekly, December 7, 1895, 794; Andrew Jenson, Church Chronology (2nd ed.; Salt Lake City: The Deseret News 1899), 210, 217 and the same author's J.S. W.

⁵³See Ralph A. Smith, "Indians in American-Mexican Relations Before the War of 1846," The Hispanic American Historical Review, vol. XLIII, no. 1 (Feb., 1963), 34-63; And Frank C. Lockwood, The Apache Indians (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938); also The Deseret Weekly, August 8, 1891, 211-212.

⁵⁴Gertrude S. Romney, Sketch of the Life of Brigham Stowell, 10.

done in the spring of 1891 by Helaman Pratt. The father had obtained employment some distance from home and had left his family to operate the farm.

One morning as the boys went out to feed the livestock, a band of eight Apaches who had surrounded the buildings of the farm, hiding in the brush and weeds, fired on the boys killing one and wounding the other. The mother on hearing the shots ran out of the house and was immediately attacked herself. After four bullets had been fired into her body and she continued to struggle, the Indians crushed her head with large rocks. A small six year old girl who was being held and slapped by the attackers witnessed the entire massacre. After looting the house of everything they could carry, they loaded the possessions on two of the Thompson's horses and seeming to forget the child, quickly rode away. Left alone, frightened and confused, the little girl heard a voice calling her. It was the wounded sixteen year old who had fallen with the Apaches' first volley. He had hidden himself in the chicken coop and believing himself mortally injured, now sent his sister for help a half mile across the valley. The alarm was sounded throughout the region and Price W. Nelson and others tried vainly to follow and seize the murderers. The Thompson boy recovered but the Indians eluded capture and continued to harass the mountain settlements for several years.⁵⁵

⁵⁵Accounts of the Thompson family massacre may be found in Price W. Nelson, "Experiences of Price W. Nelson," *Treasures of Pioneer History*, III, 220-221; Romney, *Life of Miles P. Romney*, 271-273; *Diary of Winslow Farr 1856-1899*, 77. It was probably these same Indians who were later tracked down and shot by Tom Allen and Martin Harris on November 11, 1900. *Journal of Anthony W. Ivins*, 105-106; Hatch, 87-90.

The most frightening Indian episode experienced by the colonists was their confrontation with the Temoches. The thirty five or forty Mexican and Indian families which constituted the small village of Temoche near Guerrero in Chihuahua, rose in rebellion against the fraud and priestcraft they believed was being foisted upon them by the Catholic Church. Joining together in their allegiance to a Sinoloan mystic, they wandered like gypsies in and about the hills of Chihuahua marauding ranches and small villages as food and materials were needed for their sustenance.⁵⁶

In the early summer of 1893 after raiding the customs house in Palomas and stealing property from some of the Mormons near Colonia Díaz, it was rumored the Temoches were advancing on Colonia Juárez.⁵⁷ Outlying families were moved into town where they shared homes with the already over-crowded Juárez residents. Scouts were posted and the brethren were organized for defense. Eunice S. Harris tells of the tension experienced by the colonists even when, on Sunday, they gathered at the church.

As we were walking to church with a gun along, we were reminded of the early colonization of America. We talked of the conditions that then existed--of John Alden and Priscilla--of Miles Standish, the Indian fighter and compared our present condition to theirs.⁵⁸

⁵⁶Hatch, 90-92; M. C. M. 310-314; The Deseret Weekly, July 22, 1893, 129; Ibid., April 28, 1894, 573. The definitive work here is that of Francisco R. Almada, La rebelión de Tomóchic (Ciudad Chihuahua: Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estudios Históricos, 1938).

⁵⁷Ibid., 92-93; The Deseret Weekly, July 27, 1895.

⁵⁸Autobiographical Sketch of Eunice Stewart Harris, 35-36. Other accounts of this uprising may be found in the journal of Henry Eyring, 1835-1902, 83; Diary of Winslow Farr, 88; J. H., 13 July

Under the able direction of Orson Brown and Miles P. Romney, the Temoches were made to circle around the settlement instead of passing through it as they had intended. And while threats were voiced and some shots were fired there seems to have been no casualties. Later, the Temoches became peaceful, settled in the region and many of them became friends with the Mormons.

Combined with the problems of race relations, hunger and health, were those tragedies which seem to be an inevitable part of the history of any society. William Derby Johnson III was bitten by a wolf and succumbed to hydrophobia.⁵⁹ Hyrum C. Naegle was so badly mangled by a bear in the mountains west of Colonia Pacheco that he soon died from the effects.⁶⁰ And John R. Young, while travelling between Palomas and Deming, New Mexico was shot through the shoulder when a rifle in the jolting wagon was accidentally discharged. The bullet then passed from his shoulder into the thigh of his son, from there it struck his daughter's seven month old infant, killing it instantly, and finally came to rest in the mother of the child herself.⁶¹

But more distressing than such isolated incidents were the destructive droughts and floods. From 1888 until 1893, northern Chihuahua suffered a sever drought. The region about Colonia Diaz

⁵⁸(continued) 1893; Romney, Life of Miles P. Romney, 266-275 and the same author's A Divinity Shapes Our Ends, 60-63.

⁵⁹J. S. W.; M. C. M., 83.

⁶⁰Ibid.; Andrew Jenson, Church Chronology (2nd ed; Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1899), 198.

⁶¹The Deseret Weekly, April 16, 1892, 560.

was without rain for three continuous years. Even in the mountain colonies, water was pathetically scarce. And only by constructing tripods which kept the weakened animals on their feet and thus capable of eating were the colonists able to salvage their herds. In the lower plateau regions animals died by the thousands and grain was produced in such small quantities that Chihuahua was faced with the prospect of famine.⁶² By 1895, however, the rains had come and with them improved conditions. In the words of one reporter from the colonies: "It is the old experience 'after tribulation cometh the blessing,' and we are being rewarded for our patient labors and trust in the Lord. The rains have started the grass and our prospect for plenty of hay is quite encouraging."⁶³

Except for another dry season in 1902, excessive amounts of water proved a greater problem to the colonists than too little of it.⁶⁴ Colonia Díaz seemed continually subject to the danger of a flash flood whenever it rained.⁶⁵ And in early September of 1898, Dublán was flooded and though no lives were lost the community sustained some property damage.⁶⁶ More destructive than any other, however, were

⁶²Autobiographical Sketch of Eunice Stewart Harris, 32-33; Diary of Winslow Farr, 76; The Deseret Weekly, May 16, 1891, 658. And from the same organ the following: August 29, 1891, 310; May 6, 1893, 609-610; October 8, 1893, 483; April 28, 1894, 573-574.

⁶³The Deseret Weekly, August 24, 1895, 291.

⁶⁴J. H., 24 March 1902, 2 April 1902; Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 127. Here again, conditions were so bad that Ivins could report to the authorities in Salt Lake City that even "at Chuichupa drinking water was being hawled (sic). " Ibid.

⁶⁵Sullivan C. Richardson, "Remembering Colonia Diaz," The Improvement Era, vol. XL, no. 5 (May, 1937), 298.

⁶⁶Diary of Winslow Farr, 227.

the torrents loosed by the Bavispe River of Sonora in the autumn of 1905. Striking Colonia Oaxaca at night, the rain swollen current swept away many homes and did irreparable damage to the Oaxaca business district. Colonia Morelos, which sustained only a fraction of the damage inflicted in Oaxaca, lined the shores of the river with its inhabitants who watched organs and other pieces of furniture from the Oaxaca homes float by.⁶⁷ Many saints in and about Oaxaca who had been dispossessed by the flood, left that region completely and pioneered a new settlement near Colonia Morelos.⁶⁸

Amid their heavy labors and anxieties, however, the Mormons never forgot the importance of recreation. In addition to the many games played by the children, the colonists held frequent dances and other social activities.⁶⁹ Using such occasions to release pent up emotional energy, these dances and sometimes the dramatic productions as well partook of that robust spirit which has always prevailed on the frontier. Even though round dancing of all kinds was prohibited and all dances were opened and closed with prayer, still, the excitement and enthusiasm engendered on such occasions would almost always get out of control.

⁶⁷J. S. W.; Leah Haymore Kartchner, John Adrum Haymore, *A Biography* (Mimeographed M. S., in possession of Franklin D. Haymore Family, Provo, Utah), 9-10; Romney, *A Divinity Shapes Our Ends*, 126-127; Edward Milo Webb, *His Ancestors and Descendants*, 25.

⁶⁸Above, 108 n.

⁶⁹"Life at times was irksome and monotonous, the hours of toil were long and tedious but this made the moments of leisure the more refreshing." Romney, *Life of Miles P. Romney*, 206.

It was a jolly good-natured crowd that seemed to be without a care and, at times, certain of the impulsive youth, especially, would abandon themselves to capers and antics which today would likely be termed boistrous conduct. Not uncommon was it to see a young man swing his lady a half-dozen times around when the rules of the dance would suggest not more than twice. At times, too, the noise of laughter and conversation was almost deafening and impinged on the sensitive natures of the more sedate members of the group.⁷⁰

Other kinds of recreation included the drama and molasses pullings. The dramatic productions of Miles P. Romney created a tradition which is still looked back upon as a standard of excellence by which to judge contemporary efforts.⁷¹ And Miles' son, Thomas, tells of the "molasses candy pullings" which in Juárez

were held at the mill several miles out of town where the molasses was manufactured, making it necessary to go by team and wagon. Those hayrack rides can never be forgotten by the participants, especially if taken under the refulgent light of a Mexico full moon.⁷²

The basic building block of Mormon society, by church precept, is the family. And in Mexico where the communities were small and distant from larger urban centers, family activity dominated all others. Singing, prayers and reading were common in every home. And of all forms of recreation none were more enjoyed than those gatherings of

⁷⁰Ibid., 208-209; Romney, A Divinity Shapes Our Ends, 57. In Morelos, Edward M. Webb tells how dances were held monthly with extra ones on holidays. "There the girls sat on one side of the hall and the boys on the other until the numbers were called to 'fill up the floor' then the rollicing (sic) fun began. Everyone in town attended them and since no round dances were approved, all immensely (sic) enjoyed the schottische, polka, virginia reel and vigorous quadrilles." Edward Milo Webb, His Ancestors and Descendants, 26; Also Hatch, 73-79.

⁷¹Romney, Life of Miles P. Romney, Hatch, 71-73.

⁷²Ibid., 243.

two or three families about the fireplace with father presiding in patriarchal fashion. In the later years when organs could be found in so many Latter-day Saint homes, the evening's activity usually centered about this object of family pride. Thomas C. Romney was only one of many who could say, "these occasions were never to be forgotten and are among my fondest memories."⁷³

With regard to education, the Mormons had, from the very beginning of their history, made every possible effort to assure adequate schooling for their youth. Commandments considered to be divine had been given concerning learning.⁷⁴ And holding to beliefs like those which asserted that "the glory of God is intelligence" and "it is impossible for a man to be saved in ignorance," there was little chance that schools would be neglected in any Mormon community.⁷⁵

Before permanent tracts of land had been purchased for the colonists to settle on, instruction was very informal being provided in most cases by individual parents. As soon as the places of settlement were secured and decided upon, the construction of schools took top priority. United States Consul Charles W. Kindrick later said of the

⁷³Romney, A Divinity Shapes Our Ends, 59; "It was in Diaz that we had our happiest times together in our large adobe house with its front room It was here the neighbors came for parties and dances while our father's cousin, Stephen Wilson played the violin and we accompanied him on the organ. Sister Azie used to play the organ while we gathered around and sang." Esther Lewis, Life of David J. Wilson (Typewritten M. S., in the possession of the Franklin D. Haymore Family, Provo, Utah), 4-5.

⁷⁴The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Published by the Church, 1948), Sec's 8:1, 11; 88:78-79; 89:19; 93:24; 53; 121:26-42; 130:19. Hereafter cited as Doc. and Cov.

⁷⁵Ibid., 93:36; 131:6.

Mexican colonists, "it is the policy of the Mormons to erect school houses before churches and temples."⁷⁶

A crude "stockade" was quickly erected on the original site of Colonia Juárez. With no more than a mid roof and floor and a few quickly improvised slab benches, the school commenced its work in early 1886. During the fifty-four day interim between the date of purchase and completion of the stockade, Annie W. Romney taught most of the children in her dugout.⁷⁷ Classes in the stockade ranged from beginners to students in their late teens and all, of course, shared the building's single room. Supplies and books were practically non-existent, "and in the absence of note books, we used slates which were often wet with saliva and then wiped clean with the sleeves of our shirts."⁷⁸

Until the Juárez Academy was built in 1897, the colonies enjoyed no more than a grammar school in each of their settlements. The same structure which was used for church usually functioned as the school-house as well. In some instances, it was several years before a building was constructed for the separate purpose of schooling. And in many cases, the teachers' wages were paid in kind rather than cash.⁷⁹

⁷⁶Charles W. Kindrick, "The Mormons in Mexico," The American Monthly Review of Reviews, vol. XIX, no. 6 (June, 1899), 704.

⁷⁷Hatch, 149-150. Romney, A Divinity Shapes Our Ends, 51-52.

⁷⁸Romney, A Divinity Shapes Our Ends, 51; M.C.M., 87-88.

⁷⁹Autobiographical Sketch of Eunice Stewart Harris, 31; Romney, Life of Miles P. Romney, 182-183, 246, 257-258; and the same author's A Divinity Shapes Our Ends, 39; Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 107; M.C.M., 100.

The Juárez Academy which served as a high school for students from all the colonies was supported by a tax of 8% levied on the income of all the Mexico Mormons.⁸⁰ Following the first commencement ceremony in 1901, the Academy graduation exercises became the most important event of the year. The school's reputation for excellence under the principalship of Guy C. Wilson spread far. Mormon and non-Mormon youths from both Chihuahua and Sonora and from as far north as Mesa, Arizona and as far south as Mexico City came to attend the school.⁸¹ And local pride was reinforced when the Mormon youth frequently proved superior to gentile communities on the athletic field as, for example, when on May 4, 1907 Anthony W. Ivins entered in his diary that "this afternoon the J.S.A. boys beat El Paso High School at baseball and in the evening at basketball as well."⁸²

The chief monitor and coordinating agency of life in the colonies was the church. If the same building served for religion, social activities and school, it was, first of all, a church house. With members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles often living among them, the Mexico colonists felt their lives to be touched to an unusual extent by religion. The law of tithing was strictly obeyed. Since currency was often difficult to come by, the "Lord's Tenth" was often paid to the

⁸⁰Romney, Life of Miles P. Romney, 278-279.

⁸¹Ibid., 246-247, 278, 280; Autobiographical Sketch of Eunice Stewart Harris, 37-39. Whereas Mexican youth were not refused entrance to the school, they seem not to have been encouraged to attend until about 1908. The Deseret Weekly, May 6, 1893, 609-610; Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 170. A list of Juárez Academy graduates may be found in Hatch, 280-288.

⁸²Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 166.

bishop in kind.⁸³ In Morelos, every head of family was expected to donate Saturday to labor on some church-sponsored project.⁸⁴ And throughout the colonies the Sabbath was always observed as a sanctified and holy day.⁸⁵

The colonies were originally presided over by the president of the Mexican Mission whose concern lay with both the colonies and with the missionary work centering in Mexico City. With the rapid growth of the Chihuahua settlements and the consequent magnitude of responsibility connected with them, it was decided to organize the colonies into a regular stake of the church. Hence, on October 9, 1895, Anthony W. Ivins was called and set apart as president of the Juárez Stake of Zion.⁸⁶ With Henry Eyring and Helaman Pratt as his counselors, Ivins proceeded to organize and direct the affairs of the stake in a manner which was to so distinguish him that in 1907 he was called to return to Salt Lake City and there serve as one of the Twelve Apostles.⁸⁷ Acting as a

⁸³See, e.g., the case of Sarah Lunt. *Life of Henry Lunt and Family together with a portion of his diary*, 26.

⁸⁴Story of Lorenzo Snow Huish, 41.

⁸⁵See, e.g., the instance when the famous "Cinco de Mayo" celebration was delayed because it fell on a Sunday. *Biographical Sketches of John W. McLaws, Ellen Elsie Bradshaw McLaws, Mary Ellen Owens Bradshaw, Horace Burr Owens, Sally Ann Layne Owens*, 51.

⁸⁶Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 52-53. Both Romney in his Life Story of Miles P. Romney, 277 and Jenson in Church Chronology, 210, set the date for Ivin's ordination as December 9, 1895. Hatch in Colonia Juarez, 144 cites December 8 as the date.

⁸⁷Ivins was paid \$500.00 per year for his services in the capacity of Juárez Stake President. *Journal of Anthony W. Ivins*, 80, 169. For more concerning the life and career of Ivins see the *M.C.M.*, 130-140; Romney, Life Story of Miles P. Romney, 277; Hatch, 144-148.

group of advisors and assistants to the stake presidency was the High Council, a group of men chosen for their ability and righteousness. There were then the bishoprics and Ward organizations which controlled affairs on the local level.

In every instance, the bulk of responsibility remained with the local bishoprics. And here the labor of policy formation was usually shifted to the shoulders of the brethren of the priesthood.⁸⁸ Church government in the colonies was, in most of its aspects, indubitably democratic.

The following account of a priesthood meeting in Colonia Oaxaca in early February of 1899 which had been called by President Ivins to settle differences between the bishopric and ward members illustrates well the democratic temper and approach which characterized the brethren in nearly all of their church dealings.

In the evening a priesthood meeting was held at which the brethren present were asked to express themselves regarding the bishopric.

P. C. Haynie first spoke. He thought there should either be a change of policy or a change in the Bishopric.

D. C. Naegle thought a change in the bishopric would be beneficial but could sustain the present administration if retained.

Bro. Clemens would sustain the bishopric but thought there should be a change in policy.

F. D. Haymore could not sustain the bishoprick (sic) under the circumstances.

James Mortensen could not sustain the bishoprick (sic).

E. D. Nichols could sustain the bishoprick (sic). Was satisfied with them.

P. C. Dillman thought the bishoprick (sic) was all right if they would sustain themselves. The counselors had both said they wanted to resign.

⁸⁸The rights, powers and blessings of priesthood authority in the Mormon church are available to every young man of honor and virtue after his twelfth birthday. See the Doc. and Cov., Sec's 20 and 107.

Bro. Nelson thought there should be a change.

Alma Hawkins was satisfied with the bishoprick (sic) personally. But from what he heard thought that either the bishoprick or else the people should reform.

First Counsellor N. A. Terry said the bishoprick (sic) were united so far as he knew.

Second Counselor (sic) H. F. Langford said he was willing to act if the people so desired, but would willingly retire.

Bishop Frank Scott said he was in error in his controversy with Bro. Mortensen but asked his pardon, which was not granted, Bro. Mortensen refusing reconciliation. He had no ill feeling toward any member of the ward and desired to do his duty.

A vote was taken on the bishoprick (sic) with the following result:

Fifteen men voted to sustain the Bishop and 14 voted against him.

Fourteen votes were cast to sustain Bro. Terry and 15 against him.

Nineteen votes were cast for Bro. Langford and 10 against him. Meeting was adjourned.⁸⁹

But with all of its frontier individualism, the church succeeded in creating an atmosphere in which every facet of life was viewed as having religious connotation. Violence, infractions of the rigid moral code and even marital problems were reviewed by the bishoprics and priesthood, the judgements and penalties imposed always being considered final.⁹⁰

In addition to various ward convocations, the entire stake met together quarterly. At these conferences which were held alternately at Juárez and Díaz, Ivins and other high authorities from Salt Lake City would bless and instruct the people. Typical of the many conferences held was the one reported to the Deseret Weekly in June of 1894. Here,

⁸⁹All taken from the Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 83-84.

⁹⁰As examples here see the Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 84, 128-129; Journal of Dennison Emer Harris , 61; Story of Lorenzo S. Huish, 41.

the subjects dwelt upon were home industries, raising our bread, paying our debts, proper training of our children, paying of tithing and the necessity of enjoying the spirit of the Lord in all our labors. The spirit of the Lord was poured out abundantly upon the speakers and hearers, who all feel the necessity of living nearer to the Lord, and becoming as far as possible self sustaining.⁹¹

The result of all such provision and teaching was a remarkably high level of honesty, morality and Christian ethics generally. The streets of the colonies were free from profanity, doors could confidently be left unlocked, there was no liquor and very little tobacco consumed, and the tithing returns were reputed to be the highest in the Church. It is not surprising that Apostle Hyrum M. Smith, after a visit to the colonies in 1903, could say that "the social conditions there were well-nigh perfect."⁹²

But of the many advantages and circumstances offered by the Mexico colonies, perhaps none carried such appeal as that which promised no "ever present Deputy U.S. Marshal, who says 'You are under arrest, sir!'"⁹³ Large numbers, perhaps a majority, of those Mormons who moved to Mexico did so because of polygamy.

The patriarchal order thus came to be a hallmark of Mormon society in Mexico. And with the order and discipline, the respect and unity of family activity came many, many children. Benjamin F. Johnson, when he died in 1905, could number his posterity at nearly

⁹¹June 16, 1894, 832.

⁹²Romney, A Divinity Shapes Our Ends, 110; Also J.S.W.; The Deseret Weekly, March 17, 1894, 411; June 9, 1894, 799-800; August 17, 1895, 269.

⁹³The Deseret News, July 11, 1888, 414.

800 souls.⁹⁴ One "gentile" observer who visited the colonies in the late 1880's described the circumstances there in the following way:

One man has seven wives and forty-two children, all living in the same yard, but not in the same house. Each "sister," as they call each other, has a separate house of her own and separate household equipments, etc. To ride up to a mormon's house would cause you to think that you had struck a school or a college to judge from the number of children to be seen around the premises.⁹⁵

Children were taught to honor the principle of plural marriage as a divine commandment.⁹⁶ Many believed that only by adherence to the practice could one be assured of exaltation in the life to come.⁹⁷ There were also rumors that the law of plural marriage would never be suspended and that President Snow had prophesied that there would be children born under the law until the Second Coming of the Saviour.⁹⁸

⁹⁴History of Benjamin Franklin Johnson (Typewritten M.S., in possession of Franklin D. Haymore Family, Provo, Utah), 4.

⁹⁵G. W. Campbell in a letter to E. Ben George. "Notes and Documents," New Mexico Historical Review, vol. XXXV, no. 4 (October, 1960), 329.

⁹⁶See the Doc. and Cov., Sec. 132; Esther W. Lewis, Life of Julia D. Wilson (Typewritten M.S., in the possession of the Franklin D. Haymore Family, Provo, Utah), 4.

⁹⁷See, e.g., Journal of Discourses By President Brigham Young, His Counselors and the Twelve Apostles. (26 vols.; Liverpool: Printed and Published by Joseph F. Smith, 1877), 20:26-31; 26:115. Fundamentalist sects still reverence a revelation supposedly given to President John Taylor in September of 1886 wherein he quotes the Lord as saying of polygamy, "I have not revoked this law, nor will I, for it is everlasting, and those who will enter into my glory must obey the conditions thereof; even so, Amen." 1886 Revelation (n.p.: 1963). Cf. the speech delivered by Anthony W. Ivins in 1903, entitled "Can a person who has never been in the law of plural marriage enter the Celestial Kingdom"? Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 143.

⁹⁸History of Victoria Hancock Jackson (Typewritten M.S., in Possession of the Victoria H. Jackson Family, Provo, Utah), 4-5.

All of this combined with the habit of tradition to firmly root the institution in the mind and emotions of the people.

Thus, when President Woodruff issued the Manifesto in 1890 which forbade the contracting of any further plural marriages, much more than theory and doctrine was affected. While there was definite diminution of plural marriages, the practice, by force of custom and tradition, continued. And the Mexican colonies which were outside the pale of United States law thus came to be viewed as beyond the prohibition of the Manifesto itself. President Ivins was given authority to contract plural marriages and the apostles who periodically visited the colonies would consummate the marriage with a "sealing" ceremony. Following this, couples were always admonished to visit one of the church's temples whenever possible and there receive the sacred "endowments."⁹⁹

All seemed to go well until the congressional seat of Apostle Reed Smoot was challenged in Congress. The famous hearings which resulted from this contest in 1904 revealed the continuation of plural marriages, the Manifesto notwithstanding, in Mexico and elsewhere.¹⁰⁰ In order to escape accusations of duplicity, President Joseph F. Smith

⁹⁹Interview with Stanley S. Ivins, November 16, 1962, Salt Lake City, Utah; Leah Haymore Kartchner, John Adrum Haymore, *A Biography*, 12; Diary of Winslow Farr, 91; Kimball Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1954); See the list of marriages performed by Anthony W. Ivins at the close of the Journal of Anthony W. Ivins.

¹⁰⁰U. S., Congress, Senate, Proceedings Before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the U. S. Senate in the Matter of the Protests Against the Right Honorable Reed Smoot , 59th Cong., 1st Sess., 1906, Sen. Doc., 486, 4 vols.

called for a complete termination of all marriages beyond the first monogamous union permitted by United States Law. But even then, some plural marriages continued to be performed and two Apostles had to be stripped of their authority and disfellowshipped because of their failure to yield before this "second Manifesto" of 1904.¹⁰¹

There can be little doubt that if the large families incident to Mormon marriage practices created a burden for the pioneers of Mexico, the many helping hands also made heavy labors somewhat lighter. Moreover, the talent and leadership which has been displayed by the children of this polygamous generation is remarkable.¹⁰²

But to view the Mormon colonization effort in Mexico as nothing more than an undertaking in escape, as only a forced pilgrimage in search of refuge is to forget that these Mormons were also Americans. That the colonists continued to identify themselves with the United States and that they engaged in activities which would impress the Mexican as being typically Yankee constitutes the narrative of the next chapter.

¹⁰¹Perhaps the best account and analysis of the Smoot Hearings and the polygamy question is that of William Preston, Jr., "The Watershed of Mormon History, 1890-1910" (Master's Thesis, Columbia University, 1950), esp. pp. 67-74. Also see the Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 105, 149, 157, 159, 160, 173, 188, 189; Romney, Life Story of Miles P. Romney, 282-283; Kimball Young, Isn't One Wife Enough? 415, 420; Biographical Sketches of John W. McLaws, Ellen Elsie Bradshaw McLaws, Mary Ellen Owens Bradshaw, Horace Burr Owens, Sally Ann Layne Owens, 56; Charles W. Kindrick, "The Mormons in Mexico," 704-705; "The Mormons in Mexico," The World's Work, vol. XXXI, no. 5 (March, 1916), 484.

¹⁰²See Romney's chapter "The Human Product" in the M. C. M., 264-284.

CHAPTER VI

There can be little disagreement that the anti-polygamy crusade in the United States was the seminal cause of Mormon migration to Mexico. But, as with all historical events, many factors contrived to surround and reinforce this dominant impulse.

One of the developments of most definite impact on the Mormon kingdom during the last two decades of the nineteenth century was the rapid disappearance of land.¹ As early as 1850 Canute Peterson, a Mormon convert from Norway, was distraught because "all the land in both Salt Lake and Davis counties had been taken up."² The commonwealth continued to extend itself in all directions until by 1877, Brigham

¹"The prime economic problem of Mormon Country in the late 1870's and early 1880's was overpopulation. In every valley there were signs that the continued flow of immigration, and the natural increase in population, had filled up the land. Young married couples were not able to find farms; older people found themselves underemployed." Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1900 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 354-355, 382-383; also Gustive O. Larson, Outline History of Utah and the Mormons (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1958), 73. The Mormon Prophet, Joseph Smith, had foreseen this as a contingency to growth of the Church, but was promised that when "the day cometh when there is no more room for them . . . then I have other places which I will appoint unto them, and they shall be called stakes, for the curtains or the strength of Zion." The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Published by the Church, 1948), Sec. 101:21.

²Edith P. Christiansen, Canute Peterson From Norway to America (Provo, Utah: Published by the author, n.d.), 37.

Young could assert:

We can now see the growth of the Latter-day Saints, and it is marvelous to us to see the multitude of little towns springing up here and there, and we are under the necessity of saying, Give us more room, for the older settlements are thickening up, and the people are spreading out and filling up new valleys continually.³

The Jones expedition of 1875-76 was sent to Arizona and Mexico in large part "to look for country to settle, as we were growing and wished new country; . . ."⁴ And by 1880, Apostle Erastus Snow was telling how "the families of the Saints are increasing greatly in these valleys and are constantly saying, 'give us room that we may dwell.' " Combining geographical need with Mormon theology he counselled the saints to "go south. Men are needed who understand irrigation and who will be good missionaries."⁵

Southern Arizona, like other regions of Mormon settlement in the west, soon found itself fully occupied. James Z. Stewart who labored in Tubac as a missionary in 1877 told Brigham Young "this

³Journal of Discourses By President Brigham Young, His Counselors and the Twelve Apostles (26 vols.; Liverpool: Printed and Published by Joseph F. Smith, 1877), XVIII, 355.

⁴Daniel W. Jones, Forty Years Among the Indians. A True Yet Thrilling Narrative of the author's Experiences Among the Natives (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1890), 253. cf. The Deseret News, March 31, 1880, 135 and Ibid., May 5, 1880, 216.

⁵The Deseret News, June 2, 1880, 286. Mormon settlement in Canada was begun at about this same time and undoubtedly from a similar combination of causes. See Brigham H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I (6 vols.; Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), VI, 274-276; also see Andrew Jenson, Church Chronology (2nd ed.; Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1899), 149.

country is better than the north part of the territory from the fact that the land is as good if not better, the water is good and regular, and the climate more pleasant."⁶ It didn't take the saints in Utah and elsewhere long to respond to the notice that along the San Pedro River there were "thousands of acres of government land open for pre-emption, and room for hundreds of settlers"⁷ The result was that in less than a decade, Peter A. Lofgreen could report that in this same area there was room only "for a few more families with little means."⁸

Closely allied to the land problem was the restlessness and ephemeral attraction to adventure and easy wealth which baited so many of America's frontier generation.⁹ Daniel W. Jones was not untypical when in 1890 he declared: "'Go west, young man,' is now obsolete; there is no west to go to, so the pioneer must either turn to the northern

⁶Quoted in Mariam Stewart, *The Story of James Z. Stewart* (Microfilm of typewritten M.S., Utah State University, Logan, Utah), 18.

⁷The Deseret News Weekly, February 18, 1880, 41 and Ibid., March 24, 1880, 122.

⁸"Letter from St. David," The Deseret Weekly, January 19, 1889, 105.

⁹Though it must be remembered that generally the interests of the Mormon pioneer were genuine and substantial. The permanent homes and communities which they left are sufficient evidence of this. In the words of one observer: "It must be acknowledged that these people were wilderness breakers of high quality. They not only broke it, but they kept it broken; and instead of the gin mill and the gambling hell, as corner stones for their progress, and as examples to the natives of white men's superiority, they planted orchards, gardens, farms, schoolhouses, and peaceful homes. There is today, no part of the United States where human life is safer than in the land of the Mormons, no place where there is less lawlessness." Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, Breaking the Wilderness (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905), 307.

plains of Canada or the mountain valleys of Mexico, or allow the heel of civilization to be placed upon his neck for all time."¹⁰ But for expression of the pioneer spirit with its habituated taste for the primitive and difficult, none surpass that of Lewis Barney who, after farming various locations in Utah and Arizona, could say of his new homestead in Lunas Valley, New Mexico in 1884: "the melons weigh about fifty pounds and the other crops are in proportion, the corn is ten feet high and the grain to my arm pits, but we are very discouraged with the country."¹¹ These things considered there is little wonder that "somehow, in the divine ordering of things mundane, the Mormons generally were very near the van of Anglo-Saxon settlement . . . west of the Rockies."¹²

Combined with the land problem and the pioneer spirit was the fever of imperialism then sweeping the nation. It is significant that the primary years of Mormon colonial endeavor in Mexico correspond almost exactly with what William L. Langer has called "the height of the imperialist tide . . . 1885 to 1914."¹³ Located as they were on the

¹⁰Forty Years Among the Indians, 385, also, 308, 347, 383.

¹¹Autobiography of Lewis Barney (Typewritten M.S., in possession of the L. K. Barney family, Provo, Utah), 99.

¹²James H. McClintock, Mormon Settlement in Arizona A Record of Peaceful conquest of the Desert (Phoenix: The Manufacturing Stationers Inc., 1921), 38. Also see the following: Journal History (Multi-volume compilation of typescript and newsclipping M.S.S., Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah), 14 September 1885, 10 February 1888. Hereafter cited as J.H.; The Deseret Weekly, December 23, 1893, 27; Journal of Jesse Nathaniel Smith, The Life Story of A Mormon Pioneer 1834-1906 (Salt Lake City: Jesse N. Smith Family Association, 1953), 294-295.

¹³William L. Langer, "A Critique of Imperialism," Foreign Affairs, vol. XIV, no. 1 (October, 1935), 104.

border of an undeveloped and pre-industrial nation, the Mormons could not help being sensitively aware of the financial opportunities which lay at their door.

Since before the war with the United States, Mexico had struggled with the problem of development and defense in the northern provinces. Efforts to colonize natives in the region had largely failed and the scourge of Indian depredations, plagues and famine which periodically swept the area were a discouraging burden to national officials.¹⁴ There was even speculation on both sides of the border concerning the possibility and wisdom of selling the entire region to the United States.¹⁵

Unwilling to abide the machinations of politics and diplomacy, American businessmen had been quick to respond to the cordiality tendered foreign investors following the Liberal reforms of the late 1860's and early 1870's. Interest in Lower California, stimulated by rumors that the United States would soon purchase the peninsula, brought rampant speculation, a multitude of colonization schemes and, finally, the fiasco that was the "Magdalena bubble."¹⁶

¹⁴One of the best sources here remains that of Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of the North Mexican States and Texas, vol. II, 1801-1889, vol. XVI: The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, (San Francisco: The History Company Publishers, 1889), 612-613, 616-617 ff, 744; and the same author's History of Mexico, vol. V, 1824-1861, vol. XIII: The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, 572-575; Ibid., VI, 490-491, 500-501. Also see George McCutchen McBride, The Land Systems of Mexico (New York: American Geographical Society, 1923), 90-94.

¹⁵Bancroft, History of Mexico, VI, 462-463. As late as the early 1880's Moses Thatcher was discussing this possibility with Mexican officials in Mexico City. The Journals of Moses Thatcher, 1866-1881 (6 vols; Microfilm of original M.S.S., Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah), III, 52-53.

¹⁶John Ross Browne, Explorations in Lower California 1868

Chihuahua and Sonora came in for greatest attention in the 1880's. Land, mines, railroads and later oil, all promised lucrative returns to Yankee entrepreneurs. In 1885, J. Harvey Brigham, United States Consul at Paso Del Norte, declared "the rapidly growing business of the consulate is proof sufficient of the energy and enterprise of the American people, . . ." ¹⁷ And by 1888, the New York World, after describing opportunities for investment in Mexico's northern states, encouraged those interested to hasten as "a strong tide of emigration has set in." ¹⁸

¹⁶ (continued) (Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1952), 746; Ruth Elizabeth Kearney, "The Magdalena Bubble," The Pacific Historical Review, vol. IV, no. 1 (March, 1935), 25-38.

¹⁷ "Growing importance of Paso Del Norte," Commercial Relations of the United States with Foreign Countries During the Years 1885 and 1886 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887), I, 896; also Leon Barri Jr., "Chihuahua y Su Cultura A Través De Los Siglos," Historia Mexicana, vol. III, num. 3 (Enero-Marzo, 1954), 538.

¹⁸ Quoted in The Deseret News, August 8, 1888, 474. For more regarding the insurgence of American enterprise in northern Mexico during this period see the following: Warner P. Sutton, "Trade and industries of Northern Mexico," United States Consular Reports, no. 49 (January, 1885), 1-12; Frank A. Knapp, "Precursors of American Investment in Mexican Railroads," Pacific Historical Review, vol. XXI, no. 1 (March, 1952), 43-64; Frederick A. Ober, Travels in Mexico and Life Among the Mexicans (St. Louis: T. N. James and Company, 1883), 416-419, 433, 443-444; Hallie M. McPherson, "The Plan of William McKendree Gwin for a colony in North Mexico, 1863-1865," The Pacific Historical Review, vol. II, No. 3 (September, 1933), 357-386; David M. Pletcher, "Mexico, Campo De Inversiones Norte-americanas: 1867-1880," Historia Mexicana, vol. II, Num. 4 (Abril-Junio, 1953), 564-574; Merrill Rippey, "The Mexican Oil Industry," Essays in Mexican History, ed. Thomas E. Cotner (Austin: The Institute of Latin American Studies, 1958), 248-267; Thomas A. Robertson, A Southwestern Utopia (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1947); Grant Shepherd, The Silver Magnet, Fifty Years in a Mexican Silver Mine (New York: E. P. Dulton & Co., Inc., 1938).

Mormon economic philosophy at this same time was maturing into an attitude of thoroughgoing capitalism. Apostle Moses Thatcher in December of 1880, remarked on the "tendency" then apparent among members of the Church "to draw off from cooperation in business affairs and to increase individual enterprises."¹⁹ It was this which prompted Bernard DeVoto to say "Mormonism was developing not in the direction of Rochdale, New Harmony, the Oneida Community, Brook Farm, the United Order or the Kingdom of God--but in the direction of Standard Oil."²⁰ Undoubtedly, it was this same propensity which prompted President John Taylor, when he "called" Christopher Layton in 1883 to make preparations for a Mormon Colony in Mexico, to instruct him that his first responsibility was to build up the Kingdom, and not to be concerned with speculation and money making schemes.²¹

As early as 1881, a number of Arizona Mormons had toured the northern Mexican provinces and had found "parties from Utah" estab-

¹⁹The Journals of Moses Thatcher, 1866-1881, III, 115.

²⁰Forays and Rebuttals (Boston: Little Brown, and Company, 1936), 122. One disgruntled apostate described Mormonism in the 1880's this way: "Don't call it religion. I've been through it from the bottom up to the Endowment House. My father had five wives. I tell you there is no religion about it. Its business. Thats all it is." From the St. Louis Globe Democrat as quoted in The Deseret Weekly, September 21, 1889, 385. Also see Arrington, 383 passim; Dean Depew McBrien, "The Influence of the Frontier on Joseph Smith" (Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, George Washington University, 1929). Cf. Hamilton Gardner, "Cooperation Among the Mormons," The Quarterly Journal of Economics, vol. XXXI (May, 1917), 461-499; and Howard R. Lamar, "Political Patterns in New Mexico and Utah Territories 1850-1900," Utah Historical Quarterly, vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (Oct., 1960), 381.

²¹The Diary of Wilford Woodruff, 7 February 1883, as per notes loaned to the author by Leonard J. Arrington, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

lishing businesses there.²² After examining various land offers in early 1885, Alexander F. Macdonald is reported to have written to President Taylor that "if we don't make a stand in this country now while we have a chance, others will come in and pick the best fruit."²³ Henry Eyring, in writing an apologetic article in defense of Mormon activity in Mexico, directly identified the colonists with other American investors and undertakings then being so favorably received by the Mexican government.²⁴ And by 1891, Frederick Schwatka could report to the New York Star that Mormon financial success

has already invited the more avaricious but less coldly calculating Gentiles and, while it is putting it a little strong to say there is a boom, or indication of one . . . yet our conscience is not disturbed in saying that we can at least agree with the great American poet that 'we hear the first low wash of waves where soon shall roll a human sea.'²⁵

Invitations from the colonists to their brethren in Utah often took the form of an assertion that in Mexico "merchants and dealers here are all interested in the 'Mormon' trade . . ."²⁶ and James H. Martineau in a letter sent to The Deseret Weekly, entitled "The Prospects in Chihuahua," claimed the province to be "full of natural advantages, most

²²The Deseret News, June 22, 1881, 322.

²³As quoted in Nelle Spilsbury Hatch, Colonia Juarez, An Intimate Account of A Mormon Village (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1954), 15.

²⁴See his letter to the editor of the Mexican Financier as reproduced in Warner P. Sutton's "Mormons," House Miscellaneous Documents, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., 1887-'88, XXIII, 576; Also see "Mexican Progress," The Deseret News, June 29, 1887, 876.

²⁵As quoted in The Deseret Weekly, July 20, 1889, 97-98.

²⁶Ibid., January 17, 1891, 105; also Ibid., September 12, 1896, 412.

of which lie dormant for want of American energy and vim to utilize them."²⁷ Soon, the stream of settlers was so large that some of the brethren were making a business out of transporting and guiding new arrivals to the church holdings.²⁸

Notwithstanding a decline in the number of polygamous marriages in the late 1880's and the relative amnesty which followed the Manifesto in 1890, Mormon settlers continued to surge across the line into Mexico. Joseph Jackson, a contractor and builder from Ogden, Utah, removed to Colonia Dublán and installed what was considered to be one of the finest water power roller mills in the Mexican Republic.²⁹ Henry Eyring's Juárez Cooperative Mercantile Institution was watched by Mormon and gentile alike as an experiment to see if similar ventures would be profitable. When he declared a 25% dividend at the end of the first year of operation, others soon followed.³⁰ A little later, the Haymore Mercantile establishment was able to pay a 100% dividend after only six months of management.³¹ There is some basis then for the contention that Mormon enterprise in Mexico was "the result of the overflow of an industrious and energetic population There is

²⁷Ibid., July 4, 1891, 64.

²⁸Ibid., January 17, 1891, 105.

²⁹Andrew Jenson, Juárez Stake Wards (Typewritten M. S., Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah). Hereafter cited as J. S. W.

³⁰Hatch, 32-34.

³¹Leah Haymore Kartchner, John Adrum Haymore, A Biography (Mimeographed M. S., in possession of Franklin D. Haymore Family, Provo, Utah), 5.

nothing hap-hazard about it. There is no exodus about it. It is growth, and nothing more or less. The Mormon leaders are the Yankey (sic) pioneer settlers of Mexico, as they were of Utah."³²

Another influence of considerable magnitude during these years was the rising sentiment for Pan American union. And the coincidence of an awareness of common hemispheric interests with the stupendous growth of United States economic power gave North Americans a feeling of paternal responsibility and sometimes of superiority over their Latin American neighbors. In the same year that Secretary of State James G. Blaine issued the call for a Pan American Conference, 1881, he could talk of the United States' "rightful and long established claim to priority on the American continent."³³ And Richard Olney, in 1895, echoed this same assumption in asserting that "the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subject to which it confines its interposition."³⁴

It is likely that, as Alfredo Colmo said in 1921, the Pan American ideal was more "fancy" than fact.³⁵ But in these early years as

³²"Mormons in Mexico" from the Troy, New York Daily Times as quoted in The Deseret Weekly, August 8, 1891, 194-195.

³³U.S., Congress, House, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 47th Cong., 1st Sess., 1882, Exec. Doc. I, Pt. 1, 555.

³⁴Ibid., 54th Cong., 1st Sess., 1896, House Doc. 1, Pt. 1, 558. Excellent commentaries on American imperialism may be found in Dexter Perkins, A History of the Monroe Doctrine (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1955), 228-275 ff. and Richard W. Leopold, The Growth of American Foreign Policy, A History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), 119-129, 153-196.

³⁵"Pan Americanism and Company," Inter-America, vol. V, No. 1 (October, 1921), 81. The best study of the entire notion of

America worked up to the "Big Stick" policy of Theodore Roosevelt, Mormons were often led to view the movement toward consolidation of the hemisphere under the aegis of the United States as a prelude to the grand kingdom of Christ which would find its center in the western world.

In the midst of the anti-polygamy crusade when so many were accusing the Mormons of secretly planning another exodus from the United States, an editorial in The Deseret News proudly reminded such accusers of the Latter-day Saints' belief in this country's destiny. It further identified American interests with Mormon doctrine by asserting that Joseph Smith had long ago promised members of the Church that "the entire land of North and South America" was Zion and that it would be the destiny of the saints to possess it.³⁶ This was more than a belated effort to cloak the migration to Mexico in a patriotic guise for Apostle Moses Thatcher, in giving Anthony W. Ivins a blessing prior to his departure on a second mission to Mexico in 1882, had predicted the establishment of "a perfect chain of communications from the mountains, from the Church and Kingdom of God and the people of Zion, down through the Republic of Mexico, through Central America, and through South America,"³⁷ And later, in reporting on the

³⁵(continued) Hemispheric unity is that of Arthur P. Whitaker, The Western Hemisphere Idea: Its Rise and Decline (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1954). A good Mexican analysis may be found in Ricardo García Granados, Historia de México Desde la Restauración de República en 1867 Hasta la Caída de Porfirio Díaz (3 vols; México: Editorial Andrés Botos E. Hijo, 1912-1928), III, 228-240.

³⁶April 8, 1885, 191.

³⁷Journal of Anthony W. Ivins (Microfilm of typewritten M.S., Brigham Young University Library), 43-44.

First Pan-American Congress of 1889, The Deseret Weekly said:

In all this we are perfectly willing to acknowledge the hand of Providence. North and South America are embraced in that portion of the world which is designated in revelation as the land of Zion, a region throughout all of which will, in time, prevail the very highest forms of liberty and civilization and the best systems of government that men can devise³⁸

Similar pronouncements continued to come forth from Mormon leaders for the next twenty years. In 1890, Book of Mormon prophecies were cited as evidence to prove that it is "a foregone conclusion that Central America will soon be brought under one general government."³⁹ And in 1905, President Joseph F. Smith told the colonists at a Juárez Stake Conference that "it has been evident for many years" that the Mormons were to be established "throughout the breadth of the land" and that accounted for their presence in Mexico.⁴⁰ When these same colonists were forcibly expelled during the Mexican Revolution, President Smith inveighed against the Spanish American peoples' immaturity and unrighteousness, saying that he anxiously awaited

the time . . . when the arm of peace of this nation will be extended to the distracted little southern republics, where a rebellion arises almost every year against their constituted authorities. I hope to see the day when the counsels of peace and good will from this powerful nation will be so recognized by the people of this continent all the way to the south of us, and by the inhabitants of the islands that border upon our coasts, both east and west, that peace and good

³⁸November 2, 1889, 589.

³⁹The Deseret Weekly, January 18, 1890, 122.

⁴⁰Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 153. Also see the remarks of Charles W. Kindrick, U.S. Consul at Ciudad Juárez, in his "The Mormons in Mexico," The American Monthly Review of Reviews, vol. XIX, No. 6 (June, 1899), 705.

will and elevation may be brought to pass and established among them through the instrumentality of an enlightened people.⁴¹

But prior to the Revolution, as to the method by which the grand union of the American states should be accomplished, the Mormons, with native pride, were convinced that nothing "will bring it forth more rapidly and perfectly than American enterprise."⁴² It is not surprising then that a host of colonizing schemes should emerge as means of at one and the same time enriching the Mormon-American investors and carrying the talent and industry of Anglo-Saxon settlers to the benighted races of Latin America. Well before the activity of the Mexican Colonization and Agricultural Company, Mormons had investigated the Sonoran offerings of the one time, prominent California Mormon, Samuel Brannan.⁴³ Finding Brannan's grant unsatisfactory, many of the brethren sought to combine their savings and buy colonization tracts themselves.⁴⁴

⁴¹Joseph F. Smith, "The Mexican Trouble--Loyalty to the Constitution," The Improvement Era, vol. XVI, no. 2 (December, 1912), 97-98.

⁴²The Deseret Weekly, February 11, 1893, 238-239. It was undoubtedly sentiments of this kind which later led Lucio M. Moreno Quintana to say: ". . . considered under its practical aspect and in general, according to the concept of Pan Americanism that prevails in the United States, the only ideal that has been exalted is based on the economic aggrandizement of that country, even at the cost of the other American republics." "Pan American Conference," Inter-America, vol. VIII, No. 1 (October, 1924), 431.

⁴³The Deseret News, June 22, 1881, 326; Ibid. October 28, 1885, 648; Reva Scott, Samuel Brannan and The Golden Fleece (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944), 430-442; Benjamin Franklin Johnson, My Life's Review (Independence, Missouri: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1947), 288-289; Andrew Jenson, Church Chronology (2nd ed.; Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1899), 174.

⁴⁴E. g., see the Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 30, 61; Jones,

By the 1890's prospective settlers were confronted with a number of locations and companies anxious to solicit their lease or purchase. In addition to the Mexican Colonization and Agricultural Company, Andrew J. Stewart, a wealthy stock breeder from Utah, had combined funds with capitalists from Denver, El Paso and other American cities to make a purchase of several thousand acres in Chihuahua.⁴⁵ The land was available to Mormon and gentile alike. The Church, however, refused to endorse Stewarts' undertaking and his plans and expected profits were never realized.⁴⁶

In addition to the mountain settlements which seem to have been primarily an effort on the part of George C. Williams, Alonzo L. Farnsworth, Benjamin J. Johnson and others to make money by speculating in land, there was the Sonoran undertaking of Williams and John C. Naegle which, in time, became Colonia Oaxaca.⁴⁷ James C. Peterson and Joseph Cordon purchased 8000 acres and incorporated what was called the Chihuahua Colonization Company. This enterprise seems to have shared the same fate as the colonizing scheme of Andrew J. Stewart.⁴⁸ There was also the Utah Colonization and Improvement Com-

⁴⁴(continued) 354-355, 358-360, 380-381; The Deseret News, July 7, 1886, 395.

⁴⁵J. H., 30 January, 1888; Ibid., 21 June 1888; The Deseret News, February 22, 1888, 90; The Deseret Weekly, May 21, 1892, 712; Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 58.

⁴⁶The Deseret Weekly, May 7, 1892, 647; Ibid., June 18, 1892, 837; Ibid., March 13, 1897, 414.

⁴⁷Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 52, 78.

⁴⁸The Deseret Weekly, December 23, 1893, 27; Ibid., May 21, 1898, 73.

pany which purchased several thousand acres on what was known as "La Presa Ranch" about ninety miles southwest of Chihuahua City. And while some thirty settlers worked tirelessly to bring the dry soil into production, all finally gave up and either settled in the other Mexican colonies or returned to the United States.⁴⁹ Then there was the Morelos Development Company, a profit making enterprise organized by Thomas C. Romney and other land holders living in Colonia Morelos.⁵⁰

The Mormons seem to have been only the foremost of many investors seeking to increase their fortunes by speculation in Mexican lands. Hence, as early as 1890, Alexander F. Macdonald wrote that

public lands, also private land claims, in Mexico are fast passing into the hands of foreign syndicates with a view to speculation, hence our friends will do the best who combine their capital, or unite with the Mexican Colonization and Agricultural Company for an extensive purchase on the best available terms, to be subdivided agreeably with the wishes of the investors.⁵¹

And Anthony W. Ivins later found himself obliged to travel to Cleveland, Ohio and other eastern cities of the United States to buy land near and around Dublan from American capitalists who had made extensive purchases in the region.⁵²

⁴⁹Kate B. Carter (ed.), "Utah Colonization and Improvement Company's Plans for a Colony in Mexico," Treasures of Pioneer History (5 vols.; Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1952-1958), III, 236-241; The Deseret Weekly, May 28, 1892, 757-758.

⁵⁰Thomas Cottam Romney, A Divinity Shapes Our Ends as Seen in My Life Story (n.p.: By the author, 1953), 121.

⁵¹The Deseret Weekly, September 20, 1890, 428-429.

⁵²Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 113, 119, 134; J.H., 8 April, 1901; Ibid., 19 June, 1901; Ibid., 2 April, 1902.

The rich veins of mineral ore in the Sierra Madre Mountains also proved an attraction for Mormon dollars. Daniel W. Jones, in 1885 and 1886, seems to have been one of the first to engage in prospecting the region.⁵³ But by 1892, Edward Stevenson was surprised to find so many seeking wealth from mining ventures when there was, as he felt, a far surer return from farming.⁵⁴ Anthony W. Ivins, who was a self trained assayer and geologist, joined with some of the colonists and with gentiles from the United States to invest extensively in Mexican mines.⁵⁵ And Dennison E. Harris tells of a group of the colonists undertaking a 400 mile expedition into the Mulatos River country in search of gold.⁵⁶

But the enterprise of greatest magnitude and most illustrative of Mormon imperialism was the railroad project of John W. Young. John Willard Young was a son of President Brigham Young and had served for a time as a member of the First Presidency of the Church. From the late 1870's on, however, he had engaged in the promotion of land sales and railroad building.⁵⁷ In some instances he had nearly provided for the complete support of some of the general authorities of

⁵³Jones, 348-354.

⁵⁴The Deseret Weekly, May 7, 1892, 653.

⁵⁵Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 81-82, 99, 100, 113, 117, 142.

⁵⁶Journal of Dennison Emer Harris From October 13, 1899 to October 17, 1901 (Typewritten M.S., Brigham Young University Library), 60.

⁵⁷See Andrew Jenson, Latter-Day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia (4 vols.; The Andrew Jenson Publishing Co., 1901-1936), I, 42.

the Church and had purchased extensive tracts of land in Arizona as retreats for persecuted polygamists.

While residing in New York City in 1888 and 1889, Young had become excited over the widespread sentiment favoring a Pan American railway. The idea was endorsed by the Pan American Conference of 1889 and it had been agreed that financiers and builders already constructing in the southwest and other key areas be invited to take contracts for the work.⁵⁸

It appears that while no formal agreement or contract was offered Young, he nevertheless obtained the backing of some English and American investors, and then purchased a concession from the Mexican government which would permit him to lay rails south from Deming, New Mexico, through the district of the colonies and on into Chihuahua City. As part of the concession, he received a large tract of land totaling 2,500,000 acres which extended 115 miles south from the New Mexico border.⁵⁹ It was expected that this grant would be used to estab-

⁵⁸James Brown Scott (ed.), The International Conference of American States 1889-1928 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1931), 11, 63 passim; John Anthony Caruso, "The Pan American Railway," The Hispanic American Historical Review, vol. XXXI, no. 4 (November, 1951), 608-639. On Young's activities in New York and Washington, D. C., during these years, see the diary of his personal secretary, the Journals of John Mills Whittaker (Xeroxed copy of Typewritten M.S., Brigham Young University Library), V, 24, 29 passim. For Utah's response to the projected railroad see "The Pan-American Railway," The Deseret Weekly, September 5, 1891, 335. A good essay on American railroad interests in Mexico may be found in Granados, III, 185-199. For an excellent treatment of economic conditions in Mexico generally see Cosío Villegas, Daniel and others, Historia moderna de México (5 Vols.; México: Editorial Hermes, 1955), III.

⁵⁹Andrew Jenson, Juarez Stake (Typewritten M.S., Church Historians Office, Salt Lake City, Utah). Hereafter this work will be referred to as J.S. The Deseret Weekly, February 7, 1891, 216.

lish new colonies in the region and that these would be serviced by the projected railroad.⁶⁰

Most of the labor was to be provided by Mormon colonists already living in Mexico. Ammon M. Tenney, for example, was given the contract for grading the road for a distance of ninety miles south from Palomas to Coralitos. This was to be accomplished by September 15, 1891.⁶¹ James H. Martineau was employed as a surveyor.⁶² Henry Eyring obtained a contract to deliver 4200 telegraph poles for \$2.00 a pole.⁶³ And Miles P. Romney was given the job of constructing all the station houses along the line.⁶⁴ For many of the colonists, particularly those living around Colonia Díaz, the railroad project was looked upon as their temporal salvation because of the severe drought then afflicting Chihuahua.

The new railway was at first known as the Mexican and Pacific Railroad, then as the North Mexican Pacific Railway and finally, late in 1891, it was given "its last and probably its permanent name," the Mexican Northwestern Railway.⁶⁵ The project was fully expected to

⁶⁰The Deseret Weekly, February 7, 1891, 216; Ibid., June 27, 1891, 19-20.

⁶¹Ibid., April 25, 1891, 564.

⁶²Diary of James Henry Martineau, vol. 11: Miscellaneous Mormon Diaries (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 32-33.

⁶³The Journal of Henry Eyring, 1835-1902 (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 71.

⁶⁴Thomas Cottam Romney, Life Story of Miles P. Romney (Independence, Missouri: Zion's Printing and Publishing Company, 1948), 282.

⁶⁵The Deseret News, April 25, 1891, 564; The Deseret Weekly, October 10, 1891, 493.

succeed for, with John W. Young, "vim, confidence and go-a-head determination have been the motive power, with such capital as he could invest or procure."⁶⁶

Then, for reasons that are unclear, Young's financial backing faltered, there seems to have been an altercation of opinions, and by late spring of 1893 the entire project was discontinued.⁶⁷ Such settlements which had sprung up in response to the demand for labor gangs and supply depots became ghost towns. And the many Mormon colonists who neglected their drought ridden farms for work with the railroad were now dismissed without pay and, as a result, "were nearly ruined."⁶⁸

But if Young's railroad failed, if projected colonization schemes fell through and hopes for mines of precious metals were never discovered, still, the colonies grew and prospered. By 1898, one reporter from Colonia Juarez could say that "altogether the colonists of Juarez are in a flourishing condition, and a large inflow of new settlers is expected this year by the various colonization companies, which means

⁶⁶The Deseret Weekly, January 3, 1891, 40.

⁶⁷Diary of James Henry Martineau, 34.

⁶⁸Ibid.; The Deseret Weekly, May 6, 1893, 609-610; Ibid., April 28, 1894, 573-574. A subsequent attempt to bring railway transportation to the region, though aided with a government subsidy of \$15,000 per mile, also failed. Ultimately a group of English investors succeeded in constructing the present Mexican Northwestern Railway which many of the colonists were to use at the time of their Exodus in 1912. See Romney's Life Story of Miles P. Romney, 280; the same author's The Mormon Colonies in Mexico (Salt Lake City: The Deseret Book Company, 1938), 97. Hereafter cited simply as M. C. M. and The Deseret Weekly, February 29, 1896, 325.

an increase of business, more money and general rejoicing."⁶⁹ And United States Consul Charles W. Kindrick described the colonies as being like

a green garden in the wilderness . . . the colonists' gardens are fragrant with flowers, and the blossoms of the peach, apricot, and plum trees glow in the pure air. Clear water from the ascequia (sic) along the hillside flows down the gutter of each cross-street. Neat brick residences are nestled amid grapevines and pear-trees. . . . The capitol colony Juarez is a beautiful village comparable to any in New England. There is every evidence of thrift, cleanliness, industry, comfort, and good management. There is an absence of the vices common to modern communities. There are no saloons, tobacco shops, jails nor houses of ill-fame in the colony.⁷⁰

Of the year 1903, Eunice S. Harris said, "Mexico was now in its brightest and most prosperous days since the establishment of the Mormon colonies."⁷¹ Ellen E. B. McLaws on a farm in Sonora wrote in 1912: "This place is growing and improving all the time. Our wheat fields are lovely now. Financial prospects were never better in our lives I guess."⁷² President J. Golden Kimball when visiting the colonies in 1900 had predicted a continuation of growth and prosperity for the saints in Mexico.⁷³ And everything that transpired in the subsequent

⁶⁹The Deseret Weekly, March 21, 1898, 731.

⁷⁰"The Mormons in Mexico," 704-705; Also The Deseret Weekly, May 22, 1897, 709.

⁷¹Autobiographical Sketch of Eunice Stewart Harris (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 45.

⁷²Biographical Sketches of John W. McLaws, Ellen Elsie Bradshaw McLaws, Mary Ellen Owens Bradshaw, Horace Burr Owens, Sally Ann Layne Owens (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 24.

⁷³Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 97.

decade seemed to confirm the authenticity of that pronouncement. Even in Mexico City, Rey L. Pratt, serving as President of the mission there, could say in 1911:

All of the Elders in the mission are in the best of health and spirits, and are full of zeal for the work of the Lord. Prospects were never brighter for the spread of the gospel in this land, and we look forward to a bright and prosperous future for the Mexican Mission.⁷⁴

But just as the colonists arrived at that point where "the country became dotted over with modern American homes,"⁷⁵ when sewing machines, house organs and modern farm equipment became possessions of almost every family, in short, just when they had reached that economic plateau where one of their number could say "it now seemed that we had about all we could wish for . . .," the Mormons were suddenly forced to give everything up and return to the United States.⁷⁶ Austin and Alta Fife have captured the surprise and terror of those hot July days in 1912 when they tell how

⁷⁴Rey L. Pratt, "History of the Mexican Mission," The Improvement Era, vol. XV, no. 6 (April, 1912), 498. For other comments regarding the Mormon's prosperity, see: J.H., 30 April 1902; Stanley S. Ivins, "Letter from Mexico, Impressions of a Mormon," Utah Historical Quarterly, vol. XXVI, no. 2 (April, 1958), 178-179; Louis M. Buford, "Mormon Colonists in Mexico," Consular Reports, no. 190 (July, 1896), 409.

⁷⁵Life of Henry Lunt and Family together with a portion of his diary (Typewritten M.S., Brigham Young University Library), 19-20.

⁷⁶Romney, A Divinity Shapes Our Ends, 147. Three very good treatments of the agrarian ramifications of the Revolution as they would eventually affect returning Mormon settlers are: Ernest Gruening, Mexico and Its Heritage (New York: The Century Co., 1928); Frank Tannenbaum, Mexico The Struggle for Peace and Bread (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950) and the same author's The Mexican Agrarian Revolution (New York: Macmillan Co., 1929).

songs of birds and the purple rays of dawn had just heralded a beautiful Sunday morning . . . in old Mexico when there was heard the rhythmical and nervous clatter of horses hoofs. There was a rap on a door, a shuffling of barefoot steps on a dirt floor, and a whisper: 'It's Pancho Villa! He's coming to sack the village!'⁷⁷

The Mormons had not been oblivious to the revolutionary rumblings which had surrounded them for nearly two years. Anthony W. Ivins, by then an Apostle, had even discussed with the United States State Department the possibility of smuggling guns to the colonists for self defense. Finally a policy of strict neutrality was decided upon.⁷⁸ Mormon children were forbidden to play with wooden or mock weapons of any kind for fear of being viewed as favorable to one side or another.⁷⁹

⁷⁷Saints of Sage and Saddle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956), 207. Daniel W. Jones had, in 1890, assured prospective colonists that Chihuahua was entirely safe from political and military eruptions. ". . . no revolutions or wars of a national character have reached that district for over a hundred years except to defend themselves against the Apaches It is naturally one of the best protected countries on this continent, and a reasonable sized colony could and would be as safe there as any place upon the earth You must read the Book of Mormon in true belief, realizing that it is true and plain. If you will do this honestly you will have no fears about the future in Mexico." Forty Years Among the Indians, 390-392. The best descriptions of the Mormon colonies during the Revolution, though both are poorly documented, are Romney's M.C.M., 149-200 and Raymond J. Reed, "The Mormons in Chihuahua, Their Relations with Villa and the Pershing Punitive Expedition, 1910-1917" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1938). Other good accounts may be found in Hatch, Colonia Juarez, 159-227 and Elizabeth Hoel Mills, "The Mormon Colonies in Chihuahua After the 1912 Exodus" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Arizona, 1950).

⁷⁸Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 191, 194. Though a number of guns were imported from across the international boundary line and distributed among the various colonies. M.C.M., 166-168.

⁷⁹Sullivan C. Richardson, "Remembering Colonia Diaz," The Improvement Era, vol. XL, no. 5 (May, 1937), 299.

The colonists went out of their way to display their loyalty to Mexico as a nation and publicly to advertise the Mexican citizenship which some of them possessed.⁸⁰ But behind every maneuver to preserve their property was the strong attachment to land and community which the long years of sacrifice and toil had brought. In the words of one colonist:

We had passed through a common hardship which drew us together with a bond almost stronger than blood . . . Here we as a family had lived and worked in peace, love and union, for fifteen years. Here we had unitedly struggled for a livelihood and to build up the country. To me the ground was almost sacred.⁸¹

The Mormons, by declaring themselves completely neutral in the conflict, only invited the displeasure of both the Federal and Rebel factions.⁸² Moreover, after so many years of open acceptance and warmth between the Díaz regime and themselves, the Mormons' real sentiments could be easily suspected.⁸³ But the greatest source of discontent was the jealousy with which the Mexicans viewed the Americans'

⁸⁰ Leslie L. Sudweeks, "Some Experiences with General Villa," *The Improvement Era*, vol. XLVIII, no. 1 (January, 1945), 23; *Journal of Anthony W. Ivins*, 190.

⁸¹ Autobiographical Sketch of Eunice Stewart Harris, 47-48. Also see the poetry composed about Colonia Morelos in Edward Milo Webb, *His Ancestors and Descendants*, Compiled by a Daughter Irene Adell Webb Merrell (Mimeographed M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 26.

⁸² J. S.

⁸³ See, e.g., *Journal of Anthony W. Ivins*, 190, where Ivins tells how he and Junius Romney, president of the Juarez Stake, informed President Diaz of the Mormons' willingness to support him if they could only be exempt from shedding blood. Also see Edward Milo Webb, *His Ancestors and Descendants*, 28 and "President Diaz" in *The Deseret Weekly*, March 19, 1892, 448.

prosperity. One non-Mormon has described how the Mexicans had openly asserted that "Mexican citizens were going to live in good houses and American citizens were no longer to be allowed to live in good places and Mexicans live in out-of-the-way places."⁸⁴ As early as 1898, Anthony W. Ivins had complained of "the exaggerated notions which they [Mexicans] entertain of the wealth of Americans in general and Mormons in particular"⁸⁵ And Ann Lunt says the hostility and uprising provided "an opportunity for the covetous anti-American element surrounding them to demand their homes and property"⁸⁶

By the spring and early summer of 1912 operations by both Rebel and Federal troops in the region of the colonies were becoming heated and intense. Demanding that the Mormons provide them with all they needed, they camped in the streets, broke into stores, looted and destroyed almost at will. Colonists like the Lunts in Colonia Pacheco were imposed upon with impudence. "From twenty to thirty men would come at once demanding that a meal be prepared for them, and in a short time Sarah would have a good meal ready for the dirty ragged

⁸⁴U. S., Congress, Senate, "Testimony of Captain S.H. Veater," Investigation of Mexican Affairs, 66th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1919, Sen. Doc. 285, I, 1480-1481. Jealousy over the fruits of their industry was not a new experience with the Mormons. Fawn M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History, The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), 131. Neither was it surprising that the Mexicans should be aroused over American accomplishments on their own soil. For as Bancroft has shown, Mexico had for many years imposed various restrictions on immigration because of a "native jealousy of foreigners, whose energy and ability are too marked not to be acknowledged and bitterly felt." History of Mexico, VI, 628.

⁸⁵Quoted from Stanley S. Ivins, "Letter from Mexico, Impressions of a Mormon," 179.

⁸⁶Life of Henry Lunt and Family together with a Portion of his Diary, 19-20.

men."⁸⁷ Bathing nakedly wherever water could be found, openly con-
 sorting with camp-followers, robbing the colonists' gardens and barns,
 it soon became apparent that the Mormons would receive neither con-
 sideration nor respect from the soldiers.⁸⁸ On July 2, a Mormon from
 Colonia Diaz, William Adams, was shot at his door step by the Rebels.⁸⁹
 And another colonist tells how "we suffered much indignities
 They would call us the vilest names. They hurled calumny at our wives
 and children that I did not believe before that a man could possibly
 endure."⁹⁰ Finally, conditions became intolerable. In the words of
 one of the women from the Sonoran colonies, "These half bred, ignorant
 soldiers were not interested in things they might save and use but in
 what they might destroy."⁹¹ Each faction burned and pillaged all that
 was possible so as to leave nothing of value for the enemy.⁹²

⁸⁷ Ibid., 27.

⁸⁸ Edward Milo Webb, His Ancestors and Descendants, 28; J. S. W.; M. C. M., 149-181; U. S., Congress, Senate, "Statement of Margaret Carlin," Investigation of Mexican Affairs, 66th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1920, Sen. Doc., 285, II, 2593-2594.

⁸⁹ J. S.; M. C. M., 169. See also the account of Rafael Monroy, A Mexico City convert, in Rey L. Pratt's "A Latter-day Martyr," The Improvement Era, vol. XXI, no. 7 (May 1918), 720-726.

⁹⁰ Ibid. I have found no record of any of the Revolutionaries ever violating any of the Mormon women. The story is told of one woman later captured by Villa and forced to accompany him during some of his campaigns who when released claimed to have been treated with dignity and respect. Haldeen Braddy, Cock of the Walk, The Legend of Pancho Villa (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1955), 83-84.

⁹¹ Leah Haymore Kartchner, John Adrum Haymore, A Biography (Mimeographed M. S., In possession of Franklin D. Haymore family, Provo, Utah), 15-16.

⁹² See, e.g., Life of Henry Lunt and Family together with a Portion of his Diary, 28. Also U. S., Congress, Senate, "Testimony of Cap-

On July 13, 1912, Inez Salazar rode into Colonia Díaz at the head of a troop of Rebels and demanded all the guns and ammunition the colonists possessed. Junius Romney, president of the Juárez Stake, arranged for a delay and then conferred with Apostle Anthony W. Ivins in El Paso, Texas. After a series of subsequent parleys with the Rebel leaders, it became apparent that the Mormons had no choice but to relinquish their arms on demand of the soldiers. Realizing that this would leave the saints entirely without protection, an order to flee their homes and strike for the United States border was given on Sunday, July 28.⁹³

Hoping that their absence would be only temporary, the colonists began streaming north by wagon and horseback. As many as possible rented cars on the Mexican Northwestern Railroad. Within two days, nearly every one of the Mormon communities were without inhabitants. Most of the brethren gathered with their families either at El Paso or at various points along the New Mexico line. In every case, the United States government appropriated food, clothing and facilities for the penniless Mormons. And many Americans through press dispatches and other media learned for the first time of the existence of Mormon colonies in Mexico.⁹⁴

⁹²(continued) tain S. H. Veater, "Investigation of Mexican Affairs, I, 1482-1483 passim.

⁹³Probably the best account here is Romney's M.C.M., 172-181; also J.S.W.

⁹⁴Again, the best treatments of this segment of the Mormon Colonies' history may be found in the M.C.M., 182-200; Hatch, 179-201; Raymond J. Reed, "The Mormons in Chihuahua Their Relations with Villa and the Pershing Punitive Expedition, 1910-1917." Other

In the autumn of 1912 and later in 1915 some of the men returned to see what was left and what could be salvaged. Most found little more than rubble and ashes. The heavy majority of colonists thus decided to accept the United States government's offer of free transportation to other points north of the boundary line, most of them resettling at various locations in Utah and Arizona.⁹⁵ This received the sanction of President Joseph F. Smith who, on October 4, 1912, told the colonists they "were at liberty to go where they chose and might consider their mission in Mexico at an end so far as the present is concerned."⁹⁶

⁹⁴(continued) good accounts are available in Jenson's J. S. and J. S. W.; Edward Milo Webb, His Ancestors and Descendants, 29-30; Journal of William Morley Black 1826-1914, vol. 11; Miscellaneous Mormon Diaries (Typewritten M. S. S., Brigham Young University Library), 22-23; Autobiographies of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Franklin Moffett, vol. 15: Mormon Diaries (Mimeographed M. S. S., Brigham Young University), 5 passim; Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 196 passim; U. S., Congress, Senate, "Testimony of Captain S. H. Veater, " Investigation of Mexican Affairs, I, 1481-1483; Kate B. Carter (ed.), "The Exodus," Treasures of Pioneer History (5 vols; Salt Lake City: Daughter of Utah Pioneers, 1952-1958), III, 241-252; "The Mormons in Mexico," The Worlds' Work, vol. XXXI, no. 5 (March, 1916), 484.

⁹⁵J. S.; J. S. W.; Edward Milo Webb, His Ancestors and Descendants, 30. Brigham Stowell's experience is illustrative. Having engaged in an expensive farming venture with some other investors, he returned to the ranch near Casas Grandes in late 1912. One night he was summoned to the door by Mexicans only to be shot in the face. Though he survived the wound he decided to forsake his Mexican holdings and moved to Hubbard, Arizona. Gertrude S. Romney, Sketch of the Life of Brigham Stowell (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 10. Those who were not sufficiently discouraged by the Madero phase of the Revolution in 1912, were placed under even greater threat by Pancho Villa in 1915 and 1916. M. C. M., 243-244 passim; "Withdrawal of American Consular Officers and Other Americans from Mexico," Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1916 (Washington: Govt. Printing Office, 1925), 683-684.; The New York Times, March 26, 1916, 1.

⁹⁶Joseph F. Smith, "The Mexican Trouble--Loyalty to the Constitution," The Improvement Era, vol. XVI, no. 2 (December, 1912), 95; Also see the Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 197.

The 1912 Exodus thus brought to a close the golden years of Mormon colonization in Mexico. Both Dublán and Juárez were resettled by a few of the original inhabitants but neither has yet attained even half the population they boasted before the Revolution. Except for a few families in the mountains, none of the other colonies have ever been resettled. And one of the chief problems faced by contemporary residents in Juárez and Dublán is that of dwindling numbers.⁹⁷

Mexico's Agrarian policies of the 1930's worked even greater hardships on the colonists, demanding that they forfeit their lands to be redrawn and appropriated as ejidal holdings.⁹⁸ More recently, the Mormons in Mexico have pursued a vigorous policy of establishing schools and academies throughout the republic.⁹⁹ And the general reputation of Mormonism among Mexicans seems never to have been better. Having diversified their economy, they have become the "amalthea" of Chihuahua. The production of fruit has succeeded wonderfully and they now dominate the Mexican apple market, excelling those imported from Washington and Oregon in the United States. Favorable accounts of the Mormon colonies by some of Mexico's leading magazines have also added to the colonists' success. All of this

⁹⁷J. S.; Hatch, 258; M. C. M., 301 ff.

⁹⁸A superb account of the Mormons and their difficulties with the Mexican government's efforts at land reform is to be found in Lucile Pratt's, "A Keyhole View of Mexican Agrarian Policy as Shown by Mormon Land Problems (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Columbia University, n. d.).

⁹⁹Eleven Year Report of the President (1950-51 to 1960-61) of Brigham Young University and Eight Year Report of the Administrator (1953-54 to 1960-61) of other areas of the Unified Church School System (n. p.: n. d.), 384-400.

combines with recent interest in rich archaeological findings in the area to redress former reticence and encourage acceptance of the saints in Mexico.¹⁰⁰

But even with the promise of the future there is a longing on the part of the old timers for the color and life of former days. A nostalgic spirit pervades the vacant streets and homesteads. Visitors to the colonies speak of a suggestion and atmosphere of history everywhere present. With all the promise of the future, there is little doubt that the 1912 Exodus marked the end of Mormon pioneering in northern Mexico.

¹⁰⁰Letter to the author from Nelle S. Hatch, January 6, 1961; "Con Los Domadores Del Desierto," Siempre, No. 386 (Noviembre 16, 1960), 30-31. 70.

CHAPTER VII

It was the ancient historian Polybius who remarked that a study of the origin of institutions and customs is necessary for a proper understanding of their evolution and future development.¹ The Mormon colonists in Mexico provide ample evidence of this, for contained within the twenty seven year history of their settlements prior to the Mexican Revolution were the characteristics and causes which account for nearly everything which has happened since that time.

The Mormon venture in Mexico has traditionally been viewed as but a final example from a long series of incidents which illustrate a cultural conflict between Mormons and the rest of the world. This separatist interpretation views Mormons as having been dominated by a dualistic social psychology. Classifying society and the universe in terms of a moral dichotomy, the saints catagorized everyone as either Mormon or gentile, good or bad, as children of light or children of darkness. Thus the entire span of nineteenth century Mormon history has often been seen as a sustained but failing effort to escape from

¹Polybius, The Histories, 1.12. Hubert Howe Bancroft has said essentially the same thing when, writing of the Mormons, he asserted: "To give their actions without their motives would leave the work obviously imperfect; to give their motives without the origin and nature of their belief would be impossible." History of Utah, vol. XXVI: The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1889), x-xi.

Babylon and establish Zion in the wilderness.²

As already indicated in previous chapters, the Mormon migration to south of the border had definite connections with an inability to harmonize the practice of polygamy with gentile cultural demands. The peculiar Mormon concern for the Indian also acted to stimulate Mormon interest in Mexico.³ But beneath the surface shades and differences of Mormon religious belief there existed a deep and substantial layer of American nativism. In the words of one writer, Mormonism "is as native to the United States as Indian corn and the buffalo nickel."⁴ The colonists in Mexico, like their predecessors in the Great Basin, were, first of all, American pioneers. As LeRona McDonald Wilson

²In addition to the remarks made in the Introduction to this study, see Brigham H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I (6 vols.; Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), VI, 259 passim; Andrew Jenson, Juarez Stake (Typewritten M. S., Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah); Journal of Anthony W. Ivins (Microfilm of Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 138; Journal of Jesse Nathaniel Smith, The Life Story of a Mormon Pioneer 1834-1906 (Salt Lake City: Jesse N. Smith Family Association, 1953), 300; Lansing B. Bloom (ed.), "Bourke on the Southwest, VI, Chapter IX, Arizona Notes, 1873-74," New Mexico Historical Review, vol. X, no. 1 (January, 1935), 28-29; Charles W. Kindrick, "The Mormons in Mexico," The American Monthly Review of Reviews, vol. XIX, no. 6 (June, 1899), 702; Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, Breaking the Wilderness (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905), 305.

³See, e. g., Milton R. Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1940), 290-300; Journal of Jesse Nathaniel Smith, 286; Daniel W. Jones, Forty Years Among the Indians, A True Yet Thrilling Narrative of the author's Experience Among the Natives (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1890), 315, 375, 388 passim; Jenson, Juarez Stake; John R. Young, Memoires of John R. Young, Utah Pioneer 1847 (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1920), 105, 110, 114-115; The Deseret News, June 2, 1880, 286.

⁴William Mulder, "The Mormons in American History," Bulletin of the University of Utah, vol. IV, no. 11 (January, 1957), 8.

has described it, the Mormons were heavily imbued with the "frontier American ideal" which was the "image of Daniel Boone."⁵ And the colonists were determined to carry their own culture and civilization with them, never considering amalgamation with or adaptation to the new environment.

Throughout the entire period before the 1912 Exodus, the colonists proudly identified with their American and nordic lineage. Many, like Ann Lunt, considered Mexico to be no more than "a wild state and isolated from civilization"⁶ In July of 1885, while still looking for a place for the colonists to settle, one exploring party had boldly "climbed a pine tree and unfurled the American Flag to the breeze"⁷ Most felt like Anthony W. Ivins who, on a visit to the San Bernardino Ranch in Sonora, said, "it makes me homesick to think that I am so near the U. S. and still in a foreign country."⁸ And later, during a visit to Mexico City, Ivins wrote to his cousin Heber J. Grant in Utah that he would gladly submit to United States military service during the War of 1898 for "service in the army, anything in a free government,

⁵"The Differential Development Among Anglos and Mexicans in the Mormon Colonies of Northwest Mexico," (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Ohio State University, 1959), 32.

⁶Life of Henry Lunt and Family together with a portion of his diary (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 18.

⁷Journal of Jesse Nathaniel Smith , 315. This was done to celebrate the 24th of July, the day Mormons have hallowed as marking Brigham Young's entry into the Salt Lake Valley in 1847. The combination of the American flag and a Mormon holiday aptly symbolizes the religious nationalism of the people.

⁸Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 62.

would be preferable to life in Mexico."⁹ Eunice S. Harris, like an exile, lamented that her boys were born in Mexico and "there grew to manhood before they again saw our own American flag"¹⁰ And Miles P. Romney when asked to give the oration at the celebration of the September uprising in 1810 of Miguel Hidalgo, said: "I could get some enthusiasm for the 4th of July but not for the 16th of September."¹¹

The saints' nationalism was compounded by a sense of race superiority. Even before the migration to Mexico had begun, Apostle Brigham Young Jr. had counselled members of the Church living in Arizona "that the blood of Cain was more predominant in these Mexicans than that of Israel" for which reason he "condemned the mixing of our people with outsiders."¹² This attitude continued to mark the Mormon view of Mexican people after the establishment of the colonies. Anthony W. Ivins reflects the notion of racial degeneration in this description

⁹Ibid., 79.

¹⁰Autobiographical Sketch of Eunice Stewart Harris (Typewritten M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 29.

¹¹Quoted from Thomas Cottam Romney, Life Story of Miles P. Romney (Independence, Missouri: Zion's Printing and Publishing Company, 1948), 216, 234, 293, 306-307. This same attachment to the motherland increased their own sense of cultural and social isolation in Mexico. See the Autobiographical Sketch of Eunice Stewart Harris, 31, 45; Autobiographies of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Franklin Moffett, vol. 15: Mormon Diaries (Mimeographed M. S. S., Brigham Young University Library), 4; Diary of James Henry Martineau, vol. 11: Miscellaneous Mormon Diaries (Typewritten M. S. S., Brigham Young University Library), 36-37; The Deseret Weekly, June 21, 1890, 857-858.

¹²Quoted from the Journal of Jesse Nathaniel Smith, 288. Also see James H. McClintock, Mormon Settlement in Arizona A Record of Peaceful conquest of the Desert (Phoenix, Arizona: The Manufacturing Stationers Inc., 1921), 2, 182, 189.

of a visit he made to a small Mexican village:

Inside the gate a flock of very inferior looking chickens scratched in the trash which had accumulated from the house, like the dogs they showed degeneracy to the last degree. A rooster strutted to the top of the dung hill, looked at us defiantly, flapped his wings and crowed. The commotion brought people to several doors. The men looked at us with indifference, the women curiously, the children with open eyed wonder. I looked at them and thought the people, the chickens, the dogs are all alike, degenerate, ignorant, debased.¹³

The Mormons, on the other hand, considered themselves as constituted from the most choice of man's many blood lines. In the words of Thomas C. Romney,

the Mormon colonies inherited a rich legacy genetically, for the founders of the colonies, generally, represented some of the best blood of the Church. As was true of the great bulk of the Church membership they traced their descent mainly from the Nordic stock of northern Europe who were largely responsible for the introduction of democratic principles in government . . . etc.¹⁴

It is not difficult, therefore, to understand why Mexicans of the region were so hostile in their feelings toward the Mormons at the time of the 1910 Revolution. The Mormons had come to represent almost everything which was offensive to the Mexican mind. In the first place they were foreigners. And the Mormons took pride in their American extraction, exalting and honoring it, preferring it to Mexican citizenship. Secondly, the Mormons were wealthy. Their activity identified with Yankee imperialism. And they seemed no more willing than any other foreign element to share the fruit of their talent and industry with the natives. Thirdly, and more repugnant than anything else, the

¹³Journal of Anthony W. Ivins, 60.

¹⁴The Mormon Colonies in Mexico (Salt Lake City: The Deseret Book Company, 1938), 265.

Mormons considered themselves racially superior to the Mexicans. They were socially exclusive. They frowned on intermarriage and perpetrated a kind of informal segregation of the races at school and church.

It is easy then to explain why the Mexicans, at the time of their uprising, displayed an air of "domineerance, sternness and independence being rough and heedless of the comfort or peace of the white people;"¹⁵ nor why, as Margaret Carlin later testified before Congress, the Mexicans were totally anti-American in their attitude toward the Mormons, religious distinction having no bearing whatever.¹⁶

The Mormon advance into Mexico was but the extension of an impetus which began with Joseph Smith on the western frontier of New York state, not with the disappearance of land in southern Arizona in the mid-1880's. The attitude of the 1912 Mexican Revolutionaries which held that the Mormons were no more than American nationals seeking their fortunes on Mexican soil was probably more correct than not.

¹⁵Edward Milo Webb, His Ancestors and Descendants, Compiled by a Daughter, Irene Adell Webb Merrell (Mimeographed M. S., Brigham Young University Library), 29.

¹⁶U. S., Congress, Senate, "Statement of Margaret Carlin," Investigation of Mexican Affairs, 66th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1920, Sen. Doc. 285, II, 2593. Also see Life of Henry Lunt and Family together with a portion of his diary, 19-20; LeRona M. Wilson, "The Differential Development Among Anglos and Mexicans in the Mormon Colonies of Northwest Mexico," 52 passim; and Romney's The Mormon Colonies in Mexico, 144-148. If we accept the word of Henry Lane Wilson that at the time of the outbreak of the Revolution there were about 75,000 North Americans residing in Mexico, one out of every twelve to fifteen of these were Mormons. In other words, the Mormons constituted a substantial element of the American image in Mexican eyes. For Wilson's estimate of the number of North American residents see John P. Harrison, "Un Analisis Norteamericano de la Revolucion Mexicana en 1913," Historia Mexicana, vol. V, núm. 4 (Abril-Junio, 1956), 599.

The Mormons had, from 1830 to 1912, served as the vanguard of American pioneers not only to California and the Great Basin but to Canada and Mexico as well. And the strong American bias, the imperialist undertakings and racial smugness only tended to confirm the Mexicans in their judgement.

Thus there is added reason for reconsidering the traditional interpretation of Mormon history during the difficult years of the anti-polygamy cursade. For not only did the Mormons consider themselves loyal Americans, but the Mexicans too considered them as such. That they were made to forfeit their cultural island in Mexico and reunite with their ethnic and linguistic parent, the United States, strains the argument for Mormon separatism.

Mormon views concerning the sacredness of the United States Constitution, the special destiny and lot of the land of America and, more especially, their racial attitude profoundly affected the Mormon response to post-Revolutionary Mexican reforms. Inferior lands, governments and races were the products of apostacy from the gospel at some earlier historical epoch. Some nations and racial groups had plunged to a greater depth of apostacy than others, but all were in a state of spiritual degeneracy. The assumption that civilization and cultural attainment were closely tied to spiritual development then implied that cultural improvement was inextricably bound up with spiritual amelioration.¹⁷

¹⁷The Book of Mormon, which deals with the history of pre-Columbian America, claims the Indians to have been cursed with their color because "they had dwindled in unbelief" See I Nephi 12:23; II Nephi 5:21; Jacob 3:5. The same source promised that the curse of

Consequently, any reforms which were to be forthcoming must, to be consonant with Mormon beliefs, result from an acceptance of the gospel, spiritual regeneration and the certain favors and blessings of Providence which would follow such actions. In other words, the Mormons contended progress, improvement and reform will be genuine and lasting (and thus worth trying for in the first place) only if it be the product of internal inclination on the part of individuals. And this inclination could likely be achieved only by an acceptance of Mormonism. Moses Thatcher, on his first mission to Mexico City in 1880, voiced the opinion which dominates the Mormon philosophy of reform when he said,

nothing but obedience to the Gospel which we brought, would ever free the remnant of Israel--the Lamanitish race of this land from their degradation, superstition and bondage; . . . if they would receive obey and live by the truth God would accomplish their deliverance and make them wise, good and Great. But if they failed to do this they must remain in their present deplorable condition until they were willing to hearken to and obey

¹⁷(continued) darkness would be lifted from their skins if they would only accept the gospel and live by its precepts. III Nephi 2:15; also Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Published by the Church, 1948), Sec. 49:24. With regard to the Mormons' view of the Negroes' lineage through Ham to Cain see The Pearl of Great Price (Salt Lake City: Published by the Church, 1948), Abraham I:21-27; For other races and their apostacy from the truth in earlier dispensations of time see Milton R. Hunter, The Gospel Through the Ages (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1958) and James Henry Anderson, God's Covenant Race from patriarchal times to the present (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1946). Two Protestant works which view Mexican society in essentially the same way are William F. Cloud, Church and State or Mexican Politics from Cortez to Diaz Under X Rays (Kansas City: Peck and Clark, Printers, 1896), 242 *passim* and Randolph Wellford Smith who said that what Mexico needed more than anything else was "an American Cecil Rhodes" Benighted Mexico (New York: John Lane Company, 1916), 44.

the voice of the True Sheppard (sic) and cease to follow strangers.¹⁸

Eighteen years later Anthony W. Ivins was preaching the same doctrine:

I conclude that only the power of the Lord . . . can ever bring their redemption. When I contemplate these things which are constantly before me, when I think of this Military Oligarchy which is called a republic, I thank the Lord for the Anglo Saxon race, I thank Him still more for the great Republic, where with all its defects, self government and the enjoyment of personal rights prevail to a degree which cannot be found elsewhere in the known world, and above all I thank him for the Gospel of His Son which brings with it a more perfect system of government, and more perfect laws of personal liberty and equality than the the (sic) wisest men have ever been able to devise or the average man is able to comprehend.¹⁹

That the Mormons looked upon the United States, its government and economic structure as the vehicle for the gospel and other instruments of reform, explains Mormon dissatisfaction with the anti-American flavor of the Revolution, their sympathy with the Pershing punitive expedition and President Smith's statement favoring a vigorous United States' policing of the "distracted little southern republics . . ." of Latin America.²⁰ The Mormons' nationalism would long linger to plague them in their relations with the Mexican government. As

¹⁸The Journals of Moses Thatcher 1866-1881 (6 vols; Microfilm copy of original M. S. S., Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah), IV, 50. Also see The Deseret News, May 18, 1881, 246.

¹⁹Stanley S. Ivins, "Letter from Mexico, Impressions of a Mormon," Utah Historical Quarterly, vol. XXVI, no. 2 (April, 1958), 181-182.

²⁰Joseph F. Smith, "The Mexican Trouble--Loyalty to the Constitution," The Improvement Era, vol. XVI, no. 2 (December, 1912), 97-98.

As American wards of the Porfirian dictatorship, they inherited a continuing feud with Revolutionary governments which overthrew the Diaz regime.²¹

Generally, however, the colonists in Mexico have fared much better than their protestant allies. Though both entered Mexico in the 1870's and 80's in response to the liberal Juarez reforms and though both prospered under the aegis of Porfirian favor, the Mormons have enjoyed a more successful survival of the anti-religious onslaught of the Revolution than have the protestants.²²

Being primarily concerned with missionary work and rural schools, the protestants have nothing which compares with the pioneer tradition of the Mormons. Fettered by increasing governmental regulations concerning education and religious instruction, the "Protestant

²¹The best accounts of Mormon difficulties may be found in Elizabeth Hoel Mills, "The Mormon Colonies in Chihuahua After the 1912 Exodus" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Arizona, 1950); Lucile Pratt, "A Keyhole View of Mexican Agrarian Policy as Shown by Mormon Land Problems" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Columbia University, 1957) and Thomas C. Romney's The Mormon Colonies in Mexico, 201-309.

²²See Charles S. Macfarland, Chaos in Mexico, the Conflict of Church and State (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1935); David Edgar Lindstrom, Rural Life and the Church (Champaign, Illinois: The Garrard Press, 1946), 112 *passim*; G. Baez Camargo and Kenneth G. Grubb, Religion in the Republic of Mexico (London: World Dominion Press, 1935); Nathan L. Whetten, Rural Mexico (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948), 454-483, and, most importantly, the large Ph.D. dissertation of James Ervin Helms, "Origin and Growth of Protestantism in Mexico" (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas, 1955) and Emilio Portes Gil, The Conflict Between the Civil Power and the Clergy, Historical and Legal Essay (Mexico: Press of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1935), esp. 91 ff. For the Catholic view of reform see Francis Clement Kelley, Blood Drenched Altars (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1935) and "Acción Anticatólica En México," Figuras y Episodios de la Historia de Mexico, Año III, núm. 30 (1956), 152-189.

Crusade" in Mexico has moved into eclipse. Because of their heavy focus on preaching and institutionalizing religion in the form of schools they have been nearly obliterated in certain areas.²³ Wilfrid Hardy Callcott quoted a member of the Calles cabinet as saying in 1928 that he thought "protestantism had lost its greatest opportunity through failure, in some way, to seize the exact moment."²⁴ And Helms says "the crucial problem of the Protestant mission work in Mexico has not been the securing of adherents, but the forming of native, self-sustaining and self-propagating churches"²⁵

Mormon success is in good part due to the fact that they have been able to establish "native, self-sustaining and self-propagating" communities of their own members. Recognizing the importance of rooting themselves in the soil and identifying with the Mexican people, the Mormons have worked toward the elimination of the racial barrier in their schools. They have encouraged their members to become active Mexican citizens.²⁶ More than anything else, however, they have

²³Macfarland, 212, 248-257 passim. As of 1947 the total numbers of protestants in Mexico was 265, 148. Helms, 556-557 and Whetten, 482 n.

²⁴Liberalism in Mexico, 1857-1929 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1931), 188.

²⁵Helms, 556.

²⁶A directive from the Juarez Stake Presidency on March 31, 1931 says: "It is the advice and policy of the Presidency of the Stake and High Council for the colonists to become Mexican citizens as soon as convenient." And again, in September of the same year, the following was given: "The policy of the Stake Presidency is for the colonists to become citizens of Mexico to a greater extent than they have and take a greater interest in the affairs of this country. Students as they are graduated from the Juarez Academy are advised to finish their education in some Mexican college or University, if they wish higher educa-

held tenaciously to their land. Notwithstanding the difficulties encountered with regard to the Mexican government's efforts at ejidal reform, the Mormons, with pre-Revolutionary ardor, have recognized that the longevity and appeal of their creed in Mexico is directly related to an immediate demonstration of Mormonism's viability on Mexican soil. The colonists believe, like their pioneer forerunners, that faith, industry and the tenets of the gospel are all that is necessary to make Mormonism succeed under even the most adverse circumstances. In the words of one older resident of Colonia Juárez, "all the Mormon colonists ask for is land and a little bit of water."²⁷

However important the post-Revolutionary legacy of the Mormon colonists, they will probably be longest remembered as having provided an entering wedge for other American interests in northern Mexico. As one of the dominant social and religious groups in the American southwest, they played the same role in Chihuahua and Sonora that other Americans of an earlier generation had played in Texas and California. That the American flag was never raised in Hermosillo or Chihuahua City cannot be credited to the Mormons for failure to approach that objective in the traditional American way.

But if the 1910 upheaval stemmed the further flow of American

²⁶(continued) tion, instead of going to the U.S. for that purpose.

"A number of the general authorities of the Church who have visited our Stake quarterly conferences have strongly advised our people to become Mexican citizens and become more closely identified with the affairs of this country." Jenson, Juarez Stake. Concerning the negative response to this charge, see LeRona M. Wilson, "The Differential Development Among Anglos and Mexicans," 110-112 passim.

²⁷Interview with Nelle S. Hatch, July 11, 1926.

pioneers and capital into Mexico's northern provinces, it also wrote the conclusion to a quarter century of local history in eight Mormon communities. And however extensive the establishment of Mormon schools and churches in Mexico in the future, there will likely never be another generation so willing to sacrifice and so dedicated in their "faith and works" as those migrants of the 1880's and 90's who left nearly everything behind to bear to the people of Mexico, to their deserts and mountains, the combined blessings of Anglo-Saxon civilization and Mormon religion.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Born in Vernal, Utah on December 24, 1934, I spent the first seven years of my life in the state of Utah. Then two years of residence in Florence, Arizona was followed by an extended residence in the state of Washington. I graduated from high school in Wapato, Washington in June of 1953.

As the son of a high school teacher in vocational agriculture, most of my time and interest was taken up with various agricultural projects and activities in farm youth organizations. It wasn't until late in my junior year at college at Washington State University that I decided on majoring in the field of history.

After graduating with an A.B. degree in June of 1957, I entered Brigham Young University the next autumn as a candidate for an A.M. degree in American History. When the Master's degree was completed in 1959, I was granted a teaching fellowship for the purpose of pursuing doctoral work in the Department of History at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan. Since completing my course work at Wayne State University, I have been employed as an Assistant Professor in the Department of History and Philosophy of Education at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

I have no publications or professional honors. My wife is the former Kamillia M. Compton and we have four children.

