Printing in Deseret

Mormons, Economy, Politics, & Utah's Incunabula, 1849–1851

A HISTORY AND DESCRIPTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Richard L. Saunders

Printing in Deseret is a narrative history of the advent of printing in Utah, and of the earliest printed documents, or incunabula, created during the initial settlement years of the state. It also includes a bibliographic history of the press, chronicling more than fifty printed items, most never before described. Scholars and enthusiasts of Western Americana and LDS Church history will appreciate this meticulously researched account of the birth of printing and publishing in the nascent Utah Territory.

"The bibliographic description of early Utah imprints is unsurpassed in its thoroughness of coverage and descriptive detail."
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"An important aspect of the cultural history of the state."
—Jeffrey O. Johnson, director, Utah State Archives

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A History and Descriptive Bibliography

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R.S.

Introduction

TIME IS LINEAR FOR WESTERN CULTURES. We speak of "time lines" as we would speak of a "line of sight," a straight and unswerving thing as real as the clocks that snip time into manageable bits and tick it away for us. Life consists of things that begin in one time and place and end somewhere and sometime else. Because of this temporal conception, things that happen first, such as births, graduations, and arrivals, become important in themselves. The small, personal things we choose to commemorate with privately remembered anniversaries. When something happens that is large enough to be culturally important, we invent holidays and celebrations.

As civilization perpetuates and extends itself, "firsts" are inevitable. In every location there will be a group of culturally acknowledged "first settlers" (often little more than invaders), a first industry or two, first churches, and the like. But a "first" credited in one place takes away none of the novelty or importance of the same "first" elsewhere. Those who are and that which is first claim the place of precedence; notable or ignoble, a pioneer marks a point of beginning. Whether shrouded by myth or brightly lit by contemporary documentation, beginnings are respected by those who succeed to the pathbreaker's heritage.

Humans are both a tool-using and self-aware species. As technology and its application change, the works of our hands provide us with a host of tangible firsts. In Europe, soon after printing brought duplicate works into the world, perception of "the book" as the ideas that made up a text began to be replaced by "the book" as a discrete physical object. Because printers could produce more than one copy of a work, readers (and later collectors) could pursue *a specific* book because it was different from another. The inkstained tedium in the workaday world of books and printing has never suffered from a lack of affectionate devotees. Almost from the creation of Johann Gensfleisch zum Gutenberg's 42-Line Bible in 1455—the genuinely first "first"—those who are fascinated by the printer's craft or the bibliographer's detail have marked out successively smaller domains where one printer and his output may be considered "the first."

The printing press's European role as an arbiter of ideas confirmed its potential as an agent of intellectual conquest. Printing and the press

arrived in the Americas in 1539, a weapon in the Spanish conquest of Mexico, wielded less than a century after its invention. But both the time and the venue of the Western Hemisphere's first printer, Giovanni Paoli (better known by his hispanicized name, Juan Pablos), are too unlike our American present for him to be adored as "our" pioneer. Even Stephen Daye, who began his work at the Massachusetts Bay Colony almost precisely a century after Pablos, is not sufficiently "close" for all parts of a nation as geographically diverse as the United States.

It did not take long for other printers to join Daye in the British and French colonies. Printing presses flourished as populations eventually shifted westward, first in emerging coastal cities, then over trans-Appalachia into Ohio and Kentucky, through the deep South, and up the Mississippi basin. By the midpoint of the nineteenth century, cities had developed commercial publishing industries and country newspaper offices had begun to disseminate news and culture in the nation's interior, even in small towns. With that expansive settlement came arbitrary but comfortable political borders, which reduced to comprehensiveness a North American geography that was overly large and entirely unmanageable by European standards. State lines are too firmly imprinted upon our concept of time and place for us to disregard them; fortunately, those borders make neat boxes. Within its borders each state may look back on its respective collection of cultural firsts. It is with the bibliographic firsts of one cultural domain that this book is concerned.

With few exceptions, each state has provided a fertile field for enterprising bibliographers. For states of the Atlantic seaboard the attempt to enumerate their bibliography began early, early enough that the American Antiquarian Society imposes the year 1800 as the cutoff date for distinguishing "early" American imprints from the rest. This is a temporal division, but it therefore also becomes a geographic one. Europeans and Americans paid little attention to the continent's arid interior until the nineteenth century. Although the press was well established in the eastern seaboard states and was becoming entrenched in the Midwest, the Far West was just being comprehended, and consequently three-quarters of the continent's modern civilization falls outside the Antiquarian Society's "early" category. When one considers how much printing had been done through the three busy centuries after Pablos's commission and in the two centuries after Daye's arrival, it seems somewhat unusual to *begin* a part of the nation's bibliographic history so late in the country's development.

The fact remains that in the half-century between 1800 and 1850 more

became known about the part of the continent we call the American West than had been gleaned in the preceding three centuries. In fact, the first Americans did not appear in what we identify as the West until several years after the Antiquarian Society's cutoff date. Transcontinental travel was first accomplished in 1806 by the Corps of Discovery under captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. It took thirty years after Lewis and Clark's journey for the first wheeled vehicle to cross the continental divide, but fewer than fifteen more before cross-continental wagon travel became fairly common. Routes were fairly well established by 1849, the first year of the California gold rush. All this was primarily travel *through* the West rather than *to* it, however. Excepting the tenure of the Spanish missions in California and the Southwest and the British fur posts in the Oregon country, the effectual political and social history of the American West begins almost uniformly with the establishment of U.S. territories in the mid-1850s.

Because of the West's geographic richness and diversity, for some states the story begins with the economic draw of metals, timber, open range, or farmland. For what is now Utah the initial attraction was isolation—sky-broad emptiness and wind-strewn silence. The state's settlement began in July 1847 with the arrival of displaced Yankees in the self-styled Pioneer Company. Barely two years later, with a sizable part of the population still living out of canvas-topped wagons, residents petitioned for the civilizing status of U.S. statehood. Though it was one of the earliest trans-Mississippi territories to be established, and despite the subsequent admission of almost a dozen of its fellow territories, Utah was not granted statehood for almost fifty years. The reason, agreed upon by both sides though from entirely opposite perspectives, was religion. Five times before 1896 Utah's electoral majority tried hard to make its overwhelming cultural hegemony appear to be an American liberal democracy.

Utah's unique admixture of secular and sectarian history was such that for the great private collectors of Western Americana—Coe, Graff, Auerbach, Rollins, and Streeter, to name a few—"Utah and the Mormons" was considered one genre, not two. Like virtually everything else about the state's early years, the bibliographic history of Utah is a story of and about the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (often called the Latter-day Saints, saints, or simply Mormons; hereinafter referred to commonly as "the church"). Theirs is an intricate, convoluted history, the study of which has gained devotees among both the studious and the curious as the sect's founding events recede further into the past and as church membership grows.

Daily life becomes history precisely at the point when someone not involved in an event becomes interested in it. But memories fade, records are incomplete, legends grow, facts are overlooked, and ultimately someone else chooses to reconstruct a picture of the past as best he or she can from what remains. Thus no narrative history is entirely newly told, and the story of printing in Utah (née Deseret) is no exception. The first substantive historical comment on printing and the press in Utah was made almost fifty years after the first press arrived. By that time, silver mining had declined in importance and beet sugar seemed poised to become the state's primary export. Along with the robust sugar industry, printing was featured in the *Deseret News*'s commemorative sections during the new state's semicentennial festivities of 1897. "Something of Ourselves," an article in the Jubilee issue of July 24 that year, was the newspaper's reflection on its own history. Unfortunately, about its earliest years the article tended to rely on tradition and assumptions. As a result, some misunderstandings were generated about Utah's first press. Without available primary sources to the contrary, the stories were accepted in good faith by later students. The 1897 article was most likely the source for the incorrect extrapolation made a few years later by Scipio A. Kenner in his *Utah as It Is.* Some of the early mistakes were avoided in the exceedingly brief attention Douglas McMurtrie paid to the dynamics of printing in his *Beginnings of Printing in Utah,* a book that focused primarily on checklisting the imprints then known. A few years later Utah was treated summarily by John Clyde Oswald in his *Printing in the Americas,* which, despite its title, was limited almost exclusively to the United States and which in addressing Utah drew almost exclusively on McMurtrie's work. At about the same time, the press's history was mentioned, but its origin was misdated, in a promotional book. *Utah—Sources and Activities* stated that the press had come to Utah in 1847 with the Pioneer Company, and this error was distributed widely to Utah schools and tourists. Cecil Alter gleaned contemporary data directly from newspapers about their own (and others') doings for his landmark compilation on the history of newspapering in the state, and the same process was used for two articles compiled by Kate B. Carter in her Daughters of Utah Pioneers lessons.[1]

[1] "Something of Ourselves," *Deseret Evening News,* 24 July 1897; S. A. Kenner, *Utah as It Is* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1904), 152; Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Beginnings of Printing in Utah: With a Bibliography of the Issues of the Utah Press, 1849–1860* (Chicago: John Calhoun Club, 1931); John Clyde Oswald, *Printing in the Americas* (New York: Gregg Publishing Co., 1937), 434–37; *Utah—Resources and Activities* (Dept. of Public Instruction, 1933), 373; J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism: A Half Century of Forensic Warfare, Waged*

Fortunately, early omissions and suppositions were corrected and the story has been better documented in more recent works. Roby Wentz for his *Eleven Western Presses* and Roger J. Trienens for his *Pioneer Imprints from Fifty States* both went to the primary documentation then available to create more accurate accounts of the press in Utah. Monte McLaws addressed part of the story, primarily a critique of the press's main output, the newspaper, in his interpretive biography of the *Deseret News.* Peter Crawley's *Constitution of the State of Deseret* discussed the first impression of that document and presented early elements in the story of Utah's first press which occurred while the press itself was in transit to the Mormon way station at Council Bluffs, Iowa. Larry Stahle's *A Lasting Impression,* a company history of the Deseret News Press, contains a somewhat summary account of the book-publishing business that succeeded the first press. By far the most complete story of Utah's first press is the artful rendition found in the first two chapters of Wendell Ashton's *Voice in the West,* a centennial history of the *Deseret News* published in 1950. For half a century, Ashton's book has stood firmly as the foundational secondary work on early Utah publishing.[2]

All these works continue to hold their value as landmarks and studies in their own right. In the years after their publication, however, enough newly discovered primary sources have resurfaced—most, comparatively recently—to merit a detailed revisiting of Utah's printing history. But it is impossible to comprehend the history of printing in early Utah without explicitly accepting the avowed sectarian purpose for which the press was brought. "The history of the Mormon-supported enterprise," noted Oswald, "is almost the history of early printing and publishing in Utah."[3] He was incorrect in only one respect—the use of the word *almost.* Until 1857

by the West's Most Militant Press (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1938); Kate B. Carter, comp., "Journalism in Pioneer Days," *Heart Throbs of the West* 5 (1944): 129–36, and "Utah's First Newspaper," *Heart Throbs of the West* 11 (1950): 293–328.

[2] Roby Wentz, *Eleven Western Presses: An Account of How the First Printing Press Came to Each of the Eleven Western States* (Los Angeles, 1956); Roger J. Trienens, *Pioneer Imprints from Fifty States* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1973); Monte Burr McLaws, *Spokesman for the Kingdom: Early Mormon Journalism and the* Deseret News, *1830–1898* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young Univ. Press, 1977); Peter Crawley, *The Constitution of the State of Deseret* (Provo, Utah: Friends of the Brigham Young Univ. Library, 1982); Larry Stahle, *A Lasting Impression: A Press for All the World: A History of the Deseret Press, 1850–1980* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Press, 1980); Wendell Ashton, *A Voice in the West: Biography of a Pioneer Newspaper* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1950), chaps. 1–2; the last work was recast but not updated in "Truth & Liberty: Pioneers in Printers' Ink," *The Pioneer* (Summer 1995): 24–27.

[3] Oswald, *Printing in the Americas,* 437.

the history of early printing and publishing in Utah is *entirely* a study of Mormon-supported enterprise. No parallel comment could be made about the dawn of printing in any other state (with the possible exceptions of Massachusetts and New Mexico). Studying the press in early Utah without acknowledging its function as a facet of Mormon social and pioneer culture itself would make the story shallow to a point of evaporating away. Consequently, it would be inaccurate and unfair to represent Utah's first press as anything besides what it was, a private press.

Printing is only one of many threads in the Mormons' cultural tapestry, and the establishment of printing in Utah is one stop along the evolving continuum of a cultural institution. Printing in Utah had a convoluted origin and would pass through more complex developments after the period addressed in this book.

Except for a brief summary that I provide as an afterword, the various aspects of printing and the press after 1851 must be considered elsewhere; this work is concerned with printing in Utah during its earliest years. Even so, examining the productive history of the press in Utah alone is interesting but uninformative, and it does the reader a disservice by pulling the central topic out of context. When one studies a settlement as small, as new, as culturally cohesive, and as fluid as Great Salt Lake City, nothing that is genuinely substantive (and much of what does not seem substantive) may be meaningfully disentangled from contemporary events. I have therefore married a focused history of Utah's earliest printing with a consideration of the external, sometimes entirely unrelated, forces that shaped it.

The history of printing in Deseret is entirely unlike the early history of printing in other western states, where nearly all the efforts were private ventures embarked upon as opportunities were perceived. Conversely, printing in primordial Utah cannot be understood beyond the context of the struggle to establish bounds within Latter-day Saint culture following the shooting of founder Joseph Smith. For the saints who went West this process gelled around the acceptance of apostolic leadership and the physical removal to the Salt Lake Valley. But even within this setting printing cannot be understood without also addressing the economics imposed by the isolation of the Great Basin, especially the capital infusion and societal flux injected by the two years of the California gold rush. The economic picture should itself be viewed against a still wider background, Deseret's self-generated regional politics as presented at the national level. Nevertheless, the importance of even this regional context diminishes to foot-

note stature when Deseret is placed within the monumental political upheavals of 1850.

These three themes—Mormon social maintenance and reconstruction, the economics of the saints' isolated refuge and the California gold rush, and the quest for national political recognition—together shaped the practical conduct of printing in Deseret and Utah's first years. Obviously, books could be written on each of these topics (and in some cases already have been). The narrative and interpretation I supply here is therefore introductory rather than exhaustive; those conversant in either Latter-day Saint history or American printing history should find enough substance in the book to gain a basic familiarity with the other topic. I hope you find it useful.

PART I

A History of Printing and Deseret

CHAPTER ONE

A Press for Deseret

"DESERET,'" WROTE UTAH WRITERS' PROJECT editor Dale L. Morgan in 1940, "is almost a lost word in Utah."[4] Still, at the time Morgan wrote the first and still the best history of this constitutional curiosity, one could hardly walk the streets of Salt Lake City without encountering *Deseret* in the names of virtually every type of business from bakeries to undertakers. For a century and more the name was strewn across the state, hallmark of collective pride in a heritage of near-mythic proportions. Though Morgan might be faulted for running down accuracy with literary license, today the social memory of Deseret's significance really is nearly extinct. The ranks of cultural outsiders, who have always puzzled over what the name means and where it came from, have now been joined by an entire generation of Utah natives.

The name *deseret* was lifted as both a symbol and an admonition from a word in the Book of Mormon. Regarded alongside the Bible as scripture by the people it nicknamed, the Book of Mormon in one section describes the departure of a group called the Jaredites from the Tower of Babel and excerpts their subsequent history in "a land of promise." Before embarking on their journey, explains another writer, "they gathered seeds, fowls, and animals, including *deseret,* 'which, by interpretation is a honey bee.'" "The beehive, signifying cooperative industry," he continues,

> became a pioneer symbol [in Utah], and in the century to follow was to appear on objects ranging from Brigham Young's brass bootjack to the white, ornate dome of the splendorous Hotel Utah. Even after Deseret became Utah Territory, Brigham Young explained at a conference that engravings on the Sanpete [County] stone going to Washington, D.C., for the Washington Monument, would be engraved with a beehive and "Deseret" in large letters.[5]

[4] Dale L. Morgan, *The State of Deseret,* ed. Charles S. Peterson (Logan: Utah State Univ. Press, 1987), 1.
[5] Ashton, *Voice in the West,* 24, citing the Book of Mormon, Ether 2:3.

Deseret was the name, laden with symbolism, adopted for the first practical government established in the Rocky Mountain West. In 1849 its residents petitioned for admission to the Union, a process that was wrecked on the rocky politics of the Thirty-First Congress. Territorial status was granted to the petitioners the following year under the name *Utah,* an act that relegated Deseret to the indefinite status of a "provisional" state.

As curious as a provisional state may now seem, it was neither the first nor last provisional government in U.S. constitutional history. The institution shares with at least four other ghostly political organizations (those of Oregon, California, and the ethereal "states" of Franklin and Jefferson) the distinction of being created from within and of soliciting membership in the Union without congressional mandate. Texas isn't included in that short list since it received statehood by annexation as an independent republic, and in fact California succeeded directly to statehood without enduring a territorial apprenticeship. But besides Deseret, the home-grown organizations of Franklin (now Tennessee), Jefferson (Colorado and parts of surrounding states), and Oregon were each rejected by Congress.

Temporally, Deseret outlasted its fellows and among them was probably the most viable functional government. Its success was due largely to its unique social setting. Still, Deseret's official existence as a provisional institution was brief, lasting from 1849 to 1851, when Utah Territory officially assumed its functions. The early demise of the "state" was followed by various reincarnations and a checkered constitutional career. Later "Deseret" survived through several undisguised annual sessions as an organization that ran parallel to the territorial government and generated statehood proposals in 1856, 1862, and 1872.[6] Because of the name's origin, for the majority of residents of Utah Territory, achieving statehood under the name *Deseret* was an issue that carried religious significance. That quite simply was part of the problem. Finally, after the fourth congressionally rejected bid for statehood in 1872, residents of Utah Territory gave up hope of establishing a state under their preferred designation. The name carried with it too much baggage.

But in 1849 domestic sovereignty protected by a grant of statehood had not yet been rejected. Brigham Young and his people, the Mormons, were as busy as the honeybees they had adopted for a symbol. They were establishing themselves and civilizing a wilderness, confident that they could

[6] Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* ([East Lansing]: Michigan State Univ. Press, 1970), particularly chaps. 7–8, though the interpretation is now somewhat dated.

fulfill Isaiah's prophecy by making the Great Basin desert blossom as a rose (Isaiah 35:1). And they wanted people to know it. That is one reason the first piece of machinery specifically brought to the dry, almost treeless Great Salt Lake valley was a printing press.

Beginnings

The history of printing in Deseret and Utah has its practical origin two years earlier and a thousand miles to the east, in a refugee camp huddled on the western bank of the Missouri River, slightly north of what is now Omaha, Nebraska. Just why the camp was there in 1847 pushes back the story another year, to the midwinter flight of the largest population of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) from their "beautiful place."

The history of the Mormons is too well documented to need retelling here, except briefly.[7] The roots of the sect begin with revelations to Joseph Smith, Jr., a farm boy from Palmyra, New York, and the subsequent publication of the Book of Mormon. These were the kernel for a church, which was organized in the state in 1830. Persecution erupted even before the legal organization was completed. Believers eventually departed New York for places west—Kirtland, Ohio, and Independence, Missouri, specifically. Despite their small numbers, the "Mormonites" became an evangelical success whose missionaries within ten years drew believers from all over the United States and upper Canada. Converts tended to congregate, and growing populations tipped the political balance of their host communities. In 1833 Mormon residents were burned and driven out of the Independence area and settled farther north. After repeated and escalating conflicts with nonmember neighbors a few years later, they were driven entirely from Missouri in the dead of winter under governor Lilburn Boggs's infamous "Extermination Order." The refugees crossed the Mississippi River into Illinois, where in the spring of 1839 church leaders purchased a swampy townsite that an optimistic land speculator had named Commerce. Under the immediate direction of the church's thirty-three-year-old prophet and founder, the city, renamed Nauvoo, grew quickly—too quickly. In four years the Mormon settlement was the second largest city in Illinois.

Also in 1839 Smith's younger brother, Don Carlos, brought to Nauvoo the city's first printing press. That fall Don Carlos Smith and Ebenezer

[7] An admirable general summary of LDS history in this period may be found in Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience* (New York: Knopf, 1979), chaps. 4–6.

Robinson distributed the first issue of a church-focused magazine entitled the *Times and Seasons.* As its success grew, the ability of private individuals to control dissemination of official news of the church became a tender issue between the proprietors and church leadership. Eventually, Joseph Smith and the Quorum of Twelve Apostles leveraged a buyout of the Nauvoo printing office and *Times and Seasons* in 1842. Thereafter either Joseph Smith or one of the apostles assumed direction. If the takeover alone did not make it abundantly clear that the dissemination of official news of the church, whether in periodical, book, or pamphlet form, should fall under the control of the quorum, Joseph's final comments on the matter—a revelation instructing the Twelve Apostles that it was the Lord's will that they take editorial control of the *Times and Seasons*—certainly did.[8]

Though printing had always functioned on the fringes of Latter-day Saint officiality—printers were "called" or appointed by revelation or church vote and were guided closely by the leadership—Smith's action in Nauvoo made the press (and therefore printing itself) one facet of the church's central authority. Printing and the communication it represented, however, was one function that would not be delegated. Though long strides still remained to be taken toward solidifying specific organizational functions, the Latter-day Saint governance was steadily becoming a traditional hierarchy. The authority structure devolved from the holders of revealed priesthood keys (the prophet or president of the church and the apostles) by delegation to priesthood quorums and ultimately to individual lay priesthood holders and the church membership at large. Priesthood authority was not something held conjointly nor could it be focused back *up* the chain to force action. The presbytery of early Christianity or priesthood of all believers of the Reformation had no place in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—change came only from the top. That point precisely was a major concern of non-Mormon neighbors.

Nauvoo's substantial new population quickly realigned Hancock County's economic power, and the solidarity of a sizable new voting bloc threatened to upset the balance of Illinois politics even at the state level. At the same time, a new waterfront city presented opportunities to the river's less inhibited entrepreneurs, who were eager to contribute a seamy side to

[8] Terence A. Tanner, "The Mormon Press in Nauvoo," in *Kingdom on the Mississippi Revisited: Nauvoo in Mormon History,* ed. Roger D. Launius and John E. Hallwas (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1996), 101–3; revelation dated 28 Jan. 1842, B. H. Roberts, ed., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1902–12), 4:503.

Nauvoo's growth. Resentments festered. As tensions escalated on both sides, Joseph Smith was imprisoned and ultimately felled along with his brother by a mob's bullets in late June 1844. "Thus Endeth Mormonism!" screamed newspaper headlines in the days after the Smiths' lynching. Antagonists were certain they had won. It was a premature triumph: the Mormons did not disassemble, nor did they flee the state in disarray. Hostilities in western Illinois continued to spiral, but it took two more years for isolated church members to be burned out and driven from the area at gunpoint.

Though Joseph Smith's demise left an apparent power vacuum, direction of the church's affairs was quickly assumed by the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, headed by Brigham Young. But there were other claimants to the position. Smith's long-time acquaintance Sidney Rigdon was supported in his claim to primacy by a number of prominent Nauvoo citizens, including the president of the local "stake" (roughly analogous to a Catholic diocese) and several members of the city's ecclesiastical high council. Rigdon's bid for the position was effectively nullified by Brigham Young's arguments, and Rigdon was popularly rejected soon after Smith's death, but his dismissal was not by any means the end to such claims. In the next few years Charles B. Thompson, Francis Gladden Bishop, James Colin Brewster, Lyman Wight, and a veritable host of others sought to convince the Mormons that revelatory authority and therefore responsibility for church governance rested with them individually.[9]

Far and away the most successful counterclaimant to apostolic leadership was James J. Strang, a Wisconsin convert with merely four months' tenure as a member of the church and almost absolute anonymity at the time of Smith's murder. But Strang was consumed by a hunger for worldly reputation and possessed an innate talent for promotion. Through 1845 while the apostles labored to gather the scattered saints to Nauvoo, keep mobs at bay, plan the evacuation of the city, lay in food and stores, and decide just where it was they were going, and through 1846 as the Nauvoo saints vacated homes to move across the frozen Mississippi River and Iowa mud, James Strang was busy in Wisconsin initiating a publishing campaign of pamphlets and a weekly newspaper to announce and build upon his claim as Smith's successor.[10]

[9] On Latter Day Saint dispersion history, see Steven L. Shields, *Divergent Paths of the Restoration,* 3d ed. (Bountiful, Utah: Restoration Research, 1982).

[10] The best treatment of Strang's early years is Roger Van Noord, *King of Beaver Island: The Life and Assassination of James Jesse Strang* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1988), 4–66. For

The apostles realized how vulnerable congregations would be without an authoritative source of news. One aspect of the original plan for westward movement called for the pioneering company to take with them a printing press, one of the two presses from the *Times and Seasons* plant. That plan lasted merely a week. The city's established news-and-book printing office had to be abandoned as the saints began hastily leaving Nauvoo in February 1846. Still, the printing office was almost the last of the city's institutions to be closed down. Its closure stanched the outward flow of print-disseminated news, encouragement, and instructions from the church's newspaper and broadside proclamations. For three years after the city's evacuation the dearth of printed communications from the apostolic leaders (1846–48) proved to be an expensive lesson in social cohesion. The apostles struggled mightily to maintain connections to scattered congregations with correspondence and rare visits from missionaries but could not personally contact every branch of the church. Keenly aware of the importance of communication, in September 1846 Brigham Young wrote to the Nauvoo Trustees asking them to send him at Winter Quarters the two presses from the newspaper office and other supplies:

> We wish you to send us the two printing presses, all the type, brass rule and fixtures belonging thereto . . . and all the plates and fixtures of the stereotype foundry and screw tools of the bindery [probably a job backer], ink, paper, etc. etc. etc.—everything that may be useful and cannot readily be furnished by the labor in the wildernes, with as little delay as possible, either by the teams going from here or such as you shall furnish.[11]

Primarily because a capital outlay was necessary to move the equipment, it never happened through all of 1846, 1847, and into 1848. Young might as well have asked them to ship the Nauvoo Temple. Despite their positions as receivers, the trustees had no resources. The central body of Mormonism lacked both a printing press of its own and cash to have printing done. The apostles, frantically trying to gather a dispersed membership, were unable to distribute the call effectively.

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an intimate window into Strang's character, see *The Diary of James J. Strang,* ed. Mark Strang (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1961).

[11] *A Circular of the High Council* (Nauvoo, Ill., 1846), dated Jan. 20. The Mormons began leaving Feb. 6. Brigham Young to Almon Babbitt, Joseph Heywood, John Fullmer, 27 Sept. 1846, in *Journal History of the Church,* 28 Sept. 1846.

In the communicative vacuum that followed, Strang (and others) successfully stepped into the breach. Most used the extended social reach that printing gave them to propagandize, attracting the allegiance of church members from isolated congregations and even invading the Mormon core. Strang's weekly newspaper (the *Voree Herald* and later *Gospel Herald*) and active pamphleteering broadcast a competing summons and heralded an organization that, despite his anonymity, eventually drew several hundred church members and a few thousand new converts to his Wisconsin (later Michigan) kingdom. That Strang's publishing made inroads into church membership was a point not at all missed by the apostles. The greatest number of Strang's "Old Mormon" converts were gleaned out of the Midwest from isolated Latter-day Saint congregations, those that had not gathered with the saints to Nauvoo and would not choose to make the trek west. The attention Strang's press generated among the scattered Mormon flock thumbed a proverbial nose at the apostles' solid claims to ordained authority, underscoring their inability to communicate meaningfully with the saints.[12] In the midst of the Mormon flight westward, Strang's success confirmed the importance of reestablishing the fleeing saints' own press as quickly as possible. With that they could again broadcast *their* word. But in the pinched face of general privation after the evacuation of Nauvoo, simple human survival became the paramount interest of both church leaders and members generally.

In the final general conference held before evacuating their city (October 1845), apostle Heber C. Kimball had mentioned that in the impending move it would be advisable "to have some school books printed for the education of our children, which will not be according to the Gentile order." The next speaker happened to be one of the church's oldest members, a fifty-three-year-old former newspaper editor and printer, William Wines Phelps. Phelps reminded the conference that he had once been appointed not only to do printing but also for "selecting and writing books for schools in this church." Whether this was an explicit part of the commission or a convenient extrapolation on Phelps's part is unknown. The idea was put as a motion to the conference, and a formal vote authorized Phelps to begin compiling such books.[13]

[12] An entirely different picture existed elsewhere. The Latter-day Saint press in Britain remained healthy and active, for example. Not only was it easily able to counter schism, but the number of converts continued to grow. See Peter Crawley, *Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church, Vol. 1, 1830–1847* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young Univ. Religious Studies Center, 1998) (successive volumes will carry the catalogue history through 1857).
[13] *Times and Seasons* 6 (15 Nov. 1845): 1015.

W. W. Phelps had been a printer in Canadaigua, New York, and editor of the *Ontario Phoenix* in 1830 when he heard of a curious book of new scripture from a distant friend in Palmyra, Martin Harris. Phelps joined this new Church of Christ (as it was then called) that same year and was one of the first converts to move with his small family to the church's announced gathering place near Independence in 1831. Here he was appointed to "be established as a printer unto the church." Phelps carried with him a printing press destined to become western Missouri's first. From the second story of what has been reported as one of the two brick buildings in Independence he published for his growing number of fellow believers the *Evening and the Morning Star,* a monthly religious newspaper heavy with revelations, sermons, and religious poetry, and the *Upper Missouri Advertiser,* a fledgling weekly newspaper of secular interest. Phelps's sectarian publication became a target for criticism, an unabashed hallmark of the Mormons' Yankee zeal for the cause of Zion, and constituted the classic demonstration of how *not* to run a Mormon press. The paper precipitated enough animosity among the saints' slave-owning neighbors that in July 1833 the townsfolk destroyed Phelps's printing office, pied the type, and confiscated the press itself. The very building was demolished. Despite his commission as "printer to the church," Phelps thereafter had remained beyond even the fringes of Mormon publishing ventures in Kirtland, Ohio; Far West, Missouri; and Nauvoo, Illinois. The tacit ban continued even after the press was well established in the isolation of the Salt Lake valley. Though he remained an engaged, active member of the church to the end of his life, Phelps never returned to prominence in Latter-day Saint publishing. This speech before the Nauvoo conference may have been an attempt to salvage his earlier career. But given the press of things in Nauvoo at the moment, Phelps didn't have time to get much done.[14]

The vanguard company of refugee Mormons crossed from Nauvoo to the Iowa bank of the frozen Mississippi in February 1846, fully intending to press all the way across the prairies and the high plains to the Great Basin the same year. That trek might have been possible under ideal condi-

[14] Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson Historical Publishing Co., 1901–36), 3:692–97; *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City), 57:11–13; Viola A. Perotti, *Important Firsts in Missouri Imprints, 1808–1858,* rev. R. F. Perotti (Kansas City, Mo.: R. F. Perotti, 1967), 17–19; Lyndon W. Cook, *The Revelations of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 87. A biography in progress by Bruce Van Orden should provide better documentation of Phelps's career.

tions, but unforeseen inclement weather and the attendant realities of mud, ill-preparedness, and exhaustion combined to halt the companies in bedraggled settlements strung across Iowa. By the end of the sodden summer almost four thousand refugees had managed to advance far enough to cross to the western banks of the Missouri River, thereby avoiding one spring-swollen river crossing and getting that much closer to their ultimate goal—wherever it was to be. Here, with the grudging permission of the federal government and on land set aside for Ponca, Omaha, and Otoe Indians, the saints hurriedly regrouped in a winter encampment, preparing to start westward the next season. It was a miserable wait in appalling conditions. Lucky residents were packed into ill-built, mud-floored cabins. The less well off huddled through the winter in caves dug into streambanks, in wagon boxes, and in hovels of every description.

The spring thaws of 1847 turned the edge of the bitter, knife-like winter that had cut mercilessly through the Mormons' riverbank camp. Warm winds converted the hastily arranged settlement into a dreary morass. Nearly a fifth of its souls had been thinned over the winter by scurvy, exposure, malnutrition, and so many other causes that no one bothered to keep track. Through the dark winter wait, in drafty cabins by guttering candlelight, the leaders discussed and studied and planned for the impending trek. As spring approached, the frequency and pace of meetings accelerated. No one in Winter Quarters planned on staying a moment longer than necessary, but they could not leave before there was a place to go.[15] The general destination had been settled upon: somewhere off the beaten track in the largely unknown, unmapped expanse of the Great Basin, in the vicinity of the Salt Lake. The devil was in the detail of just where.

On the final day of March 1847, those of the church's twelve-member apostolic quorum who had not either apostatized or been sent abroad on proselyting missions met with captains of the first overland company. It was yet another of their near-daily meetings, reviewing final plans for the pioneering thrust into the heart of the continent. Departure for the plains was imminent. Now with the first company packed and all but started on the overland trail, it was time to look still further ahead and begin planning for moving the entire camp out of Nebraska and Iowa and for reintegrating some of the social institutions that had been neglected in their flight.

[15] Winter Quarters and the subsequent trek west are admirably addressed by Richard E. Bennett in *Mormons at the Missouri, 1846–1852: "And Should We Die"* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1987), and *We'll Find the Place: The Mormon Exodus, 1846–1848* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997).

One of these issues was communicating formally with the scattered branches of the church in some substantive fashion. In the technology of the mid-nineteenth century, communication meant printing.

Latter-day Saint history itself had amply demonstrated the press's power as a tool for the church.[16] Those who sat in the Winter Quarters councils had proved that point in domestic and foreign missions. Strang's constant sniping was a gadfly that plagued the westering Mormons throughout their mud-caked exodus. The situation illustrated that in the hands of detractors, heretics, or apostates, the press could argue just as effectively against priesthood authority. For more than a year, since February 1846, the apostles had not communicated with the saints or congregations except individually by letter or brief visits. The two printing presses in Nauvoo were evidently no longer an option. The leadership desperately needed to communicate word of what was happening directly to the still-scattered saints and missionaries through the United States, Canada, Britain, and Europe. The Mormons needed a printing press.

The Press Mission

After the emigration captains left the camp council meeting on March 31, the apostles sat down again to discuss communications, printing, and the press issue specifically. W. W. Phelps was an invited participant. We can surmise the major points behind the decision from the official minutes and from hints recorded in the diaries of the attendees.

Thomas Bullock recorded that Phelps "brought forth his desires about a printing press," though that point does not appear in the sketchy official minutes. It seems that, being left behind from the Pioneer Company, Phelps may have hoped to improve the time by getting back into the church printing business. Bullock's note suggests that Phelps recalled for the leadership his early appointment as a church printer and reminded them of the conference's action six months earlier commissioning him to begin working anew on "schoolbooks." Ultimately, the group discussion crystallized into a resolution to send the fifty-five-year-old Phelps on a mission to the East to secure a printing press and other necessary printer's supplies and to have it back in camp that summer or fall, ready to haul west the following year. The meeting minutes and diarist Wilford Woodruff noted only that a direction had been decided on and a commission had been made.[17]

[16] David J. Whittaker, "Early Mormon Pamphleteering" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young Univ., 1982); see also Crawley, *Descriptive Bibliography.*
[17] "Camp Journal of Willard Richards No. 4," as kept by Thomas Bullock, Willard Richards

The nature of the appointment—a mission—and the specificity of the assignment suggest the importance with which communication began to be regarded. Few missionary calls in the early church were made to perform seemingly secular tasks; they were typically issued to preach or further the good of the church as a whole and were thus calls to religious service. But in making his pitch Phelps had entirely missed an important point. The apostles' plan was rooted in the precedent established with the *Times and Seasons* in Nauvoo. Devoted absolutely to his prophet and friend, Brigham Young accepted fully Joseph Smith's revelation of January 1842 concerning the editorial control of Nauvoo's church magazine. But in light of the current communication crisis he now interpreted its sentiment much more broadly: "The twelve should superintend the printing wharever they were," he stated. Despite what William Phelps might think about his appointment, he was in fact acting as an agent for the church's apostolic leadership. It was Phelps who had *asked* to go; it was the apostles who were in charge of the mission.

Phelps seems to have been the only church member with practical printing experience then available. Several of the apostles were experienced editors, including John Taylor, who had run the press office in Nauvoo, but it is unlikely that any were familiar enough with the practical side of a printing concern to equip an entirely new printory. Of figures from the Nauvoo newspaper office, pressman Lyman O. Littlefield was on his way to England as a missionary, Don Carlos Smith was dead, and Ebenezer Robinson was somewhere in Illinois, his connection to the church rather tenuous. Others, such as pressmen Arieh C. Brower and George Q. Cannon or editorial assistants Gustavus Hills and Joseph Cain, had practical printing experience but lacked an overall familiarity with the business.

Now fifteen years after his ouster from Independence, buying a printing press and outfitting a small printing plant seemed a relatively simple chore, yet there was a significant catch to Phelps's mission. General poverty among the saints and the attendant need to use any available resources for food meant that Phelps first had to find the money to fulfill his commission. To smooth the way as much as possible, senior apostle and

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diaries, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Archives, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Church Archives), entry dated 31 Mar. 1847; *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898,* ed. Scott G. Kenney, 8 vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1983), 3:295 (6 Dec. 1847); ibid., 3:144 (31 Mar. 1847); "Memorandums April 1847," in secretary Thomas Bullock's handwriting, General Church minutes collection, Church Archives. From later comments it seems that Phelps also was asked to acquire flour and other staples for the Winter Quarters settlement on his way east. W. W. Phelps to Brigham Young, 3 June 1846, Ms 2736, Church Archives.

quorum president Brigham Young dictated a general letter "to the saints in the United States and Canada" which introduced Phelps and explained his mission to the branches of the church at large. A second letter was written to the church's trustees in Nauvoo: Joseph L. Heywood, Almon W. Babbitt, and John S. Fullmer. This trio was specifically charged with disposing of church members' abandoned properties. Young enjoys a deserved reputation as a practical administrator, but when it came to issues of religion and ideology he was a forward-thinking idealist. The letter to the trustees struck straight to the heart of the press issue: "This people cannot live without intelligence, for it is through obedience to that principle they are to receive their exaltation; and if the intelligence cannot be had[,] justice has no claim on obedience, and their exaltation must be decreased." Printing, therefore, was more than merely a communicative convenience. Young was using an LDS definition of "intelligence," which encompassed both revealed, saving truth and "things which are, things which have been, things which must shortly come to pass."[18] The press (appropriately used) was a means of guiding believers along the strait and narrow path toward redemptive salvation—a trumpet of gospel truth. As salvation was the purpose of the church, it was therefore also the ultimate goal of the church's publishing efforts, which was why printing required apostolic oversight. Without a means to communicate, scattered Israel (that is, church membership) could not be effectively informed or gathered. In the same letter Young voiced another, earlier point that had largely been ignored in the exodus: "This principle is sufficient to show you the importance of using all diligence in helping Elder Phelps to bring us the materials, whereby we can furnish our children with books, and the saints with new things to feast the soul."[19] Part of the redemptive process for which printing was to be used involved the coming generation; Young was looking ahead to the time when the press would be used not only to communicate with the saints abroad but also to provide a means for raising up a holy people. Young regarded the press's proper role as essentially an extension of the priesthood. Thus it was to be used for doing God's work, not as an economic venture; or if it was to be conducted as an economic venture, it had better be guided by priesthood authority. These were the governing principles under which Deseret's printing was established.

After accepting his commission Phelps remained in Winter Quarters

[18] Doctrine and Covenants 88:79. See also 93:36, 130:18–19.

[19] Brigham Young to Messrs. Babbitt, Heywood, and Fullmer, Trustees at Nauvoo, 1 Apr. 1847, in *Journal History* of same date.

and the vicinity through April 1847, busy at other responsibilities. Late in the month, his preparations made, he crossed the Missouri River and retraced the Mormons' muddied trail east, back across Iowa and the Mississippi River to the almost empty city of Nauvoo. Had circumstances been otherwise, this would have been a curious move. Water transportation was the most rapid means of moving about in the first half of the nineteenth century. By simply traveling down the Missouri, Phelps would have come to St. Louis, where a number of established printers could have easily secured him the equipment he needed. Had he wanted to make purchase direct from a supplier, he could have taken a river steamer from St. Louis up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers to Cincinnati, where equipment could be bought directly from one of the country's largest typefounders. He did neither of these things. Phelps's choice of routes confirms that the motivation driving the press mission was not getting the equipment but finding the money to buy it in the first place.

The old printer arrived in Nauvoo at the end of May and presented himself and his credentials in the offices of the Nauvoo trustees. Since the three trustees were charged with selling off property in the city, Young's missive fairly trumpets his expectation that the necessary means could be readily secured there. Reality was somewhat less optimistic. Almost the entire city was both vacant and for sale, and interested buyers were very few; consequently, prices were abysmal and actual income was negligible. Initially, Phelps had hoped to simplify his mission and reduce costs by merely retrieving the type from Nauvoo's *Times and Seasons* printing office. Unfortunately, the city's printing equipment and supplies were among the few pieces of property for which the trustees had been able to find a buyer.[20] Income from the sale of real property was nonexistent; therefore the trustees could offer Phelps no assistance.

Phelps began grasping at straws. He hung about the nearly empty city for several weeks, held there by a rumor that an acquaintance, a "brother Neff," was due shortly and hoping that Neff was in a position to contribute to the press mission. Evidently, nothing materialized. On one visit to the trustees' office some time before he quit Nauvoo for the East, Phelps noticed an incoming letter from another old acquaintance, Reuben Miller in Wisconsin. As Nauvoo was being evacuated the year before, the

[20]The printing office passed into the hands of non-Mormon William Mattlack, who published the short-lived *Hancock Eagle* and died in the summer of 1846. Whether he had leased or purchased the equipment has gone unrecorded, but with his demise the printing equipment passed irretrievably beyond the trustees' reach. Tanner, "Mormon Press in Nauvoo," 110.

apostles had instructed Miller, on a mission in Ottawa, to leave for Nauvoo with whomever he could gather with him. En route Miller had been drawn in with James Strang in Wisconsin, first quietly, then openly. Phelps was apparently unaware of this latest allegiance but knew that Miller had been stalling. Seeking help for his own purpose, Phelps wrote to Miller of his need. Still looking for money ten days later and long before Miller could have responded, Phelps asked outright for fifty dollars in another note scribbled to Miller as he left for the East.[21] From the Mississippi's banks he still had a long journey ahead of him.

Phelps's route eastward suggests that Cincinnati had already been ruled out as a destination. That left the country's largest centers of the printing industry: Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Phelps had been a "country printer" in upstate New York during the 1830s, an important time in the history of U.S. printing. He was undoubtedly familiar with the equipment and supplies needed for operating a printshop and where to get them. He was very likely also familiar with Adam Ramage's inexpensive, durable, well-made (and therefore extremely popular) wooden Common Press, which had been the mainstay of U.S. small-town printers for almost thirty years. He also knew that the wooden press with its screw action was now almost extinct, having been quickly replaced by stronger but far heavier iron presses, with massive cast frames and lever-drawn actions capable of both greater impression power and easier operation. With those clues we might suppose that Phelps would have aimed for New York or Ramage's headquarters in Philadelphia, but he instead made for Boston. Though the city had half a dozen pressmakers and typefounders, that was likely not what attracted his attention. More important than the supply sources, the Boston region had several small but stable and fairly wealthy congregations of Latter-day Saints.

Phelps still needed money when he arrived in Boston sometime in late July. Once in town he addressed letters to several possible, if somewhat far-flung, contributors. One was the church's presiding elder in the region, William I. Appleby, two hundred miles away in Recklesstown, New Jersey. Appleby began soliciting donations, eventually gleaning sixty dollars toward the enterprise in his routine travels between branches of the church and forwarded it to Boston. Besides Appleby's funds, Phelps received one

[21] W. W. Phelps to Reuben Miller, 30 May and 11 June 1847, Church Archives; W. W. Phelps to Brigham Young, 3 June 1847, Incoming Correspondence, Ms 2736, Church Archives. Miller's incoming letter was probably Reuben Miller to J. C. Heywood, 20 Apr. 1847, Incoming Correspondence, Brigham Young papers, Church Archives.

hundred dollars from a "Bro. Barnes" (probably Lorenzo Barnes) and another fifty dollars in collected donations from the congregations in East Bradford and Lowell, Massachusetts. These amounts were needed but were far from enough. The most promising potential source Phelps approached was Alexander Badlam, a prominent church member who owned a successful varnish-making firm in the city itself and who was generous to a fault with his wealth. Badlam personally contributed almost seven hundred dollars to the press mission.

With adequate resources secured at last, Phelps was ready to outfit the new printing plant.[22] The destination would be one of the city's typefounders, since these houses typically carried or brokered a full complement of printers' supplies and equipment. Phelps's choice was the most notable firm outside New York, the Boston Type & Stereotype Foundry.

Phelps had perhaps a half-dozen printing presses from which to choose, most of which came in a variety of sizes. He settled on a fairly small press made by the country's foremost pressmaker, A. W. Ramage & Company. It was not merely a brand-name decision, although the former newspaperman could have chosen a Ramage press over other presses on the strength of the maker's reputation. But a more important reason was the fact that the firm produced one unusual handpress in particular—the Philadelphia press.

Of the many hand-operated printing presses produced at the time, the Philadelphia was unique. Wood had been the pressmaker's medium since the 1450s. Early European presses were made of oak and ash, and later presses—including the one made for a Philadelphia printer with the business name of B. Franklin—incorporated tropical hardwoods such as Honduran mahogany. With the dawn of the industrial age wood began to be replaced by "modern" cast iron, a material that was cheaper and stronger but less forgiving and more difficult to work. Adam Ramage designed his Philadelphia press frame with neither. This printing press was constructed of wrought strap iron about an inch thick and four inches wide. This small detail was a simple but significant difference. Like ice, molten iron forms a crystalline structure as it cools. The resulting cast iron is hard, but the weak bonds between the grainy crystals make the metal brittle. This characteristic is a crucial factor in pressmaking. As a handpress lever is pulled,

[22] William I. Appleby, "Journal & Diary," typescript, pp. 167–68, Church Archives. One other source also points to Boston as Phelps's destination: letter of Lucius N. Scovil and M. Sirrine (New York City), 12 Aug. 1847, in *Millennial Star* 9 (15 Sept. 1847):277; Alexander Badlam (Cambridgeport) to Prest. B. Young, 29 Feb. 1848, Incoming Correspondence, Brigham Young papers, Church Archives.

the pressure needed to make a clean impression is distributed fairly evenly across the thousand square inches on a press bed; at the top of the press frame that same amount of force is concentrated in less than four square inches. To compensate for the comparatively weak and inelastic characteristics of cooled iron in a cast press frame, metal was massed at stress points—making the iron frame and lever mounts thicker and heavier—to withstand the constant, repetitive strain without cracking. That massing also made for remarkably heavy printing presses.

Conversely, the pounding necessary to forge and shape wrought iron tempers and compacts the iron crystals and therefore strengthened the Philadelphia's substantially smaller and lighter frame. Ramage took his wrought press frame one step further. He applied the principles of fitted joinery (used in constructing wooden printing presses) to metal by reducing the frame to distinct structural units and shaping pieces that could be bolted together rather than cast whole. This process was more expensive than casting because while casting was well understood, machining was not. It represented extra work to shape bar iron and to cut threads into bolts. Nevertheless, this was a tremendous advancement that was inexplicably ignored by the industry. Ramage claimed that "the whole press is not half the weight of the cast iron presses, and is so constructed that a man can carry each of the pieces, with the exception of the [cast iron] bed."[23] The result was a printing press that had the modern and more powerful lever action, weighed substantially less than a comparable cast iron press, and could be disassembled for shipment. Ramage's Philadelphia press was exactly what Phelps wanted and the Mormons needed. By mid-September Phelps had settled on a fairly small version of the press, fitted with a platen of Crown size (i.e., measuring 22 × 16 inches), that would have cost around one hundred fifty dollars new. This particular press was one of the last of its kind and incorporated design improvements that made it easier to work and adjust than earlier versions.

With the press itself selected, the job was only partially complete. Phelps's mission was explicitly to "secure a printing press," but implicitly that charge entailed outfitting an entire printing plant, one capable of operating independently in an isolated corner of the continent. He therefore had to have not only a printing press but everything else a printer would need to conduct the trade. And not only that, Phelps had to have the whole lot prepared to ship three thousand miles to a destination no more firmly

[23] Thomas F. Adams, *Typographia,* 1st ed. (Philadelphia, 1837), 328–33, cited in Steven O. Saxe, *American Iron Hand Presses* (New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Books, 1992), 69–72.

known to him than a general wave of the hand westward. The trip might take a while, and weight would be a major consideration. A transcontinental freight bill could easily eclipse the entire purchase cost.

It is fair to assume that Phelps's sponsors planned to make in their new home whatever could be made rather than bought. This might include a bank (slanted surface for making up galleys from set type), press furniture (small wood blocks used to fill up a press forme with blank space), a table for an imposing stone, cabinets for typecases, and other pieces of joinery. No records survive to outline exactly what Phelps bought, but we can extrapolate a list of needed equipment and fittings from what was common in a printshop of the time and from extant examples of Deseret's printing. That list appears at the end of the appendix.

Central to the printer's craft is type. A printing press could conceivably be modified or repaired in the field, serviceable paper could be formed with some forethought and a little effort, ink could be mixed virtually anywhere, but typefounding was a production specialty that required genuine artistry and specific technical expertise. There were several foundries in the country; the Boston Type Foundry was a noted casting house. From them Phelps bought foundry type (individually cast characters) in two kinds of fonts: display and text (a *font* is a particular typeface of one specific size). Display fonts are decorative or ornamental faces used for titles and headings and in advertising. These fonts might be secured either in all capitals or in capitals and lowercase letters, depending on the typeface's design. Typically, each display font would go into a separate typecase. Text fonts had substantially more characters in them to allow composition of long runs of straight text and were also available in *sorts* (individual characters; one could order a couple of pounds of e's, several ounces of E's, and a few dozen *e*'s separately, if needed). Because it included substantially more characters than a display font, each text font required at least two cases—though more often it was twenty. Foundry type at the time was described in a traditional but rather arcane fashion. For example, Bourgeois type measures about nine points and Great-primer typically falls in at sixteen points (a point is roughly 1/72 of an inch; a typefont is measured vertically from ascender to descender, such as "ly"). Besides the letters themselves, each font included matching punctuation and various figures such as dollar signs, numbers, and maybe two-letter ligatures and digraphs. Phelps also chose a small handful of ornaments, or "dingbats" in printers' parlance, but no ornamental rules or decorative borders. The

prices listed in the appendix suggest why Phelps chose sparingly; compared with even a minimal type selection, the printing press was cheap.

Because of the distance he had to ship the equipment, Phelps made a conservative selection of type: the same face in three fonts. Still, the type alone easily accounted for the greatest percentage of the weight to be moved. The thirty-five to fifty pounds of type in a small display font might occupy only one case or half a double case, but a typical news and book font in a small newspaper office could weigh as much as half a ton and occupy sixteen or more cases. Assuming that Phelps chose type planning to outfit a plant able to do even moderate textual printing, the three text fonts known to have been brought to Great Salt Lake City would have together weighed in around two tons; the whole complement of type he ordered might have approached five thousand pounds. The press and the imposing and ink stones added at least another quarter ton, the necessary type cases yet another quarter. The balance of supplies—paper, ink, and press fixtures, together with the weight of the wooden packing crates—rounded out the shipment.

In Boston the goods were packed and crated for transport, probably by rail to one of the river ports, then down the Ohio River and up the Missouri by steamboat, where the lot arrived in the emerging town of Kanesville at Council Bluffs, Iowa, across the river from Winter Quarters. William Phelps himself traveled overland through his old home in western New York in the company of a "Br. Henry" and two young women going west to join the saints. He arrived back in Winter Quarters on November 12, 1847, not quite two weeks behind Brigham Young and members of the Pioneer Company returning from the Salt Lake valley. Phelps reported the success of his mission in council the next day. A week later, however, Phelps again wrote to Reuben Miller about the fifty dollars he hoped to borrow. "I want fifty dollars," he wrote his friend, "to buy fine type for them and as I learn that you [received] my letter [and] mean to put in $50[,] I drop you this line that you may immediately can send me the fifty dollars or a draft for that ammount." The "fine type" was probably ordered the next year from the New York firm of Geo. Bruce & Company. Coincidentally, that firm was founded by a Scot who had emigrated to America on the same ship as another young man, Adam Ramage.[24]

Brigham Young and most of the apostles returned from the pioneering

[24] *Woodruff's Journal,* 3:290 (12 Nov. 1847); Phelps's report is mentioned in Woodruff's diary the day after. Phelps was excommunicated shortly after his return, owing primarily to the nature of arrangements on his return trip. See "Meeting in the Council House Nov 30 1847," General Church minutes collection, Church Archives; W. W. Phelps (Winter Quarters) to

trip into the Salt Lake country in October 1847, just as the chilly days and night frosts of autumn began to make travel uncomfortable. Behind them they left a toe-hold settlement of about nineteen hundred daring souls. A step forward had been taken, and after returning, the quorum decided it was time to address a general epistle to the scattered saints reviewing the status of the church and identifying the location of the new gathering place, ultimately letting people know that the church was still intact and functioning. Apostle Amasa Lyman and William Appleby (who was heading east again after a short visit to the river settlement) took a copy of the manuscript to St. Louis. With thirty dollars in borrowed funds the pair hired the *St. Louis Republican* to print thirty-five hundred copies.[25]

Young and the apostles were keenly aware of the void that this epistle attempted to fill. "At no period since the organization of the Church," read the opening line of the circular, "have the Saints been so extensively scattered, and their means of receiving information from the proper source, [been] so limited." They also acknowledged the success of other claimants to the Prophet Joseph's heritage: "Since the murder of President Joseph Smith, many false prophets and false teachers have arisen, and tried to deceive many, during which time we have mostly tarried with the body of the Church, or been seeking a new location, leaving those prophets and teachers to run their race undisturbed." With the previous two years' silence in mind the letter summarized for readers the events of the exodus, the Mormon Battalion, steps made toward finding and establishing a new settlement, and plans for petitioning for a grant of territorial status. Most important, the *General Epistle* restated and enlarged on the imperative to "Gather yourselves together speedily" with a view of moving on to the Great Basin.

The letter covered a lot of territory. This effectual reawakening of the

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R. Miller (Burlington, Wis.), 20 Nov. 1847, Church Archives. A Bruce & Co. type catalogue sent to Phelps and dated 1849 is in the Historical Dept. library collection.

[25] "Meeting of the Council in Pres Young's home, Nov 5. 1847 1/2 past 10 AM," and "Meeting in Dr's office Dec 18/47," General Church minutes collection, Church Archives. Authorship of the epistle is given in Willard Richards to G. D. Watt, 16 May 1848, *Millennial Star* 11 (1 Jan. 1849):8, though Thomas Bullock edited the manuscript heavily. On the printing, see Bennett, *We'll Find the Place,* 306–8, 364–65. *General Epistle from the Council of the Twelve Apostles, to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Abroad, Dispersed Throughout the Earth* (St. Louis, Mo.: [Missouri Republican Print., 1848]), dated 23 Dec. 1847 and reprinted *Millennial Star* 10 (15 Mar. 1848):85; James R. Clark, comp., *Messages of the First Presidency,* 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965), 1:323–35; and David A. White, ed., *News of the Plains and the Rockies* (Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1997–), 3:183–93. Four days after the epistle was written the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and the Winter Quarters congregation voted to sustain Brigham Young as president of the church.

Mormon press was a vital boost to the saints' awareness and direction and was in no small way an apostolic arrow directed at Strang and a host of other prophetic upstarts. But in the *General Epistle* Brigham Young was forced to admit that there were still unforeseen shortages that remained to be addressed. "We have a printing press," he stated confidently; then with a touch of candor, he added, "and any who can take good printing or writing paper to the valley, will be blessing themselves and the Church."

The spring of 1848 saw an enormous push to move people off the Missouri River and out of Iowa to the Salt Lake valley. Those who remained were being evacuated from the treaty lands of Ponca and Omaha Indians at Winter Quarters back across the river to Kanesville on the Iowa side. Apostle Orson Hyde was left in charge of the way station there, as Young and the remaining apostles planned to take up permanent residence in the valley. These leaders were once again making preparations to depart to the west. In late spring of 1848 Young left the Midwest for the Great Basin, where he would remain to the end of his life thirty years later. But the saints' new printing press stayed behind, an unsatisfactory arrangement but an unavoidable sacrifice to practical considerations.

Despite the tremendousness of the windswept distance the saints covered, the westward trail was not a sentence of solitary confinement. Mail traveled to and from the settlement with whoever was making the trip in that direction, and Young's company was constantly communicating with those ahead and behind it. Once on the trail west, in July, Young wrote ahead to Parley Pratt and John Taylor in the valley about the press and other church property:

> You must not be disappointed in not seeing the Printing Presses, type, paper, mill irons, mill stones, carding machine, etc, as I had fully calculated on the teams that you sent from the Valley bringing them on. We have the poor with us; their cry was urgent to go to the mountains, and I could neither close my ears nor harden my heart against their earnest appeals. . . . I am disappointed in not bringing the presses, etc., but I can not avoid it; it is out of my power to do every thing.[26]

The settlement would have to wait for the press to come the next season—at least another year. Phelps's Ramage press sat unassembled and crated

[26] Brigham Young to Parley P. Pratt, John Taylor, Presidency of the Stake of Zion, and the High Council of the City of the Great Salt Lake, 17 July 1848, in *Journal History* of same date. See E. T. Benson and George A. Smith (Council Bluffs) to Orson Pratt, 28 Dec. 1848, in *Millennial Star* 11 (15 Feb. 1849):52.

with other goods in Kanesville while large emigration companies moved out of Winter Quarters and the Iowa trail stops. With the emigration in full swing there was simply no way to move the press west; every available resource was committed to sustaining the travelers.

Meanwhile, at least one other step had been taken to provide the saints with current news of the move west. The previous December, a month after Phelps's return to Winter Quarters, Orson Hyde traveled to St. Louis to raise funds for the destitute saints upriver and used the opportunity to order from the Cincinnati Type Foundry another printing press (a Washington) and type. It was shipped west and north to Kanesville and was put into service in February 1848 with the first issue of the *Frontier Guardian.*[27] Though the press was technically an implement in church hands, in Kanesville it was too far away in too temporary a location to be regarded as either the church's or (later) the state's press. One way or another the Ramage had to be brought on to the Great Basin.

That summer, city holdings on Salt Lake Valley's sagebrush plain were distributed by drawing lots. Houses went up. As the saints settled in for the winter of 1848–49, disquieting news reached the valley from California.

The press equipment in its crates sat in Kanesville while the camps moved west. In January 1849 most of the Mormon refugees remaining in Iowa prepared to move to the Salt Lake valley as well. Months later, at a church conference held in Kanesville almost a year after the press's arrival there, Orson Hyde devoted part of one session to soliciting aid for moving various church properties in storage on to the valley. At that date freighter Howard Egan was making preparations to leave for the plains in a week's time. At Hyde's prompting the conference determined to send the press and printing supplies and a wool carding machine if possible. Conference attendees pledged two wagons, at least one yoke of oxen, and $18.75 in cash at the meeting, but otherwise donations were slow in coming and Egan left. It took Hyde another month to raise the necessary outfit.[28]

On May 7 Hyde, along with George A. Smith and E. T. Benson, wrote to both Egan in Fort Kearny and ahead to Young in the valley noting that the printing press, printing supplies, and selected other equipment were on their way. The five tons of type, press, and other accoutrements were divided among three scarce wagons. Under the supervision of "Br. Graham and his two sons" the load was moved from Kanesville to Egan at Fort

[27] On Hyde's mission, see Bennett, *We'll Find the Place,* 306. The first issue, with a note about the origin of the press, is found in *Frontier Guardian* (Kanesville, Iowa), 7 Feb. 1849.
[28] Transcript of the minutes are in *Journal History,* 7 Apr. 1849.

Kearny, about 180 miles west from Winter Quarters along the Platte River road. The printing equipment was accompanied by other things that could be tucked safely into the load: a small wool carder, a clock, a box of blank stationery, and most important, seventeen reams of paper that would fit under the small printing press's platen. The transmittal letter to Young explained that better than half the amount of paper that Phelps had shipped with the press had already been used in the Midwest: "There was 15 bundles [i.e., thirty reams] of Printing Paper left here. It was a very poor quality, and hardly fit to print Politics on. We did not consider it prudent to send it to the Mountains & Br. Hyde has made use of it and supplies [in] its place by a Much better quality of Paper though a size smaller."[29] An April departure was necessary to give the plodding oxen enough time to move their burden without expiring under the exertion of undue haste. In the meantime, news of their progress traveled ahead of the company via faster-moving mail carriers and emigrant groups. Five months after leaving the saints' river depot, Egan's company arrived safely in the Salt Lake valley on August 9, 1849.[30]

Deseret at last had its printing press.

Establishing Deseret

Meanwhile, events entirely unrelated to printing were unfolding far from the isolated valley. In response, the Mormons began their first drive for political governance. Other authors have interpreted this period from the perspective of Latter-day Saint determinism. It is well to remember that the pursuit of recognition and the establishment of the Mormon provisional state was a *re*action to events and happenstance beyond the Mormons' control, an attempt to seize perceived opportunities rather than to put into effect a detailed political plan. The constitutional history of De-

[29] George A. Smith, Ezra T. Benson, and Orson Hyde to President Young and Council, 7 May 1849, Brigham Young papers, Church Archives. The transcriber compiling the *Journal History* in the 1920s misread the amount of paper stated in the letter (described as "packs") as "872" rather than "8 1/2" as given in the original, an error that has been perpetuated ever since. Each pack contained two "printing reams" of 500 sheets each, or a total of 8,500 sheets (comparatively, a ream of writing paper contained 480 sheets). Dard Hunter, *Papermaking: History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (New York: Dover, 1978), 179n. Dimensions of the few surviving imprints with untrimmed edges collectively suggest that the paper Hyde substituted was reams of "Medium" (18 × 23 inches), which might mean that the paper stock Phelps had initially acquired for the press was bundles of "Royal" (19 × 24 inches). See *Printing Trades Blue Book* (New York: A. F. Lewis & Co., 1917). This is a best guess, since paper sizes and their names were not precisely standardized.

[30] Hosea Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout,* ed. Juanita Brooks, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1963), 2:355.

seret and its territorial successor, Utah, is too involved to be recounted fully here, nor is this the proper place. I focus primarily on the issues and events that most directly influenced printing and the press.[31]

The Great Basin was a political vacuum when the Mormons arrived. Before 1846 Mexican territorial claims extended as far north as the forty-second parallel, but the area remained virtually ignored. The region lay beyond the Louisiana Purchase lands the United States claimed. The hubs of British and Canadian fur marts lay to the northwest in Oregon country and northeast above the Red River. American and British fur trappers knew the area well but were an unsettled lot. Most had gone back east or accepted an itinerant existence guiding overland companies. Such European influence that did exist stemmed from a century of traders who moved along the Spanish Trail trading guns, iron implements, and horses for slaves and raw materials. Though this practice continued sporadically into the 1850s, the Mexican government never remotely attempted to put its northern hinterland under executive control. The only real residents were native Ute, Shoshoni, and Paiute tribes that circulated seasonally through the valleys. Their unstated claims to the hunting and wintering grounds the Mormons chose to inhabit were substantially ignored in the process of settlement.

In short, on arriving in the lands of the "Eutaw," the Latter-day Saints had no foreign legal history to absorb and no political opponents to accommodate. What they did have was a social structure and belief culture under stress but still relatively intact. "They came," wrote Dale Morgan, "with a remarkable conception of social responsibility and with a full recognition and acceptance of a ruling authority that was at once political and ecclesiastical."[32] Morgan overstates the degree of Mormon social cohesion at the time, but his interpretation is substantively true. Granted the opportunity to establish governance without dissent, since the apostles were doctrinally and popularly accepted as God's prophetic mouthpieces on earth, the Mormon leadership naturally assumed a primary role in organizing the practical aspects of life in the new kingdom.

The Pioneer Company under Brigham Young had arrived in the Salt

[31] Morgan's *State of Deseret* remains the most complete examination, but its perspective is now dated; a succinct discussion of the state's natal period is found in Peter Crawley, *The Constitution of the State of Deseret* (Provo, Utah: Friends of the Harold B. Lee Library, 1982); see also Richard D. Poll, review of *The State of Deseret,* by Dale L. Morgan, *John Whitmer Historical Association Newsletter* 25 (July 1989); Eugene E. Campbell, "Governmental Beginnings," in *Utah's History,* ed. Richard D. Poll (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young Univ. Press, 1978). This section is substantively summarized from these excellent works.
[32] Morgan, *State of Deseret,* 9.

Lake valley without fanfare in July 1847 and promptly set about establishing a suitable destination for the saints waiting to follow. A stream was dammed for irrigation, fields were plowed and planted, and houses and a rudimentary fort were erected, all under the immediate direction of the Pioneer Company's leadership. Three weeks after its first wagon wheels cut into the valley floor, many of the company, including Brigham Young, turned eastward to race autumn back across the plains and prepare for general immigration the following year. Before returning to Winter Quarters Young took pains to establish a rudimentary but functional system of law and order under the governance of a twelve-man high council and its president, John Smith (Joseph Smith's uncle). With merely nineteen hundred people in the valley by the end of the 1847 travel season (a larger second company, the Emigration Camp, arrived in late September and October), church institutions alone could easily meet the immediate need for social order.

Leaving the population under the direction of a high council was not merely a utilitarian step; it was a genuinely significant, unspoken message to the scattered church at large. Though it functioned in the valley as a political body, this council was the church structure that directed a "stake of Zion." A stake, under the direction of a three-man presidency and high council, represented permanence. Stakes were organized in places to which believers were to gather. There had been no organized stake in the church since the evacuation of Nauvoo three years earlier, a fact that contributed to the church's general feeling of rootlessness. The formal establishment of a stake notified the saints that they at last had an emotional as well as a social and geographical destination.

For a year, through the winter of 1847 and until the second arrival of Brigham Young (by then newly sustained as president of the church) in the following September, the stake presidency, high council, and two apostles who had remained in the valley governed the Salt Lake settlement. In practice, the advice of the latter pair (John Taylor and Parley Pratt) represented essentially co-equal power with the council and dominated daily matters. Governance in this form was an acknowledged stop-gap measure. As soon as Young returned to the valley in September 1848 the high council's secular authority was subsumed to the central apostolic quorum and Young as head of the church. Though there were non-Mormons among them, the overwhelming majority of the emigrants were Latter-day Saints. Left in

isolation the Mormons might have lived indefinitely in the Great Basin with daily matters governed by the church organization.

The move west demonstrates that the Mormons were insular, but they were certainly not isolationists. Though less imbued than most Americans with the populist tendencies that characterized the post-Jacksonian era, they nonetheless tended toward a strong nationalism and viewed themselves as defenders of the principles of liberty enumerated in the U.S. Constitution. They did not plan to live in seclusion forever—just long enough to establish themselves on their own terms. As early as December 1847 the apostles declared their intention to petition for a territorial government in the Great Basin "as soon as circumstances will permit." "Circumstances" in 1847 meant a resolution of the pointed disagreement between Mexico and the United States. This issue affected the nature of governance among the earliest settlers in the Salt Lake valley. "To day the 1t of Jan [1848]" wrote Robert Bliss, "a publick meeting was called to adopt Laws for our regulation for the time being or until the question is settled between the U.S. and Mexico & we know whose hands we shall fall into."[33] In the meantime there were the more immediate "circumstances" of general emigration to overcome, as most of the saints waited in transience. For a time their dispersion prevented enabling, protective political activity from being orchestrated. Once settled into the Salt Lake valley, the leaders hoped to be left alone long enough to safeguard their private institutions by securing a government staffed by their own people.

Circumstances changed, however.

At Winter Quarters in 1846 the U.S. Army had enlisted five hundred Mormon men for service in the war with Mexico. This "Mormon Battalion" marched down the Santa Fe Trail, across the desert to San Bernardino, California, and was decommissioned in the area of Los Angeles the next year. From there in the early spring of 1847, while their families began thawing out in Winter Quarters and the Iowa camps, some of the former battalion members ascended the Spanish Trail in time to meet the saints in the Salt Lake valley. Others reenlisted for an additional six months. This corps, the Mormon Volunteers, was in turn mustered out in the late fall of 1847 at about the time the Emigration Camp was arriving in the valley. To avoid the punishing crossing of the Mojave Desert they moved northward through central California. In the San Francisco area they encountered church members who had arrived on the Pacific coast in mid-1846 aboard

[33] *General Epistle,* 4; "The Journal of Robert S. Bliss with the Mormon Battalion," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 5 (Oct. 1931): 128.

the ship *Brooklyn.* Eager to return to the families they had left behind, to finance their trip eastward many former battalion members sought employment with John A. Sutter on his plantations along the American River. This is how four of their number happened to be working with foreman John Marshall in February 1848 when placer gold was discovered in the stream gravels. Mormons were the first to take quantities of the metal from that stream, and it was their opportunistic presiding elder, Samuel Brannan, who waved sacks of the granular trove over his head and shouted the discovery through the streets of Sacramento.

By June 1848, gold notwithstanding, many ex-battalion members and some of the *Brooklyn* contingent were ready to leave California and rejoin the saints. Two companies, the larger under Samuel Thompson and a smaller one under Ebenezer Brown, moved east that month toward the new Mormon settlement. Between them they brought enough gold dust to prove their tale of a spectacular treasure that lay strewn in the gravelly riverbeds of central California.

This news was the final prod needed to push the saints' strategic plans into tactical action. By this date the choice for the site of their Zion had already been made and a permanent settlement had been rudimentarily established. In September and October 1848 several important steps occurred. Young's emigration company arrived from Winter Quarters on September 20. Scattered small groups of the Mormon Battalion and *Brooklyn* saints in the Brown and Thompson companies began arriving with their gold-lined news a few days later. Fortunately, the church's fall general conference was traditionally held in early October. In sessions held October 6 Young was sustained as president of the church by the Salt Lake Stake (a point of vital importance in settling priesthood governance permanently). Another emigrant company under Young's secretary, friend, and confidant Willard Richards arrived from the east on October 11. Thus, within a month the First Presidency had been reorganized, sustained, and gathered together in one place and the settlers had received the news of gold in California.

By the time the Thompson party brought the news of gold in California, seven months had passed since the discovery and word was flying. The Salt Lake saints in their raw encampment were among the first non-Californians to be informed. The virtual certainty of a rush to the goldfields left the Mormons in a vulnerable position. By this time they knew that Mexican claims to the region they occupied had been vacated by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in favor of the United States. This treaty

added a huge region of politically unorganized territory to the country. They also knew that in the mutual disagreement with the British over the Oregon country, American settlers were tipping the balance in favor of the United States and that Oregon would thus need organization. Most decidedly, they knew that gold in California meant that the saints, sitting virtually astride the direct route between the Missouri River and the mines, would be overrun.[34]

Fortunately, though word of the bonanza was by this time spreading to the world, it had not yet reached the cities of the East Coast or Europe, which left the saints with a little time to act preemptively. Though Young had worked patiently for months, the news of gold undoubtedly fueled his drive to restructure the church's leadership quorums and long-term political plans. By virtue of his new position as president of the church, Young would serve as the creative and motivating force in planning a drive for political recognition. The new Mormon prophet was never one to move precipitously, however. Despite his popular reputation for acting dictatorially, he frequently sought counsel from those he respected. With the knowledge that the saints' circumstances could change swiftly, no more than a month or so after arriving himself, he began to plan for local governance. To do so within the context of the latter-day kingdom of God, he first set about reconstituting the Council of Fifty.[35]

This body of trusted men, confidential to the point of secrecy (not all of whom were members of the church), had initially been commissioned by Joseph Smith. As constituted in Nauvoo, the Council of Fifty included members of the First Presidency, apostles, stake high council, church members who participated in the most important secular bodies such as the police and the city council, and other select individuals. "Whenever anything of importance was on foot," recorded council member John D. Lee, "this Council was called to deliberate upon it."[36] If we compare the rolls of the Council of Fifty with those of the high council and central

[34] See Bennett, *We'll Find the Place,* 353–55.
[35] Ephraim Green, *A Road from El Dorado: The 1848 Trail Journal of Ephraim Green,* ed. Will Bagley (Salt Lake City: Prairie Dog Press, 1991), 40, 42–44; Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:331.
[36] John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled: Including the Remarkable Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop John D. Lee* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Co., 1877), 173. In his extant diaries Lee records that the council met "again" on December 9, 1848. For a primary reading of how the council conducted itself in Utah, see John D. Lee, *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848–1876,* 2 vols., ed. Juanita Brooks and Robert Glass Cleland (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1955), 1:80, 88, 90, 97–102.

church quorums, it is obvious that the same criteria of membership were followed in the saints' new home.[37]

The group was essentially a selection of trustworthy individuals established in interlocking directorships. So long as the population remained homogeneously Latter-day Saint, it was unlikely that there would be arguments over the specific nature of local governance. Though private self-perpetuating groups have never fared well in American political discourse, the Council of Fifty was not necessarily a self-interested cabal or Star Chamber. The Latter-day Saint doctrine of stewardship carried weight, assuring each member that he would ultimately face God to answer for his actions. In practical oversimplification, this meant that one thus sustained in (or voted to) a position of trust and authority was bound by covenant to work for the common good.

John D. Lee's diary for 1848 ended abruptly with his arrival in the valley, is silent for two months, and bounces back to life in the middle of a telling explanation. "This council alluded too," it begins, speaking of the Council of Fifty, "is the Municipal department of the Kingdom of God set up on the Earth, and from which all Law emanates, for the rule, government & controle of all Nations Kingdoms & toungs and People under Heavens but not to controle the Priesthood but to council, deliberate & plan for the general good & upbuilding of the Kingdom of God on the Earth."[38] It is clear that in his undated entry Lee was reporting a meeting held sometime in October or November 1848, reactivating the Council of Fifty and mapping out a mission for it. Reinstituting the Mormon version of a "Municipal department"—a semisecular body clearly subordinate to the central priesthood quorums—was not a spontaneous event. The plans motivating this political will were being manifested in other ways also, all of which were directed toward achieving a measure of political autonomy denied the saints in Missouri and Illinois.

At virtually the same time as a secularized administration was being established, a renewed interest in exploration resulted in the commissioning of various parties of discovery and settlement. This was a first step toward

[37] Hansen, *Quest for Empire,* appendix. Hansen lists known members from contemporary sources at various stages of the council's history and attempts to encompass the full story of the council. The specific relationship between the Council of Fifty and the provisional government for the state of Deseret has never been adequately explored.

[38] Lee, *Mormon Chronicle,* 1:80. The council certainly was functioning in a legislative capacity. Under the date of November 11, Hosea Stout reported, "This evening President Young informed E. Gardner that the Council met today and concluded to stop the stray pen laws," and in December the council considered commodity price controls. Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:334, 337.

dispersing the growing concentration of saints farther into the region they wished eventually to control politically and economically and facilitated the creation of more counties that might be represented in a constitutional convention. Together these actions and issues demonstrated that the presiding quorums were moving quickly toward seeking a formal recognition as a governmental entity within the United States. Coming as it did so soon after demonstrable proof of the lode that lay on the coast, the decision to petition for congressional organization of the region cannot have been a natural step maturing from earlier discussions. The record virtually glows with an aura of urgency, a haste to organize *something* that could pass political muster and be accepted as viable American liberalism. In the coming months Mormon leaders would go to great lengths to document the establishment of solidly democratic and smoothly functional institutions in the Great Basin. Self-rule had been a goal even before the saints left Illinois, but whatever may have been discussed among the leadership in January 1848 was undoubtedly rushed toward hasty fulfillment by the news of California gold in October 1848.

What to do about self-governance and how any measure would affect relationships with the federal government certainly became topics for discussion in the Council of Fifty. Even so, the central figures of church leadership realized that neither the federal government nor the other states would countenance the functioning of a secret ecclesiastical body as the ruling council in a state of the Union. Under the ideals of American democratic liberalism such an arrangement as the Council of Fifty might not be *openly* acceptable, but if the United States was approached by a population not part of another political entity, socially stable, and having elected officials and a smoothly functioning government, the Council of Fifty as the "kingdom of God" might be able to operate behind the scenes on its own terms. If a slate of candidates was first acceptable to the council, the officials elected from it would be sympathetic to the church and its society.

The first steps taken toward creating a secular government were initiated in a Council of Fifty meeting on December 9, 1848.[39] The central positions of governor and secretary of state (essentially lieutenant governor), a judiciary, and marshal were decided on. It was no surprise that the three members of the First Presidency were nominated for the senior positions: Brigham Young, governor; Heber C. Kimball, chief or "Supreme" judge; and Willard Richards, secretary of state. "The Mormons," observed Morgan, "very simply had elaborated their ecclesiastical machinery into a

[39] Lee, *Mormon Chronicle,* 1:80–82.

political government." This is only partially true. Deseret's government was more closely tied to the structure of the semisecular Council of Fifty than to the ecclesiastical offices of the church proper. Since they had not been in this position before, the Mormon leaders decided to follow the safe route through American politics and submit a petition for recognition as a territory. In the deliberations a name for the new territory—"Desarett," Lee recorded—was selected. Also in this meeting a committee of ten was appointed to canvass the region for the names "of all the inhabitants of the valley & all the region roundobout to [be] incorporated in the Pe[ti]tion." The committee began its work the next day. Less than two weeks later Thomas Williams departed for Washington carrying a hastily compiled territorial petition. Deep snow turned him back.[40] The Mormons would have to wait for spring, a delay that worked both for and against them. They would have time to refine their petition, but because of lost time it would have to be politically unassailable to insure prompt passage.

For congressional review the petition recast the Council of Fifty as the "Legislative Council." The body thus became in name what it had been in function all along, the local means of functional governance. In practice, however, the council remained a confidential chamber whose own deliberations rarely included all members. It conducted itself behind closed doors by prior appointment or when summoned by the president of the church, with a total absence of ceremony and procedures that bordered on informality. The writers counted on the country's constitutional tradition to invest the council's title with an assumption that the body had been electorally chosen. Three months later on Sunday March 4, 1849, members of the Council of Fifty met to conduct business prior to preparing petition for federal recognition and territorial status. By now it had been realized that the open activity of the Council of Fifty as a legislative body would be unacceptable to congressional review. It would be especially touchy given the nationwide groundswell of populism that had figured prominently in federal politics even twenty years after the election of Andrew Jackson. To solve the problem of elevating suitable individuals to public office while fostering the appearance of democratic institutions, it was decided to hold an election. On the 4th, among other matters, "it was voted that an Election be held [the following week] on the 12th day of March [1849] in the city of the great Salt Lake for the purpose of Electing . . . men to fill the different Stations in office." This process was conducted a little differently than the multiparty events to which the country was accustomed. In a cu-

[40] Morgan, *State of Deseret,* 34; Lee, *Mormon Chronicle,* 1:81; Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:337; Knecht and Crawley, *History of Brigham Young,* 27.

rious blend of churchly function and direct town-meeting democracy of the New England tradition, a group of acceptable individuals was selected by the leadership and that list was presented to the people for their up-or-down sustaining vote. In this case, the slate consisted solely of the individuals appointed to office by the Council of Fifty the previous December. Of the fourteen specific appointments carried over from four months earlier or made in this meeting, eleven were filled from among members sitting on the Council of Fifty, the three exceptions being the positions of deputy marshal.[41] Lee mentions no provision for a genuine representative assembly.

As it turned out, there was a heavy snowstorm on the appointed day of the election, but it was held in characteristic Latter-day Saint fashion anyway: the list of names nominated by the leadership was presented to the congregation, whose members raised their hands in their vote of acclamation to accept the list as read. Unsurprisingly, the slate of territorial officers was carried by a unanimous tally of 674 votes, and Deseret was born.

It took another two months to complete the petition and to transfer signatures to an impressively long scroll. In May, John M. Bernhisel departed for Washington as Deseret's appointed delegate, carrying to Congress the petition seeking status as a United States territory. He stopped among the Mormons in the Council Bluffs area to add more names to Deseret's petition on the premise that many of the locals were eventually planning to be residents of Deseret within a year or two anyway.

The Mormons had busily pursued their political aspirations isolated from the events and trends of national politics. At best they imperfectly comprehended and at worst were perhaps unaware of the fierce, increasingly polarized crisis swirling in the federal legislature. Organizing the western lands of the Mexican Cession became the core of a deadly serious constitutional issue, more than mere wrangling between parties of differing perspectives and priorities. The absolutist positions taken by every side over the nature of governance in the western part of the continent threatened to tear apart the Union. Then, while factions within Congress postured, negotiated, and planned, far away in the Great Basin and within a few months of Deseret's careful self-creation, the Latter-day Saints suddenly and completely revised their constitutional plans. Unaware of this change, their representative continued on his way to the capital, into the center of the brewing storm.

[41] Lee, *Mormon Chronicle,* 1:99. *Journal History,* 4 Mar. 1849, takes its transcribed entry from a different, unnamed source.

CHAPTER TWO

The Press in Deseret

THE VALLEY COULD BE GLIMPSED from the crest of Big Mountain, still half a day's downhill scramble away. The panorama that greeted forty-two hundred Latter-day Saint emigrants and more than ten thousand California-bound gold-seekers in the summer of 1849 was somewhat harsh at best. Once free of the confining canyons, the rutted road to the settlement was cut into a ragout of rock and gravel thickened with a fine gray dust. Wagons debouched from the mountain gorges onto the ancient beaches of a prehistoric lakebed, and the Salt Lake valley opened before them. At the canyon mouth a mountainous wall rose steeply behind them, running to the south for about fifteen miles before sweeping westward to pinch off the valley's southern end. Directly to the west another range of steep mountains bordered the glistening expanse of the Great Salt Lake.

The valley itself was a grassy plain spotted with low, dusky gray sagebrush. By the time the first emigrants made their way into the city, grain crops on the valley floor were beginning to yellow in the dancing heat and dry wind of a Great Basin summer. The dry expanse was relieved by a few small streams threading west from the canyons. Down the center of the valley crept the muddy brown-green ribbon of the Jordan River. It was hardly an inviting setting. Those accustomed to the woodlands of New York or Ohio, to the verdant Missouri or Illinois prairies, or to England's emerald richness must have been incredulous that a desert waste could be chosen as the site for a city to be built unto the same God that had planted Eden. James S. Brown remembered one Latter-day Saint, a pillar of the church who had been driven by mobs repeatedly, saying in 1849 that the thought of settling permanently in the barren expanse was one of the greatest trials he ever faced.[42]

The city of the saints was just visible from the bordering hills. Viewed from the benches that rimmed the valley, even to the most optimistic convert the sun-baked clutch of cabins and sheds would have barely qualified as a town, much less the metropolis implied by its name. It huddled on a slope against the bordering hills on the north end of the valley. The new

[42] An excellent description of the setting may be found in "The Mormon Valley near the Great Salt Lake," *New York Tribune,* 9 Oct. 1849; James S. Brown, *Life of a Pioneer: Being the Autobiography of James S. Brown* (Salt Lake City: Geo. Q. Cannon & Sons, 1900), 120.

ditch-bordered streets—surveyed foursquare at a uniform 132 feet wide, enough to allow a double-yoked ox team and wagon to turn around without backing—were still choked with rocks, roots, and occasional sagebrush stumps. City lots on the ten-acre blocks had been divided among the earliest arrivals only the previous summer. There was no business district and, besides a few cottage crafts, no industry. As one approached the city, it was evident that houses and outbuildings were being erected everywhere. Many residents enjoyed accommodations no more permanent than a wagon box or tent nestled in the sagebrush. By the time the trickle of overland travelers through the village had swelled to a flood, one argonaut estimated that Great Salt Lake City consisted of perhaps five hundred rather crude, and definitely small, log or adobe structures, almost all of them hastily erected one- or two-room dwellings. He also judged that perhaps all of six thousand people lived within a few miles of the city. Population estimates varied somewhat, but all visitors agreed that the rest was welcome, even if their hosts were perceived as a little strange.[43]

No overland traveler arrived in Great Salt Lake City unintentionally. The Mormon city was not on the Oregon-California trail proper, but to coast-bound emigrants who had already come more than a thousand hard miles, it was close enough to offer an attractive, sometimes necessary, detour.[44] Between Fort Bridger, in the southwest corner of today's Wyoming, and the City of Rocks on the southwest reaches of the Snake River plain (and which was not a city at all), there was no single trail. Instead, the road branched into several cutoff routes, each with its various balance of advantages and dangers. The trail through the Mormon city was merely one of many. Sublette's Cutoff steered emigrants away to the northwest before they reached Fort Bridger and constituted the northern branch of the trail. This ran past the Soda Springs and Fort Smith to Fort Hall (Pocatello, Id.) in the Snake River Valley. Near here the Oregon and California trails divided. The route to Oregon ran on up the Snake River Valley toward Fort Boise. The northern-route trail to California struck west and south from

[43] Amos Piatt Josselyn to Dear Wife, 15 July 1849, in Dale L. Morgan, "Letters by Forty-Niners Written from Great Salt Lake City in 1849," *Western Humanities Review* 4 (Apr. 1949): 103. Estimates vary widely; this one approaches the midrange and would probably have included the farthest reaches of Mormon settlement: Brownsville (Ogden) on the north and Utah Valley on the south. The Sanpete Valley still farther south was settled this year. See Brian Q. Cannon, "Salt Lake City (1847)," and Dean L. May, "Expansion along the Wasatch Front," in *Historical Atlas of Mormonism,* ed. S. Kent Brown et al. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994).

[44] A good summary of the overland routes may be found in Brigham D. Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners in Great Salt Lake City, 1849 and 1850* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1983); Bennett, *We'll Find the Place,* chap. 7.

Great Salt Lake City, sketched by Frederick Piercy in 1853, looking south from the hill at what was then the head of Main Street. The incomplete wall around Temple Square (popularly called the Public Works block) is beginning to take shape on the right. The year after this drawing was made, the gabled building visible at the east end of the wall hosted the first papermaking operation west of Ohio. The shallow gables of the Council House appear as the triangular roof visible over the Public

Works buildings. The new General Tithing Office, seen from the back, is the large building on the east corner of Main Street, though the mint is not pictured to the left of it. This drawing served as the basis for the engraving done the following year for James Linforth's Route from Liverpool to the Great Salt Lake. *(Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Reproduced with permission. © 1999 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. All rights reserved.)*

Fort Hall toward the real point-of-no-return, the expanse of surreal boulders known as the City of Rocks. For those less anxious to move quickly or less prepared to continue on, Great Salt Lake City represented an attractively civilized hiatus. From Fort Bridger, the final stretch of the 1847 Mormon Trail crept along the wagon road painstakingly carved by the Donner-Reed party the previous year. The rough-cut track followed the first leg of Hastings' Cutoff roughly southwest through the canyons of the Wasatch to the new Mormon metropolis. To rejoin the Oregon-California trail again the Salt Lake Road bypassed the deadly salt flats west of the valley to run north, along the thin strip of level land between the Wasatch mountains and Great Salt Lake, and then north and west to rejoin the California trail a hundred miles west of Fort Hall. If the northern route proved unattractive, an emigrant could also opt for the route south along the old Spanish Trail. This followed the rim of the Great Basin from the Salt Lake Valley to the Virgin River, crossed the Mojave Desert, and fell into California's Central Valley near the rancho which would become the Mormon settlement of San Bernardino.

For those going west by either route, the Mormon settlement was a welcome bit of civilization and represented an opportunity to replenish stores. The Gold Rush was just that—a rush.

Two-thirds of those who raced for California in 1849 and 1850 took the shortest route and bypassed Great Salt Lake City, but the remainder opted to detour to the Salt Lake. As diaries reveal, many overland travelers had departed for the Golden West in haste, overprepared with unnecessary burdens while understocked in perishables. "We were foolish enough to get everything under heaven that we did not want," remembered one traveler wryly, "and nothing that we did."[45] In a day when food not consumed fresh was either salted, pickled, or dried, diets on the trail had to be routine and consisted of predictable ingredients. Emigrants typically subsisted on a mundane, carbohydrate-rich diet distinctly lacking in vitamin-rich vegetables and fruit. By the time gold seekers had completed the arduous trip across the unbroken plains and arrived at South Pass, they had been on the trail two months or more. They were hungry and tired, and still had to traverse the Nevada waste.

At South Pass in central Wyoming, with half the Rocky Mountains, the arid Great Basin, and either the Nevada or the Mojave Desert remaining to be crossed, many travelers began to lighten their wagons to relieve tired

[45] H. S. Brown, "Statement of early days of Cal[ifornia]," cited in Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners,* 19.

teams. More than a few arrived in the city travel-worn or in varying stages of destitution, having abandoned what they could not carry farther. The result was a wrack of discarded goods strewn all along the trail between the continental divide and the Salt Lake valley. In 1849 John D. Lee backtracked up the trail as far as South Pass on a "Picking up Expedition" and recorded in his journal: "Destruction of Property along the Road was beyond description, consisting of waggons, Harness, Tools of Every discription, Provisions, clothings, stoves, cooking vessels, Pouder, Lead & all most everything, etc. that could be mentioned."[46] The scene of comparative civilization that greeted gold-seekers and Mormon emigrants from the mouth of Emigration Canyon was a welcome one. Despite high prices for groceries and livestock, the Mormon capital was a vital resting place for many who chose to risk their fortunes pursuing the golden dream.

Civilization in the desert possessed its own drawbacks, however, especially in these early years. The Salt Lake valley settlement had put several thousand acres under cultivation and was well on its way to agricultural self-sufficiency. Yet Mormon larders in the spring of 1849 were probably as bare as those among the overlanders. The winter of 1848–49 had been a desperate one for the residents of Great Salt Lake City, a struggle against unusually harsh weather, poor housing, and few supplies. The city's population had narrowly escaped wholesale starvation only by pooling and strictly rationing resources. Most of the residents had subsisted on a few ounces of flour or grain daily per person, supplemented by such amenities as half-frozen thistle roots or a thin soup of boiled rawhide (glue, in fact). "It is hard times for poor folks," wrote one resident to his father in Iowa, "& hungry times for many."[47] They would remain hungry a few months yet. As soon as the snow cleared, gardens were planted in a race against starvation. By early summer and the arrival of the first gold-hungry overlanders, the city's gardens at least were beginning to bear and the settlers were comfortably certain that they could generate their own foodstuffs, even in a desert.

But kinks in the settlement plan (or at least in its geography) were quickly becoming evident. The arrival of the first argonauts proved that

[46] Lee, *Mormon Chronicle,* 1:111. The account by Lee is the best-known record of this activity, but given the state of affairs in the Salt Lake valley, he certainly was not alone in his scavenging. In fact, Brigham H. Young himself made a similar trip. On the state of the trail, see John D. Unruh, *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840–60* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1979), 149–55.

[47] Brigham H. Young to Phineas Young, 10 Apr. 1849, Phineas Howe Young papers, Church Archives.

isolation served as insufficient insulation from the world. Worse, distance burdened the Mormons with an economic handicap as well: they had either overlooked or ignored entirely the fact that manufactured goods weren't being produced or sold within a thousand miles. Most of the valley's residents were living in the worn clothes with which they had arrived as much as two years before. Despite effort and encouragement, not every staple (coffee, sugar), commodity (iron barstock, yard goods), or implement (needles, saws) could be produced economically. Some things could not be grown, refined, or manufactured at all. Goods therefore had to be brought overland in quantity. The result was a rapid export of Deseret's hard currency via non-Mormon merchants, most of whom had come to speculate in the service of overland emigration.[48] This economic oversight was demonstrated as early as the fall of 1847 when Jim Bridger's partner in Fort Bridger, Louis Vasquez, arrived separately with nonperishable goods. He was followed in 1848 by the Hudson's Bay Company factor at Fort Hall, Richard Grant. Both men well understood the mountain-economy corollaries to the law of supply and demand, having honed their commodity trading skills during the fur trade era, when thousand-percent markups were common. Between them, they left with virtually the entire cash reserves of the camp, along with whatever other valuables they would accept in trade. By the spring of 1849 one resident would complain that "what little coined money there is in the place the speculators have got."[49] Thereafter the Mormon settlers were flat broke and had little prospect for obtaining sorely needed income.

Two years earlier, as they had planned their exodus from the Midwest, the saints had envisioned a home secured by the Great Basin's fastness, an island of believers isolated in the wilderness. That dream lasted almost precisely two years, barely enough time to get streets laid out. The river of argonauts began to pour through the newest Mormon refuge in July 1849. Within a matter of months it became evident that the church's new center place was destined to become more of a crossroads than a refuge. The Mormon retreat would be shaped by a secular, increasingly cosmopolitan role as a market-driven resupply hub both for the main transcontinental

[48] Interested readers would do well to review Brigham Young's own explanation why this was, but otherwise this topic is properly a study in itself. Brigham Young sermon, 9 Oct. 1852, *Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (Liverpool, England: R. James, Printer, 1854–86), 1:214–16.

[49] "Merchandizing in Utah," *Deseret News,* 28 Sept. 1854; Knecht and Crawley, *History of Brigham Young,* 12,26; *Journal History,* 21 Nov. 1849; Brigham H. Young to Dear Father, 10 Apr. 1849, Phineas Howe Young papers, Church Archives.

route and for the saints' own outlying communities. It was a direction the Mormons struggled to co-opt yet could never reverse.

Printing before the Press

Deseret's curious constitutional history has a parallel curiosity in its story of printing *before* the arrival of its first printing press. As strange as that seems, like most accounts of modern enterprise, the driving force in the story was making money—only this time in the literal sense.[50]

Although the rush to California in 1849 and 1850 disrupted Mormon plans to raise up a righteous generation in the wilderness, it unquestionably rescued the Salt Lake settlement economically. Overlanders traded sorely needed goods for fresh food and draft animals, and California gold eventually backed local issues of paper scrip and was later minted into coins. It is this process that concerns us.

Despite some small-change infusions of specie (and one large one, the thousand or so Spanish doubloons of Mormon Battalion pay brought by James Brown from California), by late December 1848 hard currency circulating in the fledgling city had become almost nonexistent. Even the smallest debts that could not be negotiated by barter had to be settled by personal credit notes scribbled onto just-as-scarce paper. Endorsed from person to person, such notes often substituted as a medium of exchange. The battalion members' gold dust, weighed out and folded into tiny paper envelopes, also served for a short time as a credit medium. Neither measure was really satisfactory within the valley, and both were entirely impractical outside it.

Almost as soon as battalion members began bringing placer gold dust into the valley, plans were made to convert it into a standardized, negotiable format. Church member John Kay was a skilled engraver and die maker who had brought with him his coining equipment: crucibles, a roller, punches, die blocks, and a coining press. In November 1848, barely two months after the granular treasure first arrived, Kay set to work smelting deposited gold and punching coin blanks. Only a few simple coins

[50] The narrative in this section is drawn almost solely from the Thomas Bullock diary, Church Archives, which I have used in typescript. Details are summarized and transcribed, sometimes differently, in the more popularly used *Journal History* under similar dates. Elements of the story of this early printing have been widely retold from economic or numismatic perspectives, including the summary version in Frances Foster, "Money in the Valley," *Improvement Era* 36 (Sept. 1933), 656–57, 678; Feramorz Y. Fox, "Hard Money and Currency in Utah," *Deseret News,* 17 Aug. 1940; Leonard J. Arrington, "Coin and Currency in Early Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 20 (Jan. 1952): 60–74; and Alvin E. Rust, *Mormon and Utah Coin and Currency* (Salt Lake City: Rust Rare Coin Co., 1984).

were issued, however. Kay's efforts were frustrated when his crucibles cracked in the furnace. Great Salt Lake City was still left without cash.

It was probably Brigham Young himself who proposed the idea of issuing scrip for local circulation. Within a week of the material setback to the minting project, on December 28, 1848, a meeting was called to discuss the "practicability of issuing Bills of credit or notes." To avoid runaway inflation, the sum of any scrip issue would not exceed the value of gold deposited with Young, acting as the church's Trustee-in-Trust. Later that day Young's secretary, Thomas Bullock, recorded in his diary that he had begun opening boxes of general church records, looking for enough blank paper to make a scrip issue possible. By the next day both he and "R.C.," probably fellow secretary Robert Campbell, were busy writing out longhand one-, three-, and five-dollar notes. Three days later more than one thousand notes were being dampened, ready for John Kay to stamp with the embossed seal of the Twelve Apostles.

On New Year's Day 1849 Bullock stretched his fingers in respite as the first of the scrip bills were paid out on gold dust deposits. The self-styled "National Bank" was a local success, so much so that within two days new deposits were sufficient to exhaust the money supply and Bullock was back at work with his pen on more bills. This arduous, ad hoc process in currency regulation continued for another week.[51] Several hundred handwritten bills of various denominations were issued. If Bullock and Campbell did not complain themselves, at least the volume of their handiwork spoke eloquently of how impractical it was to issue the things in manuscript. Nevertheless, bills continued to be laboriously written out and distributed until January 19, when Brigham Young—much to the undoubted but probably unexpressed relief of his clerks—announced that no more bills would be ready for a week or more.

The reason for the delay was to put into action a work of mechanical ingenuity produced by Truman O. Angell. Even as Bullock was occupied in making out the last of the tiny forms, the future architect of the Salt Lake Temple was cobbling together a frame of some sort, capable of holding type and of squeezing paper against it. In his diary Bullock dignified the contraption by calling it a "press," but other than the fact that Angell's creation is mentioned sidelong by Bullock, no information about the nature of the machine is available at all and the press itself does not survive. That was only half the wonder. Bullock entirely overlooks the remarkable fact

[51] Thomas Bullock diary, typescript, Church Archives; Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:339.

that from somewhere in their scarce baggage, carried westward on a journey where every ounce was counted precious, and nearly two thousand miles from the closest foundry, someone had produced at least a partial font of ten-point decorative script type.

It is a virtual certainty that the type's existence in town was known before Angell embarked on the production of his press and that its existence was *not* known before Young set Bullock to his task of writing out the bills.[52] One does not construct a printing press without first having something with which to print. It is therefore no great leap to surmise that the type may have belonged to one of the city's residents at large and not to a member of the church's leadership. This someone may have seen or received one of the manuscript bills in early January and volunteered the use of his type to simplify the process. The result was that another meeting on January 20 voted to redeem the impromptu manuscript currency with a scrip issue of more formal presentation.

Having both a workable press and serviceable type necessitated someone to set it and actually do the printing. That someone, it turned out, was a nephew of Brigham Young by his older brother, Phineas. Brigham H. Young (herein called B. H. to distinguish from his more famous namesake) had passed his twenty-fifth birthday at the turn of the year. He and his small family arrived in the valley with the Jedediah Grant company in October 1847 and, like most of the new arrivals, immediately took up farming.[53] Just where he learned the printer's trade—or if he had served an apprenticeship at all—is unknown. It is possible, perhaps likely, that he

[52] On January 8 Bullock makes a curious and maddeningly unqualified entry in his diary that could confuse the subject and should be cleared. On the day previous he records how busy they had been at weighing gold deposits and signing the newest issue of scrip bills. Then on the 8th Bullock states that Brigham Young had been "in [the] office all day—[and] fixed up his new press to stamp the bills." But then he doesn't explain anything more. We could ignore his comment except that W. W. Phelps had reported to Orson Hyde that he had bought "a printing press and a little press for the Twelve," and Young refers to "presses" in the plural in his letter of July 17, 1848. Despite the reasonable conclusion one could draw about Phelps's meaning, this "little press" was probably not a printing press at all but a desk-mounted embossing stamp. This interpretation is reinforced by Bullock's diary entry for January 10, where he notes that Young had himself stamped "the Kirtland bills." These were engraved notes left over from the Mormons' failed bank venture in Ohio a decade earlier, countersigned by Young and others and issued in the valley at about the same time as the White Notes for use at face value for larger denominations. The only characteristics of these countersigned notes that could meet the description of being "stamped" are embossed seals. Thomas Bullock diary, typescript, Church Archives; W. W. Phelps (Winter Quarters) to R. Miller (Burlington, Wis.), 20 Nov. 1847, Church Archives; Rust, *Coin and Currency,* 60–66.

[53] Mormon emigrant companies were typically divided into hundreds (usually the company itself) and subgroups of fifties and tens, with a popularly elected captain over each.

was simply one of the city's many hungry residents who needed something constructive to do through the winter. B. H. Young's introduction to the printer's craft was precipitous, for his name is mentioned in no contemporary record related to LDS printing before January 22, 1849. On that date in his diary Bullock notes that he and Brigham H. Young had set the type for a printed form of a fifty-cent scrip note, the first typesetting done in the state. Deseret's first printing was executed the next day as the fifty-cent bills were struck on Angell's press, entirely without ceremony and noticed only in Bullock's diary.

For a week or more B. H. cranked out hundreds of printed notes in several denominations. These were quickly countersigned by the First Presidency and issued to depositors and others in exchange for their handwritten scrip notes. Once redeemed, the manuscript scrip issue was burnt. When the rush to replace the manuscript bills was over, scrip printing slowed drastically. It shortly stopped altogether,[54] partly to resist the temptation to issue unbacked or unredeemable bills. The last printed Valley Note denomination known to have been produced, dated in mid-March, was a twenty-five-cent note that was printed but probably never issued. With the city's foodstuffs dwindling as spring came, all attention turned to putting in early crops and gardens. What became of Angell's press is unrecorded, but it undoubtedly met an ignominious fate as a discarded (perhaps broken?) tool. The output of this "press" and its odd little typeface was limited (so far as is known) exclusively to these scrip notes. The following year, once Deseret's gold pieces had redeemed the printed paper scrip, the latter followed the manuscript issue into the mint's furnace.

Reestablishing Deseret

Somewhere along the trail, representative Bernhisel and freighter Egan passed each other, headed in opposite directions. Through the spring and well into the summer of 1849, the city teamed with emigrants impatient to be on their ways to the mines before all of California's riches were claimed.

B. H. Young and his pregnant wife Cedenia arrived with their daughter October 2, 1847, in the same company of ten as the father of the first important book collector of Mormonism, Eli H. Pierce. In the Edward Hunter company, which arrived four days earlier, were two other individuals who would figure in early Utah printing, Joseph Cain and Arieh C. Brower. Kate B. Carter, comp., "They Came in '47," *Heart Throbs of the West* 8 (1947): 424, 433.

[54] The total number of bills issued for various denominations may be surmised by comparing the tallies of redeemed and nonredeemed scrip on the "Statement of Great Salt Lake City Paper Currency May 29 1850," Brigham Young papers, Church Archives.

They were trailworn, but eager to trade goods for fat cattle and pack stock. Their eagerness to pay whatever price might be required for fresh food and faster or fresher transportation, proved to be a heaven-sent windfall for the near-destitute Mormons.

The Latter-day Saint city was still within weeks of being a year old. A rude camp of barely one hundred had burgeoned to a community of over five thousand souls in merely eighteen months; from newly arrived converts alone its population would almost double again in the six months between July and December 1849. Coping with explosive growth was the major concern of the Council of Fifty, and they were occupied primarily by the mundanities of civilized existence: regulating stray animals, granting petitions for mill sites, overseeing settlement efforts beyond the valley, and dealing with recurring shortages. As far as political ambitions and recognition went, the necessary documents had been generated and a representative had been dispatched, and the council was waiting on the outcome. Those involved in governance had settled into the routines and challenges of opening a new country, expecting at least a six-month wait for news of their petition's reception. Then on July 1, barely a month after Bernhisel had departed for the capital, Almon W. Babbitt arrived in town accompanying the eastern mail. He met with Young and the Council of Fifty immediately, and within days the focus of Mormon political thinking shifted dramatically.

Babbitt brought the isolated settlers the most current available political information and a firsthand appraisal of national politics. He had raced along the trail, arriving just before the first Forty-Niners limped into Great Salt Lake City. The news he brought was disquieting. Washington was heading toward uproar. The national parties were bitterly divided over political goals and were further factionalized by sectional and economic interests. Into this ferment was thrown the enormous political import of the territory gained by the Mexican Cession (including all lands west of the Republic of Texas and up to the 42d parallel—therefore including Deseret). The issues ultimately revolved around the question of what to do about the country's "peculiar institution"—slavery.[55]

The political situation stemmed from the War with Mexico in 1846. Southern states had carried most of the burden for the war and by 1848 were looking for some sort of payback. What they had in mind was a west-

[55] Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:354. See Robert V. Remini, *Henry Clay: Statesman for the Union* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), 725–62, and his *Daniel Webster: The Man and His Time* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), 645–52, 658–59.

ward extension of the line for the Missouri Compromise, which fenced in slavery at 36° 30' north latitude but extended only to Missouri's western border. Slaveholding states calculated that they would gain additional representation in Congress when the western territories of California and New Mexico were admitted as states. The problem was that both regions had been political entities under Mexican jurisdiction, and Mexico's constitution explicitly prohibited slavery. Therefore, for the regions to become slaveholding states, the unthinkable would have to happen—Negro slavery would have to be legislatively established and enforced. What southern sympathizers feared, with genuine cause, was that without an economic and legal tradition of slavery in those regions, popular sentiment would ignore the slavery mandate, resulting in statehood petitions and admission to the Union as slavery-prohibiting states. On their admission, nonslave states would gain enough of a margin in Congress to enforce a tyranny of only a slight majority over states with slaveholding interests. The delicate balance of congressional power would almost permanently be weighted away from the South. The issue was further complicated by Texas's claims to part of New Mexico's territory.

No representative outside the South would countenance the constitutional establishment of slavery that would be required in the new territories, and so northern representatives spun the extension issue on an entirely different tack. They dismissed an extension of the compromise line by pointing to Stephen Long's report describing the West as the "Great American Desert." Nature and the hand of the Almighty, they argued, had created an obvious, incontrovertible barrier to the substantive extension of slavery. They reasoned that the establishment of slavery in either territory would accomplish nothing for the South, because the West's aridity precluded labor-intensive agriculture on the scale necessary to make slavery economically viable. It appeared as if the southern states had fought and won a territorial war that accomplished much for the nation yet gained them nothing.

These were the core arguments that consumed the Thirtieth Congress through the opening months of 1849. As the session wore on, sentiments and representatives' resolve on all sides hardened. Things were only complicated when President Zachary Taylor floated a possible solution to the issue sometime after March 1849. Since the executive's relationship with the legislative branch is merely advisory, his idea was couched as "advice" and never became a formal proposal or bill. This advice was for Congress to do nothing at all about the western acquisition, establish no U.S. terri-

tories, and wait patiently until residents from the regions themselves petitioned for admission to the Union (which everyone expected to happen fairly quickly). Most significant, Taylor's idea was based on the proposal that the several western regions would be expected to submit *proposed state constitutions already ratified by the electorates* as part of their petitions. In this way popular sovereignty would be ensured and Congress could debate the questions of admission on the merits of what residents had placed before it, rather than tear itself apart over academic discussions of what should or should not be done to establish governance in the West.

Taylor's idea held out to Deseret a shining key to the door of opportunity. Undoubtedly, Taylor's "advice" was the kernel of hope that fueled Babbitt's race to the Salt Lake valley. If the president encouraged the admission of coastal California or New Mexico on the strength of a statehood petition and a popularly ratified constitution, then Babbitt likely saw no reason why Upper California, with its more settled population, should not also be included. Though the Mormons' Great Basin settlement had not been considered when the president's advice was being discussed, Taylor's idea provided a vehicle that might allow Deseret to ride into statehood on the runningboards of popular clamor for California's admission.

It has been suggested that because the change in Mormon plans was so precipitous, Babbitt was pursuing his own agenda; that he pushed Mormon leadership to drop the petition for territorial recognition in favor of a proposal in which he would play a larger role. Perhaps. But given the politics of the time, it is more likely that Babbitt simply provided Deseret's leaders with an astute reading of the national political scene, advising them to seize the opportunity, bypass the politically fatal issue of slavery within a territory, free themselves from the burden of appointive territorial governance, and push directly for admission to statehood. It was at least worth a try. Babbitt's timely July arrival left the Mormons a sliver of time in which to reconsider their territorial petition and to act preemptively. That Babbitt's position was echoed a year later by the politically savvy advice of Thomas L. Kane, a supportive and well-connected non-Mormon, was testament to the accuracy of his perceptions.[56]

The Mormon leadership was left with really only one choice: to solicit admission for Deseret to statehood directly. But with the delays of distance

[56] See Remini, *Henry Clay,* 728; Zachary Taylor, Special Message to the Senate, 23 Jan. 1850, in *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897,* 20 vols., ed. James D. Richardson (Washington, D.C.: Publ. by Congress, 1900), 5:26–30. It is important to note that Taylor's communication reports his actions relating to the West since taking office, and

and travel, Deseret's window of opportunity to act first was already closing. If statehood was to be pursued, the Council of Fifty had to act quickly. There was much to do. The necessary constitutional steps of calling for and holding an election, seating representatives, and hammering together and ratifying a constitution all had to be completed. Then formal documents had to be properly drawn up and a new representative empowered and charged. This emissary had to be dispatched to Washington with sufficient travel time to overtake Bernhisel and his territorial petition. All this had to happen before the fall session of Congress was seated. If Bernhisel presented his territorial petition first, it risked being dried up and blown away by the withering heat between the parties. Or, should Congress be swayed to grant Deseret's territorial petition on states-rights priorities, slavery would be injected into the region constitutionally; thus granted, it would be impossible (and illegal) to eradicate. Conversely, if congressional opinion came over to the position of the abolitionists, the opportunity to petition for statehood would be lost for an indefinite period until the slavery question was entirely resolved. In either case, if Bernhisel arrived first and his petition for territoriality was accepted, the Mormons would be saddled with a politically appointed government. Congress would establish governance for the lands in the Mexican Cession, that much was certain. Irrespective of the method, without a grant of U.S. statehood, the self-determination the Latter-day Saints coveted would evaporate. Therefore, if the opportunity for statehood was to be seized, there was no time to call for an election or hold a convention. Deseret's governing body consequently resorted to a bit of chronological and constitutional subterfuge to make its statehood petition.

Deseret's constitutional "process" needed to look good on paper. The easiest way of making it appear so was to reinterpret the meetings that had generated the territorial petition earlier in the year to appear as if they had generated a state constitution. Thus, the Council of Fifty meeting that had taken place in February was represented as a public call for an election "for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of organizing a Territorial or State government." The election of March 12 was recast as a

therefore this message formally advances ideas that were already common knowledge. Two days earlier a similar message had been delivered to the House. It was obvious that as a salve to the wounded interests of every side, Taylor's measures were rather naive and would be wholly inadequate. That very evening an aging, ill Henry Clay repaired the long-standing breach between himself and Daniel Webster to outline and discuss the elements of what became the Compromise Bill, which ultimately preserved the country from civil war for another decade.

"constitutional convention." The claim that needed the least stretching was of the state of Deseret's initial legislative session, reportedly held July 2 through 9. This was when the "representatives" who had been "elected" in March supposedly approved a memorial seeking admission to the Union of states "on equal footing with other states." In fact, this was precisely the time when the Constitution of the State of Deseret (lifted almost directly from the *Constitution of the State of Iowa*) actually was hammered out by selected members from the Council of Fifty.

After a formal statehood petition was properly engrossed, Babbitt left Great Salt Lake City for another race back to Washington in mid-July 1849, probably having to shoulder his way eastward through the canyons past the early companies of westering gold seekers. Upon arriving in Kanesville, Babbitt paused long enough to have Orson Hyde's *Frontier Guardian* office hastily produce a printed edition of the constitution.[57] Peter Crawley points out that the sole record of Deseret's organizational "proceedings" appears in this printed version of the *Constitution of the State of Deseret* (though the *Deseret News* later printed an abbreviated version of the main July meeting). The constitution itself, printed for distribution to national legislators, served as the vehicle for the political ploy. Where Iowa's foundational document merely reported the resolutions and actions of its convention, Deseret's printed constitution offered the text of the call for a convention from February, the day-by-day minutes of a convention held in March, the results of a May election, and more day-by-day minutes of an organizing session of the legislature in July. In this light, then, Crawley notes that Deseret's state constitutional document as printed by Hyde was intended to be "as much a public relations piece as an application for statehood, a document designed to show that the traditional American political processes were alive and well in Deseret."[58]

Meanwhile, the saints settled into the role of hosting the argonauts. As the summer passed and Great Salt Lake City became an open marketplace,

[57] Crawley, *Constitution,* 10–12, 14; *Deseret News,* 13 July 1850; *Journal History,* 3 Sept. 1849. Hyde would not necessarily have taken the time or even needed to print all two thousand copies that are ordered in the resolution. Just enough were required for Babbitt to distribute in Washington. It is clear that copies were distributed to Congress, as an order to print the constitution was killed on the floor because members already had printed copies (Stephen A. Douglas, 27 Dec. 1849, *Congressional Globe,* 31st Congress, 1st Session). Babbitt could have gotten by with a few score copies at most, though the high-count printing order noted prominently on the title page makes the Kanesville imprint appear to be a popularly distributed document. Far from being the common imprint that its numbers would otherwise suggest, it is a true rarity.

[58] Crawley, *Constitution,* 10–12.

the material windfall and the status of Deseret's twin petitions were not the only pending issues to concern Brigham Young, who began to be anxious about the safety and arrival of the new printing press. With organizational matters afoot, a press was badly needed to lend the cultural legitimacy of a printed document to Deseret's slightly contrived organizational proceedings. The Kanesville impression of the *Constitution of the State of Deseret* was insufficient. Deseret needed the civilizing stature of its own operating press.

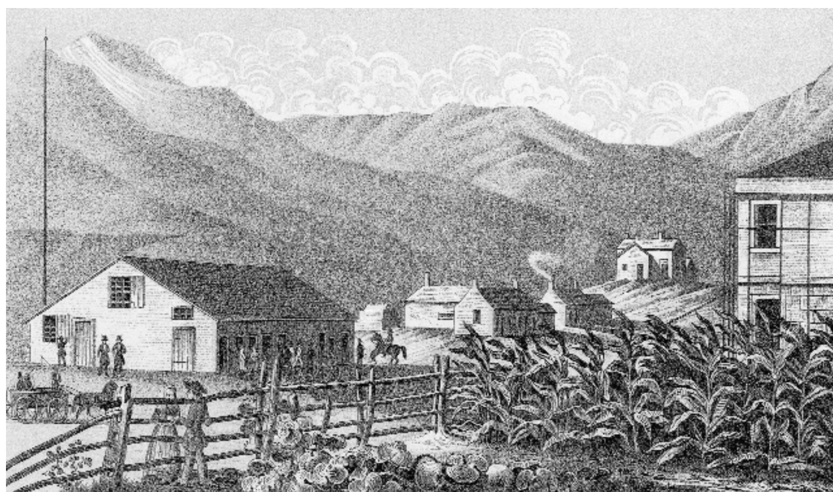
The scrip printed by B. H. Young and Thomas Bullock had eased monetary circulation in the valley, but everyone understood it would never be accepted as tender by merchants beyond it. In fact, Brigham Young took steps to ensure that the little printed forms did not circulate too far beyond the basin settlement. Writing to Theodore Turley on the trail in late April, Young included instructions about the Valley Notes to the Mormons scattered along the overland route and afield. "If any of the brethren carrying mail have any of our paper currency, let the brethren coming on in camp exchange their funds with them, and the gold will be ready to redeem it when they arrive at this place."[59] Despite his hopes, the coins were not ready because the crucibles had not come. The Valley Notes continued to circulate throughout the summer, even after Howard Egan and his shipment of printing equipment finally arrived from Kanesville. With its advent, Deseret at last had a voice with which to cry from the wilderness.

Printing in 1849

Howard Egan undoubtedly halted his winded ox teams on the bench lands at the mouth of Emigration Canyon. Before making the descent to the city he may have stood a moment to survey the Salt Lake valley. Today the valley floor and alluvial benches are paved with civilization's patchwork of asphalt, shade trees, and streetlights. When Egan mopped his brow, Great Salt Lake City was little more than a sprawling shadow on the wide grass-and-sagebrush plain, a still-new and quickly growing town where enclosed space was at a premium. From the mouth of the canyon it was still a lock-kneed skid down the face of the benches and a pull of several miles into the city itself.

Finding a suitable location for the press and its accoutrements must have been Egan's first order of business. Just where the crates were unloaded from Egan's freight wagons no one bothered to record, but John

[59] Brigham Young to Theodore Turley, 29 Apr. 1849, Brigham Young papers, Church Archives.



A dramatically foreshortened view of Brigham (now South Temple) Street, contemporary with the beginning of printing in the state, looking east from Willard Richards's garden. On the left is the old Bowery, which occupied the southeast corner of the Public Works (Temple) block. The house at the top of the hill is identified as the president's home and is Brigham Young's adobe White House (so called because of its whitewashed finish). One corner of the new Council House is visible on the far right. The buildings in a row in the mid-distance are a number of small structures owned by Brigham Young. The mint is probably the nearest. Because the buildings are crowded together by the artist, they look like merely one wing of a larger building rather than separate entities. (Lithograph drawn from a sketch by John Hudson. Howard Stansbury, Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah, Including a Reconnaissance of a New Route through the Rocky Mountains *[Washington, D.C.: R. Armstrong, 1853].)*

Kay was probably as disappointed as Willard Richards, who was to take charge of the press, was thrilled. Through the spring and summer of 1849 Kay had been forced to wait for replacements of his cracked crucibles. He used the time to draw new coin patterns and to cut and punch proper die sets. Egan and the shipment of printing equipment evidently arrived first, and the cargo had to be accommodated.

Ultimately, the press's owners settled on temporary storage for some of the equipment in the largest of a row of several small adobe structures on the downtown Church Block. The building sat on the north side of the street, midway between Young's home and the small church office located a block west (next to the Council House lot on the corner). This building had been dubbed the mint, a reflection of the role to which it was initially

assigned, but it seems to have served as an office of sorts for Thomas Bullock as well, since he is mentioned in connection with virtually everything that happened therein. Unloading most of the printing equipment directly into the mint would have made sense. Only one of the two rooms was used by Kay for minting; it was outfitted with a small sheet-iron furnace and housed his other coining equipment. But Kay's work remained at an impasse. Until he could recommence coining, there were immediate demands for the space. Temporary though the location might have been, the printing equipment didn't move. Thus, a few months later, after Deseret's first coins had been struck, the mint was assigned another role: the location of Utah's first (and several subsequent) printing and editorial offices.[60] Despite the fact that throughout its existence the structure was used primarily for printing-related businesses, Kay's activities gave an identity to the building that has stuck to it, even more than a century after the place was demolished (1898). Although the crated printing supplies and probably all the boxed-up type was moved from Egan's freight wagons into the church's adobe office/mint, the record suggests that the Ramage printing press itself was not. So where did it go?

Most of the obvious venues such as the church Historian's Office, Brigham Young's own office, and the Social Hall were not due to be erected for a couple of years. The Council House was still under construction. The city's complement of loosely built barns, stalls, and sheds can be dismissed; the printing press was too valuable to risk exposure to the elements or damage to its action by wind-blown dust and dirt. Placement of the press itself in someone's house is a fair guess, but with living spaces generally consisting of one- and two-room arrangements, a press would have been an extremely cumbersome houseguest. Nevertheless, since the press was church property and Richards's charge, two locations are distinct possibilities: the temporary (but very busy) church office situated one door south of the Council House, or Willard Richards's house and office one door west of the same building.

Apostle and counselor in the First Presidency Willard Richards was given general charge of the press and its business. Young's secretary, Thomas Bullock, would be involved with any printing because of his position close to church leadership but could devote only the time that was unoccupied by his substantial secretarial labors. Neither man could spend much time organizing the new printshop or conducting the affairs of

[60] Elaine Pugmire Wilde, "The Mint: Making Money in Utah," *The Pioneer* (Summer 1995): 14–16.

printing, and neither had the skill. Someone else was needed to conduct the practical side of the business. Deseret finally had its press; it now needed a printer. A printing press was only as useful as the compositor and pressman were skilled.

Nine months after he had set type for and printed up the Valley Notes, Brigham H. Young was evidently still unattached and needed to provide for his wife and daughters. While he waited for opportunity to knock, B. H. was again summoned (undoubtedly by his uncle) to get the new press unpacked and Deseret's printing office on its feet. This time his appointment was made over more skilled typesetters and pressmen (including W. W. Phelps, who also arrived in Utah in 1848). After printing the scrip notes early in 1849, B. H. had eked out a bare subsistence through the rest of the summer. His career prospects were sufficiently unfavorable that he had seriously considered leaving his young family in the city to try his luck with other saints in the California diggings. He chose instead to finance part of a stake for an acquaintance and remain in Great Salt Lake City.[61]

Precisely when Brigham Young offered the appointment to his younger namesake isn't known, nor is it clear just how soon after the press arrived that Brigham H. Young set about his task. It undoubtedly took some time for him to pry open and unpack the crates, assemble the press, distribute type by font into the cases, and get the paper, ink, inking balls, quoins and press furniture, imposing stone, planes, chases, galleys, composing sticks, and whatever else, organized for use. Though much remained to be done, it is difficult to believe that unpacking and sorting various crates of new equipment could have occupied all his time for two entire months between early August and the second week of October, when we know B. H. began work on the press's first imprint. From that lengthy wait we can conclude two things: first, that the equipment's location in the mint was initially considered a temporary storage arrangement but that it became permanent when other space could not be found; and second, that Young's initial task of organizing the equipment was worked at piecemeal. B. H.'s routines were probably similar to those of the most famous diarist of the place and period, lawyer Hosea Stout, whose daily labors were determined by the press of whatever needed most to be accomplished or what was most expedient. Stout spent some days hard at legal work, others at home tending

[61] B. H. Young to Phineas Young, 10 Apr. 1849 and 26 Feb. 1850, Phineas Howe Young papers, Church Archives. At this date Joseph Cain and Arieh Brower had just been dispatched to California as members of Young's "gold mission."

sick family members (or being sick himself) or occupied in the garden or with cattle, sometimes making trips to the canyon to take out wood or fence poles, visiting friends, or simply idling at home. Besides being the local printer, B. H. was a young father providing for a family in a subsistence economy. Gathering in the all-important autumn harvest of grain and potatoes certainly interrupted Young's work with the printing equipment. By whatever method the shop was organized, that B. H. did so was important not only to Deseret and the church but also to the young printer-designate. The task of uncrating and sorting the equipment may have constituted the only apprenticeship in printing that Brigham H. Young was afforded.

Great Salt Lake City was a busy place in the summer and fall of 1849. Companies of overlanders arrived in city every few days, and mail and freight flowed in and out regularly. Besides Egan's company, several "church trains" arrived in the city within a few weeks of one another. B. H. Young probably had the printing equipment comfortably unpacked and scattered about front room of the mint at nearly the same time that the wagon carrying John Kay's long-awaited replacement crucibles finally arrived. By the middle of September Bullock and Kay were once again busily smelting, rolling, punching, and striking Deseret's gold coins.

As soon as the coins began being paid out on scrip redemptions, Deseret's paper currency was consumed in the sheet-iron furnace of the mint. On September 10, 1849, Daniel H. Wells and Thomas Bullock fed three to four thousand dollars of the scrip into Kay's furnace. The mint/printshop was especially crowded during the first week of October 1849 as Bullock and Kay redeemed the last paper scrip with Deseret's bright new gold pieces. Unfortunately, Deseret's numismatic accomplishment was short-lived. Many of the new-minted two and a half-, five-, ten-, and twenty-dollar gold pieces made their way into the hands of merchants and from there into the coffers of eastern speculators. Livingston & Kinkead, the city's earliest and largest retail firm, quietly shipped the profits from their investment in store goods to the Philadelphia mint. There Deseret's coins were simply smelted, refined, and credited to the firm as bullion.[62]

With the city's money crisis finally well in hand and the printing equipment at last approaching a point of organized usefulness, the Presidency

[62] J. H. Kinkead to Edward Hunter, 29 Dec. 1849, Papers of Edward Hunter, Univ. of Utah Manuscripts Division, Salt Lake City. See "Mormon Gold and the Mormons," *New Orleans Times Picayune,* cited in *Millennial Star* 12 (15 May 1850):159–60; "Statement of Great Salt Lake City Paper Currency May 29 1850," Brigham Young papers, Church Archives.

of the church determined that the first order of business for the new press would be to produce a general communication to the church at large, updating the scattered saints on the status of their new city and the coincident establishment of the new stake of Zion. The information distributed in the document itself was the important point, the format secondary, but because the letter was being addressed widely, it was a fine candidate for the attention of the new printing equipment. There was not enough paper to print hundreds of copies, but a few printed epistles, distributed to selected newspapers, could broadcast the material much more effectively—and at no cost to the church at all. Even as selective as the distribution might be, the solidity of the Mormons' place of refuge would be attested by the fact that this communication would issue directly from there—written, printed, and mailed. The responsibility for the communiqué was delegated to counselor Willard Richards. Although the president was literate, his was an imperfect, rustic literacy and he avoided writing when possible. Richards had the missive composed and written out before mid-month. The First Presidency approved the manuscript October 12, and the sheets were shortly thereafter sent over to B. H. Young in the mint.[63]

To get the letter into print, B. H. had to divide his time between the mint, where the type was stored, and wherever the press had been temporarily housed. It must have been a cumbersome process, but a week's worth of labor between the case, stone, and press got the job done. On October 20, 1849, when Brigham H. Young officially pulled the bar of the Ramage Philadelphia press for the first time in production, Willard Richards stood by both in his capacity as the designated manager of the church's publishing and in his role as the general church recorder. As the frisket was tipped up against the rest, Richards claimed from the pressman for his files Deseret's first fully printed sheet. For the degree of permanence and self-determination that an operating press represented in a new city, and as a testimony of the saints' newfound security and their ultimate success, for posterity Richards inscribed on it the significance of that first printed sheet.[64]

Sometime later that next week, B. H. completed printing, folding, and pasting for the ten-page *Second General Epistle.* Exactly how many were printed and where they went is unknown. Richards's treasured sheet with

[63] The manuscript survives in the General Epistles series, Brigham Young papers, Church Archives. A *First General Epistle* had been composed the prior April and sent to Orson Hyde in Kanesville for printing and distribution.

[64] This is the imperfect copy recorded at USlC (see Chap. 5, no. 6).

its inscription was filed in church records, and a very few copies of the printed letter might have been distributed by hand in the valley. Since it was a circular written primarily "to the saints scattered throughout the earth," most probably went through the mails to newspapers and to the presiding elders of congregations throughout the eastern United States, Canada, and the foreign missions.

Then, as we can surmise from the absence of any imprints or comments to the contrary in contemporary records, the press sat unused through the remainder of the season and most of the first month of the new year. There simply wasn't anything for the church's ad hoc printer to print. In any other location such a hiatus would have been fatal to a city's single printshop, but Deseret's press was a private, not commercial, concern and did not necessarily need to rely on a healthy income from job printing to stay afloat. In fact, the press turned down paying work when it did not meet appropriate standards. In March 1851, for instance, Thomas Bateman brought to the printer a sheaf of communications from "Elijah the Prophet" which he wanted printed and was turned away.[65]

In December the Council of Fifty turned over the community's official leadership to its members who had been formally "elected" to service in Deseret's new state government. Fortunately, one of them was diarist Hosea Stout, who wrote of his elevation to a position of public trust, "By what process I became a Representative I know not." He nonetheless summarized its activities faithfully for years in his invaluable diary.[66] In the new Council House down the block and across the street from the state's first printory, Deseret's legislature convened its sessions. Confident of the outcome of its statehood petition, the legislative body officially met in two sessions (December 1849 to March 1850, and August to October 1850).

From Deseret to Utah

While Deseret's legislature met optimistically in the valley, across the country the first session of the Thirty-First Congress began its work in Washington, D.C.[67] Deseret's territorial representative Bernhisel was wending his way eastward in the summer and fall of 1849, even as Deseret's

[65] Box 20, fd. 13, Brigham Young papers, Church Archives.
[66] Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:358; Morgan, *State of Deseret,* 29–31; Poll, review of *State of Deseret.*
[67] Morgan, *State of Deseret,* 67–89; Crawley, *Constitution,* 17–21; the *Congressional Globe,* which served as the official record of debates in both houses, included pages and pages of primary material on the session's activities and Clay's historic Compromise Bill.

state representative Babbitt raced to catch up with him. Before proceeding to the capital, Bernhisel, in the company of diarist-apostle Wilford Woodruff, first stopped in Philadelphia to meet with Thomas L. Kane in late November 1849. In his remarkable diary Woodruff included a long summary of Kane's advice, which was to drop the territorial petition in favor of one seeking statehood. Kane pointed out that if the region was granted status as a U.S. territory, it would be given only partial autonomy. Its officials would be appointive rather than elective, and thus the territory would be a victim of the political patronage doled out by whichever party was in power; its budget would be granted by a Congress completely ignorant of the sums needed to cope with the physical setting or environmental challenges of the region; the actions of its legislative body would be subject to congressional oversight and approval; its congressional representation would be limited to a single nonvoting member of the House. Conversely, a state enjoyed constitutional standing. With both senators and representation in the House determined by population, a state had genuine representation in the halls of power; a state had the power to tax and budget internally; and most important, statehood provided self-determination through the election of officials from within the state itself. Kane counseled his friends that it was better to strive toward a valuable if lofty goal than to pursue a more certain end of questionable worth.[68]

It happened that John Bernhisel and Almon Babbitt arrived in the national capital before the session began and within a day of each other. The beginning of the legislative session portended things to come. Just to organize the House and elect officers for the Thirty-First Congress entailed a bitter factional fight that occupied almost two months and required sixty-three ballots to accomplish. When the dust settled, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, who had assisted the saints while they lived in that state, served fortuitously as chairman of the Senate's Committee on the Territories. In late November, once the organizational furor had subsided, Douglas introduced the bid for Deseret's admission as a state and Babbitt presented his credentials. The saints' memorial was presented to the House on January 3, 1850, where it was promptly overwhelmed by the political forces threatening to wrench apart the Union itself. Debate on Deseret's status—and on the survival of the country as a whole—was swatted back and forth between political opponents in congressional chambers,

[68] *Woodruff's Journal,* 3:513–16; entries fall at the end of the diary and are dated 26 Nov. and 4 Dec. 1849.

hallways, and offices. Every individual of power either liked or disliked the proposal, and some opinions were based on what others thought of the bill. Missouri senator and bitter anti-Mormon Thomas Hart Benton, an ardent Free-Soiler who favored westward expansion, didn't mind that the Mormons wanted the Great Basin but disliked the name *Deseret* because it was so close to *desert;* he feared it would discourage western emigration and he would therefore vote against it.[69] Though sponsoring the bill, Douglas himself disliked the name and said that he would insist on naming the new entity *Utah,* a variation of a Ute word for "mountains."

Deseret's petition was certainly not the only issue before the Congress, and actually it was not even a particularly important one. But the arguments were so fierce, the parties so evenly matched, and the members so implacable that nothing substantive could be accomplished. Finally, in the closing days of January, Henry Clay laid a general compromise proposal before the Senate. He proposed to compromise on *every* issue fueling the heated debate and to treat every one as a single all-or-nothing solution to the impasse. Congress must either choose to compromise on the issues dividing the nation or choose to succumb to factional wrangling that could destroy the country. It was a historic moment. The admission of Utah as a territory was one of eight features of the Compromise Bill.[70] With the introduction of Clay's compromise, though the Mormons would not learn of it for weeks and would not accept their fate for months, Deseret's petition for statehood was effectively nullified.

It was not merely a question of nomenclature that hamstrung passage of the Utah portion, for the Mormons' petition for recognition was taken seriously by the national representatives. At issue were the details that cumulatively made up the new entity, and the politics between personalities in Congress who approved or disapproved of the specifics. For months, every detail about the Utah proposal was debated. Eventually, Babbitt was

[69] Almon Babbitt to Brigham Young, 21 Aug. 1849, Incoming Correspondence, Brigham Young papers, Church Archives.

[70] This eight-point compromise included (1) the admission of California as a state without mention of slavery; (2) creation of territories through the rest of the Mexican Cession (i.e., New Mexico and Utah); (3) settlement of the Texas boundary; (4) assumption of Texas's outstanding preannexation debts on the state's relinquishment of claims to territory within New Mexico; (5) passage of a declaration of the inexpediency of outlawing slavery in the District of Columbia without Maryland's consent; (6) passage of a declaration outlawing the slave *trade* within the District; (7) a resolution calling for a more effective fugitive slave law; and (8) a resolution stating that Congress had no power to regulate or interfere with interstate slave trafficking, leaving that to the laws of the states involved. *Congressional Globe,* 31st Congress, 1st Session, 244–52.

denied a seat in the House of Representatives on the constitutional grounds that although he may have been the representative of a state, it was not a state of the Union, and thus he could not be seated in its representational body.

Boundaries for the territory were discussed, both as laid out in the petition and in light of contemporary national politics. It was on the entirely unrelated issue of slavery that the boundaries of Deseret, or Utah, really rested. Southern senators were eager to bound the new political region in a manner that could be interpreted as a westward extension of the Missouri Compromise line dividing slaveholding and non-slaveholding U.S. territory (36° 30' north). Those of the North were just as adamant that no territory ever be organized with a boundary that could be remotely construed as an expansion of slavery. After endless wrangling over ever-smaller fractions of latitude, boundaries for Utah were finally fixed at the 37th and 42d parallels north latitude and the crests of the Sierra Nevada and Rocky Mountain ranges.

Agreeing on the creation of Utah was the easiest part. Clay's compromise, or the Omnibus Bill, contained something for everyone to fight. For months nationalists Henry Clay and Daniel Webster fought off members who wanted to divide and kill off the compromise measure in separate proposals. As long as the eight-part compromise remained intact, the two Senate powerhouses believed it could garner the support necessary for passage. No single faction had enough votes either to pass it or to kill it off. Split it into parts and each would easily be defeated by differing interests. Taylor and his administration were angered by Clay's power in Congress and de facto position as the Whig party leader. Even such a bill as this, which nobody in Congress particularly liked, Clay was able to protect and move forward. The president pledged a veto if the measure passed. It was never used, since Taylor died in office on July 9, leaving the more moderate Millard Fillmore to succeed to the presidency.

By the end of the summer it appeared that passage of Clay's compromise bill was narrowly certain, when without warning a motion to strike out a minor amendment to the New Mexico boundary resolution passed. The carefully constructed wall of resolve around the bill was broached. Within minutes a feeding frenzy erupted as opponents proposed striking out larger and larger chunks of the bill. Necessary support for the remaining unified measures of the bill fell to pieces, and the measure was soundly defeated by vehement political opponents. The Senate's bitterest enemies cheered and congratulated one another. Thomas Hart Benton positively

crowed. His legendary vocal volume fairly thundered through the hall: "The omnibus is overturned, and all the passengers spilled out but one. We have but Utah left—all gone but Utah." He was not alone. "[The] Mormons alone got thru' living," laughed another opponent of the measure, "the Christians all jumped out."[71] By its very survival the territorial admission can be seen as the least divisive portion of the entire compromise package. Utah's creation was therefore also the measure of least significance to the national body.

Clay was shattered. He walked off the Senate floor in absolute silence. The next day he returned to excoriate the member—an ally, no less—whose motion had begun the process, and to begin picking up the pieces, but he had neither the heart nor the strength to orchestrate the passage of separate proposals. Stephen A. Douglas quietly devoted a week to dividing the all-in-one measure into five separate bills. By dint of careful political maneuvering and with a different body of supporters for each, within three weeks the parsed measures of Clay's original compromise measure were all passed, one by one.

John Bernhisel and Almon Babbitt kept the Mormons apprised of congressional activities throughout the spring and summer as a second season of argonauts roiled through the city. Perhaps from their letters, sometime near the beginning of Deseret's second legislative session, the leadership suddenly realized the implications of its course of action the previous year. The twin petitions for statehood and territoriality provided Congress with a choice between degrees of status the Mormons didn't want made. On September 10 Deseret's legislature instructed representative Bernhisel to remove entirely from congressional consideration the petition for admission as a territory.[72] The action came one day and three thousand miles too late. On September 9, 1850, President Millard Fillmore signed into law the Organic Act for Utah Territory. By mid-September 1850 Utah's organization as a U.S. territory, not a state, was an accomplished fact. Bernhisel thereafter reported to his brethren in the Great Basin his successive efforts toward securing the appointments of suitable territorial officials.[73]

[71] Remini, *Henry Clay,* 756.
[72] See Daniel H. Wells, P. P. Pratt, and Orson Spencer to John M. Bernhisel, 10 Sept. 1850; and "Resolutions passed by the General Assembly of the State of Deseret, . . . in relation to a Territorial Government," both in *Deseret News,* 21 Sept. 1850. It is plain that the matter was an action of the Council of Fifty, since the resolutions on the matter and appointment of a committee to *draft* the letter were passed by Deseret's General Assembly the day after the letter in question was actually written.
[73] John M. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, *Journal History,* 12 Sept. 1850.

Printing in 1850

In the late winter of early 1850, back in the Salt Lake valley, one of the Deseret legislature's earliest acts had been to approve and commission the printing of the state constitution, despite the prior existence of the impression typeset and printed in Kanesville, Iowa Territory, only a few months before. To prepare the printory for its first public printing contract, and in the midst of his sporadic duties in Deseret's first legislative session, Thomas Bullock devoted a full day to rearranging the contents of the two-room mint. The next day (January 22, 1850) Bullock and B. H. Young moved the press out of its unnamed temporary location and into its new home (the brief surviving account of the transfer does not imply that they had to move anything except the press). Almost immediately, work on Deseret's public printing began. On January 24 Bullock walked over to the new printing office between the day's sessions of the state's Legislative Assembly, where (probably to ease B. H.'s eyes from the task of having to move back and forth between case and manuscript) he "dictated a portion" of the state constitution to Young for typesetting. Despite prior experience with the *Second General Epistle,* typesetting must have been an arduous process for the young printer, who was still very new to the craft. The next day, the 25th, Bullock grumbled to his diary that while he labored to correct the proof and type, Young occupied himself "frolicking in a sleigh" with friends.[74] B. H. came back to finish the job and labored for a month or more doing both typesetting and presswork for proofs of the *Constitution of the State of Deseret* and for several other smaller pieces of public job printing. "I have been engaged in the office some of the latter part of the winter," B. H. wrote his father in February; "I expect I shall have all I can do in a short time." Presswork for the state constitution also raised for the first time a problem that would plague territorial printing for more than a decade. To Phineas, B. H. noted as an aside that he had already asked one of the partners of Livingston & Kinkead, merchants in the city, to secure him more paper.[75]

Since the assembly was already sitting in session, the impression of the state constitution was needed for reference material. Typesetting and presswork on a short schedule proved more than the new printer could comfortably assume with so little experience. While Young therefore continued to work the press through February, to relieve him from some of

[74] *Journal History,* 21, 22, 24, 25, 26 Jan. 1850, taken from the "Historian's Office Journal" kept by Bullock, of the same dates.
[75] B. H. Young to Phineas Young, 26 Feb. 1850, Phineas Howe Young papers, Church Archives.

the burden and to hasten the work, Richards enlisted Horace K. Whitney, one of Bishop Newell K. Whitney's sons, who had worked as a typesetter in the printshop back in Nauvoo several years before. His service in the Deseret printory may have been intended as a temporary arrangement since he is mentioned in connection with typesetting only once at this point. The pair worked together for several weeks until near the end of March. Whitney evidently departed thereafter, showing little interest in resuming his previous trade, leaving Young again to assume responsibility for both tasks. B. H. probably delivered the first signature, containing only Deseret's constitution, into the hands of the legislators in late March or early April 1850. Thereafter he enjoyed a short break from his printing work.

At the end of the month the office was inundated by a rush of closely related printing jobs resulting from the organization of the first institution of higher learning west of the Mississippi, the University of the State of Deseret. The name was partially pretentious and more than a little optimistic. Like its governmental namesake, the university came into being merely by fiat in the midst of a sagebrush desert. In late winter the state assembly had granted a collegiate charter, which, after some organizational meetings of the regents, in turn created a flurry of typesetting and printing in April. Given the necessarily limited nature of a new institution, one so far from any supportive neighbor, and with the lack of attention paid to the desert settlement by the rest of the country, the school could have been inaugurated simply (which it did, nine months later) and without undue fanfare (which it certainly did not). It was probably because there were no nearby institutions from which to petition for help or recognition that the institutional regents determined to begin things in grand style.

In March or early April 1850 the regents determined that the best way to begin their school was to distribute inspirational speeches by each of their members. The speeches extolled the virtues of education generally and promoted the new school specifically. Considering the newness of the territory, the imprints would serve as a nineteenth-century equivalent of a capital campaign, one obviously intended to be conducted beyond the borders of Deseret. Inaugurating such a school had precedents among the Mormons. A similar institution had been initiated in Nauvoo, and the saints tended to take the quest for knowledge quite seriously. The founding of a college or "parent school" for teacher training was a first step toward the establishment of public graded schools. It was also obviously intended to be yet another subtle statement about the degree of civilization

among Deseret's residents, a bit of self-promotion. It was just that in the spring of 1850 the university didn't yet have a building, faculty, student body, or curriculum. The regents' plans went ahead nonetheless.

The school's founding documents needed to be printed early enough in the year to allow them to be forwarded across the plains and delivered to potential donors in time for contributions to make it back to Great Salt Lake City the same season. This additional press of work stretched the capability of the still-inexperienced printer. When he again wrote to his father in Kanesville, B. H. had to confess, "I am hurried very much with my printing and can't get half done what they want."[76] This new business was sufficient to overwhelm B. H. once again, and Horace Whitney was recalled. This time, to formalize their relationship, Whitney and Richards negotiated a contractual agreement rather than a direct hire, an arrangement that we might identify today as outsourcing to a subcontractor. Whitney began keeping a book of accounts for his typesetting in April 1850, charged to Richards and billed weekly on a typesetter's typical work-performed basis—a sum calculated at the rate of sixty cents per thousand ems of type set.[77] Since Whitney seems to have billed Richards only for straight composition, we can assume that Brigham H. Young again chose to retain the role of pressman and left much of the typesetting to Whitney's more skilled fingers.

Whitney set type for two days in early April for the petition *To the General Assembly* and devoted three days between the 17th and 19th to composing the two regents' speeches that actually made it into print. While B. H. made up the pages and struck the broadsides shortly thereafter, Whitney took over compositional work on the remaining pages of the constitution and subsequently began work on the ordinances. The latter was an on-again, off-again project that was conducted sporadically for months as legislation was enacted. Once the few items for the university were struck, the rush was over. Between late April and mid-June, demands on the press once more declined. To occupy his time in the printory, it was probably at this point that B. H. composed and printed a small overland guidebook, drawn from the notes or diary of an individual who had accompanied the discharged Mormon Battalion members back to the valley in 1848. This item was probably the first guidebook printed in the West itself.

[76] Brigham H. Young to Phineas Young, 14 Apr. 1850, Church Archives.
[77] Horace K. Whitney, "Account Book of Work Done in the Printing Office," photocopy in the Helen Mar Whitney Family Papers, Utah State Univ. Special Collections, Logan. An *em* is a measurement as wide as a type font is tall. For example, fifty 20-pica (3-5/16 inches) lines of twelve-point type, or just over forty-one and a half lines of ten-point type set on the same margins, would each constitute about one thousand ems.

As the valley's late spring melted into an early mountain summer, and with the rush of "school fund" work for the university over, it became evident that the cycle of action and inaction made it difficult to provide sustenance for the printer and kept expensive equipment idle much of the time. Clearly, an unused printing press is about as effective and useful as no printing press at all. But neither the church nor its state needed to print an epistle, found a university, or establish a constitution every day. The church did, however, need a regularly established means of communicating to the world beyond the Salt Lake valley's bordering mountains, both to other communities within the state and to the country at large. Deseret needed a source for mass communication, which in the mid-nineteenth century meant "newspaper."

In the two preceding decades sectarian newspapers had been a vital feature of Latter-day Saint culture. Serials had served as major vehicles for disseminating doctrine and history ever since W. W. Phelps had founded the *Evening and the Morning Star* (1831–33) in Independence, Missouri. Latter-day Saint newspapering continued through every major Mormon center: Kirtland, Ohio's, reprint of the *Evening and Morning Star* and its own *Messenger and Advocate* (1834–37), the short-lived *Elder's Journal* (1838) from Far West, Mo., and Nauvoo's *Times and Seasons* (1839–46) in Illinois. Three years before, building on the Nauvoo experience, Brigham Young had reiterated that the Twelve Apostles should superintend any printing (i.e., publishing) that was to be done for the church.[78] Since that time many quasi-official publications had been begun or were continuing: the *Millennial Star* dispensed news of the foreign missions and words of exhortation in Britain and the *Frontier Guardian* (Kanesville, Iowa), *St. Louis Luminary,* and *The Mormon* (New York) were devoted to the saints' cause in other U.S. cities. The problem was that there was no word regularly available and direct from the center Stake of Zion. For a people socially consumed with a desire to gather together, the void was evident. The inability to communicate directly to the scattered church after 1846 had been one specific reason a press had been secured, but beyond the release of two general epistles, no action had been taken.

It was evident, implied, and expected that any newspaper to issue from Deseret's printing press would constitute the church's voice to the outside world. Obviously, the production merited the direct attention of a trustworthy overseer. Unfortunately, most of the apostles had already been dispatched abroad on proselyting missions; Brigham Young was decidedly

[78] *Woodruff's Journal,* 3:295 (6 Dec. 1847).

nonliterary and chronically busy; Heber C. Kimball, Young's closest friend and counselor, was a rough-hewn potter whose fingers were more accustomed to being slathered in clay slip than wrapped around a pen. As a functional executive secretary to the First Presidency of the church, Willard Richards was the obvious choice for editor. But if a newspaper was to survive in the Salt Lake valley it would require more than a qualified editor. It would demand both a production staff and enough income from job printing to prop up the subscription accounts, which for nearly every newspaper of the time were too few and chronically in arrears. Richards had been tacitly responsible for the operations of Deseret's printing press, but the actual production work was left to Young and Whitney.

This idea of beginning a new church newspaper might have been in the minds of church leaders as early as 1847 when Phelps departed to secure a press. It was certainly a topic of discussion and planning through the spring of 1850. Unfortunately, the records are silent about the details of the newspaper's actual beginnings. The first indication that a newspaper was being planned is the official pronouncement itself. To begin things afresh, on May 25, 1850, editor Richards sat down and penned a prospectus for a newspaper to be issued weekly under the masthead *Deseret News.* To the bottom of the manuscript prospectus was appended a blank sheet for subscriptions, and the sheet was circulated through town for pledges.[79] Not much could be done to solicit subscriptions beyond the mountains, even among the saints, though some exchanges with other newspaper offices in the country could be counted on. Local response was decidedly underwhelming. The paper's first subscription roster could not have totaled more than three hundred fifty souls (which probably almost doubled by the end of the volume); in fact, the prospectus lists exactly one subscriber's signature. But in light of the rate of emigration to the valley, the subscription numbers could be—if one were optimistic enough—perceived as encouraging.

The inauguration of the newspaper elevated the activities in the mint to the status of a genuine printing concern, effectively ending the exceedingly informal apprenticeship of Brigham H. Young. With the commencement of the paper's publication he became responsible for almost single-handed production of a weekly newspaper.

It has been traditionally understood and widely reported that Utah's first newspaper initially boasted a staff of four. This is true, but only partially, and it needs some qualification. For the first few months, at least, the

[79] The original prospectus survives at the Church Archives.

inaugural staff of the *Deseret News* totaled three. Two more hands were added when one of the original members took a brief leave of absence, and before the first volume closed, another soul joined up. These six individuals worked together through the remainder of the first volume until publication was suspended between volumes 1 and 2. For just over a year they were the primary forces in the only printing establishment operating in the vastness between California, Missouri, and New Mexico.

Richards, the paper's editor, did much of the original writing, selected news items from correspondent newspapers to reprint, and in the early months probably kept the newspaper's accounts, all from his own "room" or office at his home half a block west of the printory (where he was—unofficially—also the city postmaster). In fact, Richards's name appears in relation to the state's earliest printing only after the establishment of the *Deseret News* and its first issue, which advertised its willingness to execute job printing; but even then his own diary barely places him at the printing office until the commencement of volume 2 in late 1851. Despite his position as editor, Richards was almost never in the printing office. Thomas Bullock, President Young's secretary, perhaps did some writing but served primarily as proofreader. The role of printer (responsible for typesetting, makeup, presswork, and teardown and cleanup) was given over formally to young Brigham H. Despite the work of the other two it was his responsibility to get the newspaper into print. These three men are positively known to have been on the job when the newspaper's first number was issued in June 1850 and in the months following.

The question arises over the newspaper's reputed fourth staff member, Horace K. Whitney, who is said to have acted as the newspaper's first typesetter and is included with three of his later co-workers in a widely reproduced piece of artwork immortalizing the first issue.[80] Whitney's personal account book does not support that traditional claim. The second section of his account book with Richards begins with "Bill no. 1" on January 25, 1851. So Whitney certainly worked in the office through part of the first volume, but not earlier than six months *after* the newspaper began publication (as the primary typesetter, we can confidently assert). This would make him the last to join the newspaper's early staff. From June through December 1850 it seems that if he stepped in to help with typesetting it was only if B. H. felt the need for company or was occupied with job work.[81]

[80]The painting by Paul S. Clowes is reproduced as a frontispiece in Ashton's *Voice in the West.*

[81]Whitney was claimed as the first typesetter in the *Deseret Evening News* of 6 June 1900, which seems to have extrapolated its attribution from a statement made by his son, Orson F.

On June 17, 1850, the first issue of the *Deseret News,* printed two days before, was made available to subscribers, who were individually responsible for retrieving their copies from Richards at the post office. Despite the church's continued presence in the printing office, by beginning a newspaper rather than a church magazine like the *Times and Seasons* or *Millennial Star,* the private press took the first step away from private status and toward becoming a community institution. The determination to go forward had been demonstrated and only one thing could now stop the press: paper—or rather, the lack of it. The amount of paper needed to supply the endeavor represented a daunting problem. Orson Hyde had included only seventeen reams of newsprint when he replaced the stock borrowed out of Phelps's printing supplies, and it had arrived with the press. The parent (full) sheets were cut down to accommodate most of Deseret's printing, but the press's output—the *Second General Epistle,* Deseret's *Constitution,* the imprints for the university, some sheets of the *Ordinances of Deseret,* and proof—had already eaten deeply into the 8,500-sheet supply. It didn't take much calculating to figure out that fifty-two weekly newspaper issues on half-sheets with a subscriber list of only 250 would easily consume better than three-quarters of the stock that had been available before anything had been printed. The pressman and the editor rightly concluded that a regularly functioning printing office could not operate on a materials budget that tight. Richards staked his hope on the anticipated arrival of a new supply with one of the fall emigration or merchant companies. Until such time when they could know otherwise, the quarto-folded half-sheets of the *Deseret News* were churned out weekly through the summer and fall.

Fortunately, apostle Wilford Woodruff arrived in October heading the season's last emigrant train and shepherding ten wagons of his brother-in-law's merchandise. Among the goods were crates of newsprint.[82] Unfortunately, whatever Woodruff was able to supply, it wasn't nearly enough. Based on low and high estimates of the *Deseret News*'s subscription list (250 and 350), merely the seventeen weekly issues printed between June

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Whitney, about his father: "Among the little force of compositors who set type *for this and subsequent issues* of the *News* were Brigham H. Young and Horace K. Whitney" (italics added). Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1892), 1:432. Although the younger Whitney's attribution is equivocal, Horace Whitney's status as the first of Utah's typesetters was thereafter accepted uncritically. His account book scrupulously enters bills for typesetting through several years. Thus Whitney certainly would have begun recording his credit had he worked for the paper when it commenced.

[82] *Woodruff's Journal,* 3:558, 569 (21 July and 26 Aug. 1850).

and October consumed four to six of the seventeen reams of the newsprint that had accompanied the press west. If we assume that the quantity of blank stock secured in the fall of 1850 was no less than equal to the amount that came in 1849, the remaining weekly issues of the newspaper alone would still consume far more than what was available. Barely four months after the newspaper had begun, the editor inserted a notice in his pages that "lack of paper will prevent the [weekly] issue of the News as hitherto." Subscribers were told to expect their sheets every other week.[83]

As early as the fall of 1849 someone in the leadership realized that buying paper would be ruinously expensive. Almost immediately after the press had arrived the call had gone out for people to "save their rags for the Purpose of establishing a paper Mill." Pleased with the arrival of the press and the issuance of its first imprint, in late 1849 the First Presidency had commissioned James Ludington, a papermaker from Milwaukee, to assemble and freight the basic equipment for a mechanized paper plant to the Salt Lake valley. Owing to delays and miscommunication, the machinery languished, crated and unused, in a St. Louis warehouse for several years. In the meantime, Richards was forced to import paper from St. Louis at exorbitant cost. The same ream of paper that would retail for three to four dollars on the riverfront could cost eighteen to twenty dollars in the valley, and demand had to be calculated months in advance. Publication interruptions due to paper shortages were inconvenient but clearly expected.[84]

Because of its coincident roles, the printing/tithing office was a busy place. A constant stream of business and visitors would have provided chronic interruption to the conduct of practical printing. To complicate things, editor Richards was faced with finding make-work jobs for his staff as the paper supply dwindled through the summer of 1850. To mitigate both problems Richards arranged to move the entire newspaper and job printing operation from the mint into the newly erected Council House, situated a hundred yards west on the southwest corner of what is now the intersection of Main and South Temple streets. The newspaper and job printing business office remained with Thomas Bullock in the mint. The church's Tithing Office moved into mint's front room, which had been vacated by the press.

Once the dust had settled, the editor posted a large No Admittance sign

[83] *Deseret News,* 19 Oct. 1850.

[84] Salt Lake Stake minutes, 16 Sept. 1849, Church Archives; *Deseret News,* 8 Feb. 1851. Other delays that crippled publication included one mentioned on March 22, 1851, and the three weeks between July 26 and August 19 the same year. On Utah's papermaking efforts, see Richard Saunders, "Papermaking and the Paper Industry in Utah Territory, 1849–1893," unpublished.

on the new pressroom door, and in the columns of the paper scolded the populace, admonishing readers to leave the printers alone to conduct their business.[85] Even that was not sufficiently plain. A sign reading No Admittance on a door meant just that, Richards finally reminded his readers: "If [readers] will carry out the popular definition of NO ADMITTANCE, in their acts, [then] our printer's file will not be disturbed, and valuable communications will not be mislaid, and lost to the readers of the News."[86]

Logistically, it would have made sense to locate the type cabinets and press in an easily accessible room in the building's ground floor, but tradition locates the pressroom in the building's small attic story. If this is true, the several tons of dead weight positioned in a creaking loft directly overhead would have hung above Deseret's legislators like the legendary sword of Damocles—though that might help explain Deseret's unusually productive and remarkably brief legislative sessions.

After the printing operations were settled in their new location, Willard Richards welcomed two new employees to the printshop, both of whom had printing experience from service in the Nauvoo *Times and Seasons* office. The contributions that Joseph Cain and Arieh C. Brower made to the state's first printing office have been almost entirely overlooked. Both men were members of a party that returned to Utah in late September 1850 from a year-long foray in California. Within a few days of arriving home both were employed by the printing office. As an experienced pressman, Brower became the manager for the mechanical work of printing. Cain had probably worked as a printer's devil in Nauvoo and so for a time spelled B. H. Young at the press. He soon became more closely associated with Richards and later was the city's first federally appointed postmaster. Cain also contributed regularly to the *News*'s columns under both a byline and the pseudonym "Homer." Both Cain and Brower remained with the printing office for several years. Each served an appointment as public printer in the early years of Utah Territory (Brower in 1854, Cain the following year). Brower left his craft to pursue farming in 1854; Cain stayed with the paper's editorial staff but was often ill and died young in 1857. Both were founding members of the Deseret Typographical Association.[87]

[85] *Deseret News,* 21 Aug. 1850; Historian's Office journal, 26 Aug. 1850, Church Archives. See also Les Whall, *The Salt Lake City Post Office, 1849–1869* (Salt Lake City: Crabtree Press, 1982), 42; *Deseret News,* 14 Dec. 1850.

[86] *Deseret News,* 22 Feb. 1851.

[87] *Journal History,* 10 Oct. 1849, 29 Sept. 1850, 24 Feb. 1852, 5 Dec. 1853; *Deseret News,* 17 Aug. 1850; Jenson, *Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia,* 2:750–51; *Constitution and By-laws of the Typographical Association of Deseret* (G.S.L. City: Printed at the office of the Deseret News, 1855).

Brower and Cain's arrival provided Brigham H. Young welcome relief from the labors of printing and he decided to seek his fortune elsewhere. Near the first of October (1850) he determined to backtrack along the Mormon Trail to meet his uncle Joseph Young, who was due to arrive from Iowa late in the season. B. H. used the journey to scout for other employment. He was gone nearly three weeks, but the travel was so hard on his team that his horses "got wore down so I could not think of going any where." He nursed the weakened animals back to the city and returned again to the printing office, obviously crestfallen.[88] He resumed working there of necessity, but it was evident that printer's ink was not in his blood, and he continued to look for a way out. A few months later, in January 1851, Horace Whitney joined the group as a contractual typesetter, as mentioned earlier.

Meanwhile, after passage of the territorial bill and congressional appointment of territorial officers, it was merely a matter of the time necessary for official word and the federal appointees to travel westward. The first news of the passage of the Utah Bill reached the valley in October 1850, and official notification came in late November.[89] The following January Brigham Young noticed his appointment as governor of the new territory mentioned in the eastern newspapers exchanged through the *Deseret News* office. On the strength of their assumed accuracy Young took the oath of office as governor of the territory in the first week of February. Young, the territorial attorney (Seth M. Blair), and the marshal (Joseph L. Heywood) constituted the territory's officers for the transition from Deseret to Utah.

Printing in 1851

As debate about Utah swirled in the East, life for the residents of the quickly growing city went on. Large companies of English converts began to arrive in the summer of 1851, and Great Salt Lake City expanded dramatically. Not only were Mormon emigrants from Europe pouring into the region, but the city's location on a major branch of the overland trail, especially given its stature as a permanent settlement, made the "City of the

[88] B. H. Young to Phineas Young, 20 Oct. 1850, Phineas Howe Young papers, Church Archives.

[89] According to the Fifth General Epistle (*Deseret News,* 22 Mar. 1851), the first news arrived with a company from California on January 27. See *Deseret News,* 8 Feb. 1851. Drawing on contemporary sources, the *Journal History* puts the date at 15 Oct. 1850. The appointment data in question were found in the *Boston Journal,* 11 Sept. 1850, and confirmed in a copy of the *New York Tribune* of 11 Oct. 1850, both of which arrived in Great Salt Lake City via California in the early months of 1851.

Saints" an ideal site for outside investment. As early as 1849, with thousands of California-bound emigrants sure to be streaming through the city, residents and eastern speculators quickly perceived the city's potential market opportunities. Dozens of new businesses began springing up.

For the printers that meant they were still short of supplies. With the exception of the newspaper, which had first claim on the available supplies, because of the chronic shortage of paper the job printing business in Great Salt Lake City was a short-run, on-demand industry. It therefore tended to be conducted in irregular spates on whatever stock was deemed suitable. This point is plainly evident in the surviving imprints. The printers frequently used blank stationery for small-run job printing, and even wrapping paper.

They also faced another problem. Though the Ramage press was adequate for the small needs of a new settlement, it was not large enough to print the substantial newspaper the editor desired, nor could a single press meet the calculated demand for both newspaper and printing in a rapidly growing, literate population. To print anything larger than the little quarto that the *News* was dressed in or to have a viable commercial printory for a growing city, more than one printing press—and a larger press at that—was necessary. The intention to get a second and larger press was publicly announced as early as November 1850, barely a year after Richards's Philadelphia press had arrived. "We have ordered an imperial press, type and fixtures," wrote editor Richards, "to be brought by the next train, when we expect to enlarge the *News.*"[90]

As Richards notes, the press had already been ordered, or so he thought. Unfortunately, the delays of overland travel complicated things and it took nearly a year for the new press actually to get to the valley. Richards had written apostle Orson Hyde, who was still in Kanesville, Iowa, the previous fall, hoping to persuade Hyde to send his *Frontier Guardian* press to the valley and get a new one for himself. Barring that, Richards hoped Holladay & Warner, a merchant firm in Great Salt Lake City, could be prevailed on to secure him a new press, type, fixtures, and paper. But the risks of transcontinental mail complicated the issue. "I discover at your date of 29th of December [1850]," wrote Richards early the following April, "you had probably not received the letter. Be it as it may, it is now too late to communicate a correspondence on that subject. But I

[90] *Deseret News,* 30 Nov. 1850. This predated the advertisement of Joseph E. Ware, a St. Louis commission merchant who specifically mentioned "Printing materials, including presses, types, and paper furnished." *Deseret News,* 22 Mar. 1851.

hope that yet I shall not be disappointed in getting a large press this season."[91] He very nearly was.

The Great Basin city's economy was typical of the time. The saints demanded far more consumer goods than they were capable of producing themselves, despite the large and increasingly diverse pool of skilled labor that poured into the valley in English (and later Scandinavian) converts. That fact alone guaranteed there would be a high demand for the services of freighting companies and the goods they would supply. Brigham Young chafed as hard-earned Mormon capital was shipped east by speculative merchants. In October 1850 the president walked to Livingston & Kinkead's store specifically to witness the loading of a box that contained as much gold as a strong man could lift, an amount far more than the mint had taken in, and a box of coined silver so heavy it took three men to heft it into the wagon.[92] That economic sinkhole had to be plugged. The same fall the church first discussed then established business agents cum missionaries in St. Louis, Boston, New York, and other large cities.[93] They couldn't supply the entire settlement but would eliminate the middlemen in bulk-order purchasing on behalf of the church. Until a Latter-day Saint merchant class was established in the late 1850s, orders were placed directly by mail or with one of Young's secretaries in Salt Lake City late in the winter and compiled and forwarded to the respective destinations by overland mail. Goods were shipped from eastern suppliers to Kanesville by river and finally loaded onto freight wagons for drayage overland to the basin. It was a workable process but took time.

The fact that Richards drew Orson Hyde into the ordering process for his printing press suggests that the new "imperial" press may have been bought from the Cincinnati Type Foundry, where Hyde had three years previously secured the Washington press used at the *Frontier Guardian.* In the spring of 1851 Richards's plans and orders for securing and shipping the new press went ahead, but factual details about the transaction are absent. Optimistic about the arrival of his new press, editor Richards announced that the second volume of the paper was to be enlarged, something that could be done only on a different printing press.[94]

In the meantime there other problems to be overcome in the print shop. The short trip eastward that he had taken in the fall of 1850 had affected B. H. Young's health, and he was no longer strong enough to work the

[91] First Presidency to Orson Hyde, 7 Apr. 1851, postscript, in *Journal History* of date.
[92] *Journal History,* 22 Oct. 1850.
[93] *Journal History,* 16 Oct. 1850.
[94] *Deseret News,* 19 Aug. 1851.

press on a regular basis. With Horace Whitney setting type and Arieh Brower to work the press, his illness offered as good an excuse as any to get out of the printshop. B. H. pled his case before uncle Brigham and was enlisted in a less physically strenuous appointment as one of the territory's federal census takers. B. H. spent the spring of 1851 enumerating the residents of the city and surrounding communities but once again was forced to return to the printing office when that work ended.[95]

That was not all. The printing office in Great Salt Lake City was once again quickly running out of paper. The remaining newsprint was almost completely exhausted by mid-August 1851. Hoping to buy time, the newspaper suspended publication for an extra week in August before issuing the final number (39) of the *Deseret News*'s first volume on August 19, 1851. The front page reported the festivities of the first Pioneer Day celebration in the city a few weeks earlier. Thereafter the editor and his employees were forced to wait for the church train to bring in the year's order of paper—and, they hoped, the new printing press as well.

The last issue of the territory's newspaper did not use every remaining sheet of paper, just enough to make further publication at current subscription levels impossible. Once the last issue of the *Deseret News* had been delivered, the territorial governor's first message consumed most of the rest of the available stock. The dearth of paper affected the printing office's business arrangements as well, for there was nothing to occupy all six of the printory's employees throughout the work week.

Brigham H. Young was the first to go. Faced with the loss of his livelihood when the newsprint expired and looking for an excuse to leave printing for good anyway, Young finally gave his notice to Richards that he would leave the printing establishment on or about August 1. Working as a mail carrier, he was still in and out of Richards's office, conducting mail shipments between Brownsville (Ogden) and Great Salt Lake City. His former supervisor, Arieh Brower, disappears into the source material without a hint of his destination. We do know that he chose to return to the printing office when newspaper presswork began again later in the year.

Since no presswork was being done, typesetter Horace Whitney was idled. He took a position as a clerk/bookkeeper for the General Tithing

[95] *Journal History,* 14 Mar. 1851; B. H. Young to Phineas Young, 30 Mar. 1851, Phineas Howe Young papers, Church Archives. Since Utah Territory had been created in late 1850, the spring of 1851 was the earliest date the 1850 federal census could commence. President Fillmore had appointed Brigham Young the agent for the census in the summer of 1850. *Weekly Placer Times* (Sacramento), 10 Aug. 1850, cited in *Deseret News,* 5 Oct. 1850.

Office, an occupation he retained the rest of his life, though he returned periodically to set type for both Richards and Richards's editorial successor Albert Carrington when there was a press of business.

Without typesetting there was no need to crossread proofsheets. By that time Thomas Bullock had been appointed county recorder and therefore de facto territorial recorder, in addition to his work with the church presidency's routine correspondence and accounts. Thus of the newspaper's original staff, Willard Richards as the paper's editor and proprietor remained alone (perhaps with Cain in the wings) to wait out the paper drought. Joseph Cain became Great Salt Lake City's first federally appointed postmaster, replacing the informally appointed Richards, and continued to be affiliated with the paper as an editorial contributor and business manager. None of the staff had gone far afield, but for Bullock and Young—the true pioneers—separation was both genuine and permanent. Still, a core of skilled hands remained. When the new printing press (and paper) arrived and the printing office was able to reopen in November, the places of Utah's pioneer printers were occupied by others. The office produced a few more small jobs that fall, including two impressions of the governor's first message.

In the concluding issue of his first volume Richards revealed just how deeply the economics of newspapering and job printing had changed the church's perception of the press.

> Bills for labor, paper, and other materials, were so much higher than we expected at the issue of the Prospectus [in May 1850], that the subscriptions will be exhausted in defraying the mechanical execution of the News, without administering to our necessities.
>
> Should the News be continued, we anticipate it will be on a superroyal sheet, or twice the size of the present, or a little more than twice the amount of present matter, and re-commence some time in September; but this will depend on the number of subscribers.[96]

Richards hoped to treble paid subscriptions to two thousand and unabashedly tied the newspaper's subscription rates to that issue directly, no doubt betting that the host of newly arrived English converts would subscribe to his *Deseret News* in the way they had to the *Millennial Star* in Britain. Ordering a new printing press had been a measure of strategic planning, but one that had been made on shaky economic ground.

[96] "To the Patrons of the News," *Deseret News,* 19 Aug. 1851.

The Political Crisis and a New Press

As chance would have it, the *News* slipped into slumber at precisely the wrong moment. Utah's first political storm was brewing, and it was rooted in one of the issues about which Kane had warned the Mormons the year earlier.[97] Young had taken his oath of office as territorial governor in January and remained the sole recognized official for several months. With instructions to enumerate the populace, he empowered census takers and made the requisite count. The territory's other appointees began arriving in Utah as soon as the greening prairies permitted travel. Justice Lemuel Brandebury arrived in June. With a Supreme Court justice present to certify the action, on July 1 the governor issued a proclamation setting a date for the first public election in the United States Territory of Utah. Brandebury was succeeded the following month by territorial secretary Broughton D. Harris, Justice Zerubbabel Snow, two Indian agents, and Bernhisel and Babbitt. The election was held August 4; the results were no surprise. With the tardy arrival of Justice Perry Brocchus almost two weeks later in mid-August, the territory's complement of officials was complete.

But as Kane had foretold, each of the non-Mormon appointees had come to Utah to pursue his own agenda, and a general misunderstanding of powers and duties in the U.S. terrritorial laws and policies further complicated things for the Mormon governor. Young's second-in-command, Broughton D. Harris, was a twenty-something individual determined to use this appointment to begin his political career. As the ranking appointee, Harris was custodian of the $24,000 federal appropriation that funded the territorial government. Young expected that the money was to be delivered to the governor and disbursed by the legislature. In fact, federal policy left the secretary with almost dictatorial control over the actual disbursement of funds internally. The Mormons interpreted this to mean that before Harris departed the East he had been taken aside and given private instructions to the effect that he should not release funds in

[97] The story related here is well documented from both sides. Transcripts of Brocchus's and Young's sermons, their letters, and selected other documents may be found transcribed into the *Journal History* entries for September and October 1851. The officials' report, Young's letter and supportive exhibits from Utah, and Bernhisel's comments on the matter are recorded in the *Congressional Globe,* 32d Congress, 1st Session, vol. 25 (1851–52), 1411, and appendix, 86–92. Once in Washington the trio trumpeted loudly that they had been forced from the territory "on account of the lawless acts and seditious tendencies of Brigham Young and the majority of the residents." They were ordered back to Utah by Secretary of State Webster but resigned rather than return. See Sarah H. Harris, *An Unwritten Chapter of Salt Lake, 1851–1901* (New York: Privately printed, n.d.); Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:404–7.

his keeping unless the measures of the territorial government met with his personal approval. This obviously caused some friction. Young later also complained to President Fillmore that Harris had never acted in his office of his own will. His service was self-limited to affixing the territorial seal and appending his signature to a few documents.

Perry Brocchus, the last to arrive, was another root to the problem. Brocchus had been feted handsomely among the Mormons in Kanesville and departed for the plains in style accompanying apostle Orson Hyde. Young later commented that Brocchus had distinguished himself on the trail by his attitude toward his appointment. It was reported to Young "on pretty good authority" (probably Hyde's), that the judge confided in at least some of his traveling companions, "If the citizens of Utah, do not send me as their delegate to Washington. By God I'll use all my influence against them and will crush them." How much of this report was extrapolation, how much quotation, and how much the stuff of rumor no one can now accurately judge. It is clear that Brocchus considered the territorial election his ticket back to Washington, and his comments were known openly enough that the judge sought occasion to deny them publicly at least once. When he arrived, the vain, ambitious Brocchus found that the territorial election on which he had staked his plans had already been held, dashing his chances of returning triumphantly to Washington the same season. Obviously, relations between Governor Young and his federally appointed assistants were somewhat cool, to say the least. Other than the attorney and marshal, the least problematic official was Zerubbabel Snow, who was a Mormon convert in good standing.

At the same time, the appointees were shocked at Latter-day Saint attitudes toward American governance. Speakers in Mormon meetings protested their patriotism and allegiance, in the same breath damning the rascals who served in government and proclaiming that the saints could never be dispossessed in their mountain fastness. Discomfited by the reality of his isolation from the center of power and disturbed by the attitudes toward political appointees generally, Brocchus gathered Chief Justice Brandebury and Secretary Harris about him, and within two weeks Willard Richards reported to Thomas L. Kane that rumor had it that some or all of the officials were planning to leave.[98]

The veneer of politeness was finally stripped from the mutual contempt between Young and the justice three days after Richards's letter was written. At a church conference session on the first Monday of September, not

[98] Willard Richards to Col. [Thomas L.] Kane, 5 Sept. 1851, transcribed in *Journal History* of the same date.

even three weeks after his arrival, Justice Brocchus asked for permission to address the congregation. He was allowed the privilege and on taking the stand used the same pulpit from which had proceeded the saints' curious hyperbole to return invective back upon them. Brocchus lambasted the Mormons for moral turpitude (their unspoken but open secret of polygyny, or "plural marriage") and questioned outright the sincerity of their vaunted patriotism. He also pointedly denied reports that he was seeking the office of territorial representative and proclaimed his personal integrity. If later comments about his diatribe are accurate, the judge went so far as to fling at his hearers an open challenge to single combat if his charges were untrue. Brigham Young was as furious as he was incredulous. Following Brocchus in the pulpit, the church president and territorial governor roundly castigated the appointee for his own ignorance of historical fact (on comments made about George Washington) and barefaced hypocrisy.

The exchange on the 8th dragged feelings between the federal appointees and the residents into the open. Mormon political perspectives ran along parallel tracks. American saints harbored a deep-seated mistrust of elected officials and outright suspicion of political patronage, born of their own persecutions and the inability or unwillingness of officials to intervene protectively. At the same time, the Mormons viewed their loyalty as transcending allegiance to parties, political hacks, and career politicians to fix itself firmly on American institutions and ideals of liberty, the Constitution, and rights of religious freedom. For Utah's first appointees no such division existed or was even admissible. True allegiance to American ideals was demonstrated by support for the outcome of the elective process—both the government and its officials, despite their flaws—and the practical operation of governance. Implicitly included in governance was the authority of federal appointment. To the appointees, the Mormon rhetoric in the pulpit bordered on sedition. Both camps held up the banner of patriotism as a guiding principle, but their perspectives were fundamentally dissimilar. The Mormons trusted their leaders and supported their decisions with little reservation whereas the federal officials had faith in the virtues of pluralistic American liberalism. The Mormons did not transfer trust in their leaders to American politics at large, and the appointees looked askance on the extralegal control the Mormon leaders wielded.

The charged atmosphere of recriminations and threatened departures threw into sharp relief an oversight that also put Young in a political bind. Though the election had been held in early August, the results had never

been formally announced, nor had the legislative session been called. Young was probably waiting to convene the legislature on the same schedule that Deseret's assembly had followed, which would have seated the body and opened the session in December. But these two facts could be used to put Utah's administration in a bad light and might count against Young if the officials carried out their threat to leave. Taking no chances, Young decided to act preemptively. On September 18 the governor hastily issued and had printed a broadside proclamation that both announced the election results and called for the territory's first legislative session, and had Harris sign and affix his seal to it. A special messenger was dispatched the same day to the southern settlements. Fortunately for Young, on the night before Utah's legislative session was to open, a sensational murder was committed (Howard Egan shot and killed James Monroe, who had fathered a child by Egan's wife in his absence several years earlier) which both created a diversion and provided the justices with an incontestable reason to remain at their posts in the territory. But from the justices' point of view the Monroe murder case represented a perfect reason to leave. Egan had overwhelming popular support, and his defense counsel later argued that this was a case where homicide was morally justifiable. A justice is required to preside over a court governed by statute, not community moral sentiment, however. One justice would be faced with trying the case, and two together would form the majority upholding or reversing the decision on appeal. It was definitely time to make an exit.

The first legislature for the territory of Utah met as called on September 22, despite the fact that the secretary of state and two-thirds of the justices refused the invitation to attend. The session convened and organized itself, and by so doing governance in Utah Territory staggered to its feet. For several days the houses met with only the barest agenda. The real action was taking place elsewhere. On the premise that the election had been called by the governor in July without his seal and signature, Harris refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the territorial legislature and therefore refused to release the appropriation that would have paid the legislators. Given the circumstances, the logic probably reflects Brocchus's reasoning. Young challenged this position vehemently and for several days "propounded questions" before the territorial supreme court about the relationship between and the responsibilities of the two offices. The exchange has all the trappings of a stiffly formal argument. Eventually, the majority decision came down against the governor, and the court decided that the territorial secretary of state was not answerable to the governor at

all and had complete discretion over the appropriation, territorial seal, and all other fixtures of his office, independent of the chief executive. "The Supreme courd," wrote representative Stout in his diary, "decided that the Secratay was not accountable to any one here."

The legislature responded in kind. On September 24 a joint resolution was passed that ordered the territorial marshal to pursue and arrest the secretary should he attempt to leave the territory with the seal and federal appropriation. By now the breach between the governor and the appointees was irreparable. Ten days after the session had been called and two days short of the anniversary of their respective appointments, Utah's "runaway judges" made their ostentatious departure from the city. In doing so, they chose not to notify the territorial executive (Young). In essence, the three carpetbaggers decided to vacate their posts. Harris, undoubtedly aware of the joint resolution and fearing that it would be fully enforced, left the territory's all-important official seal in the keeping of a non-Mormon merchant.[99]

Once the officials had departed, the legislature settled down to real business. At the same time, everyone in the territorial government understood that the real action would come when the officials reached Washington. On the 29th Young compiled a long letter to President Fillmore with supportive exhibits explaining the issues and signatures of most of the county representatives. Quite apart from this official action, through the coming months Young and Brocchus continued their acrimonious exchange by mail, a process that, if anything, expanded on the insults and accusations. Probably only a few days after the officials departed, Brigham H. Young was finally able to supply the legislature with the printed compilation of Deseret's ordinances. On October 4 a measure was enacted that formally ratified the laws enacted by its provisional predecessor "which do not conflict with the 'Organic Act' of said territory." Deseret thereby found a posthumous legitimacy. A week later, in mid-October, Governor Young appointed Willard Richards secretary of state pro tem in place of the self-absented Broughton Harris.[100]

[99] "Joint Resolutions Pertaining to the Secretary of Utah Territory" (1850), *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials Passed by the First Annual, and Special Sessions, of the Legislative Assembly, of the Territory of Utah* (Great Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, Printer, 1852), 204; statement of Joseph L. Heywood, 13 Feb. 1877, in *Journal History,* 13 Sept. 1851; *Journals of the House of Representatives, Council, and Joint Sessions of the First Annual and Special Sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah . . . 1851 and 1852* (Great Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, Printer, 1852), 104.

[100] "Joint Resolution Legalizing the Laws of the Provisional Government of the State of Deseret" (1850), *Acts,* 205.

At about this same time a nudge was given to the Mormons' flagging papermill project with the arrival of Englishman Thomas Howard, a convert with twenty-two years of practical experience working in and managing Buckinghamshire papermills. It took only two days for Howard to be summoned to Young's office, where he was put to work sketching the necessary machinery, though it would take another two and a half years for the project to generate a product.[101] Political appointments and mill plans did not supply the material needs of a newspaper, however. The *Deseret News,* the Mormons' voice to the outside world, was mute at the time when factual news from Deseret was needed more than ever.

The wagons burdened with the new press and several new display fonts arrived during the hiatus between the first and second volumes of the *Deseret News*, sometime shortly after October 10, 1851. Editor Richards was jubilant. Despite the disappointingly small number of paying subscribers, the excitement of the Imperial press's arrival crystallized in his mind the resolve to continue the struggling newspaper. On October 20 and 21 Richards released the brightly optimistic prospectus for the second volume: "To the friends and patrons of the *Deseret News* we would say that our new office is nearly completed; our new press, type and stationery have arrived; . . . we purpose to issue our first enlarged sheet, more than twice the size of our former about the middle of November." Though it may not have been circulated publicly at that time, the prospectus appeared on the first page of the second volume. In his pleas for a wider subscription base, Richards intimated that the printing concern was economically on its own and stated bluntly: "We cannot continue the News, without a large increase in subscribers."[102]

To the printing purist, part of Richards's enthusiastic statement is a bit misleading. His new press was, in fact, not substantially larger than the Ramage. What was different was how the newspaper itself was laid out. The first volume of the *News* had been printed on half-sheets and issued as a quarto (a sheet folded twice to make four leaves); the second volume continued the imprint as a folio (still a half-sheet, but folded once, making two leaves), leaving it twice the size of the first. In one place Richards refers to this new press as "super-royal" and in another as "imperial."[103] Classifica-

[101] *Journal History,* 10–11 Oct. 1851; Richard L. Saunders, "Rags! Rags!! Rags!!! Beginnings of the Paper Industry in the Salt Lake Valley, 1849–1858," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62 (Winter 1994): 42–52.

[102] *Deseret News,* 15 Nov. 1851. The prospectus appearing on the first page of vol. 2 is dated 20 Oct. 1851.

[103] *Deseret News,* 19 Aug. 1851 and 30 Nov. 1850.

tion as a "super-royal" press would give it a platen size of either 28 × 21 or 29-1/2 × 23 inches, but there were nine numbered sizes of Imperial presses specified in the U.S. system at the time. They ranged from the Imperial No. 1, with platen dimensions of 30 × 21 inches, to the No. 9, the largest handpress ever made, with platen dimensions of a whopping 56 × 37 inches. The folio issues of the *Deseret News* that began the second volume have a type area measuring roughly 30 × 20 inches. This would make the most likely candidate an Imperial No. 1 or possibly a No. 2.[104] If the press really was an Imperial, Utah's second press would have been merely two sizes, or no more than six inches, larger than the Crown-sized Ramage—an appreciable but not substantial gain. Unfortunately, though we can surmise the size of the press, no record of the order or purchase survives, and therefore what make or kind of press it was remains unknown.

As the editor mentioned in the prospectus, the impending arrival of a new printing press had precipitated another move for the printing office, a process that occupied plant manager Arieh Brower after the close of the paper's first volume. From the Council House the Philadelphia press was hauled back downstairs, across the street again, and upstairs into its new home a door west of the mint. The "new office" to which Richards refers was on the top floors of the church's new Tithing Office, a large adobe building across corners from the Council House. By the middle of November 1851 the new printing office was in condition to begin issuing the newspaper again. As Richards had prophesied, the first number of the paper's second volume was issued squarely in midmonth.

Being relegated to second place by a new arrival did not mean that the smaller Philadelphia press was idled, mothballed, or shuffled to an unkempt corner. It operated beside its larger companion long after the latter's arrival. The larger handpress was devoted primarily to producing the weekly issues of the *Deseret News* and dimensionally large printing jobs such as theater posters. Once the bigger press swung into operation in the fall of 1851, the Philadelphia press probably handled much of the routine job printing executed by the office as well as proofing for the newspaper columns. But despite the enlarged printing operation, beyond the weekly number of the newspaper, not much printing was done through the rest of 1851. It is significant, however, that what was done was entirely news and job printing, not the church or legislative work that had been the press's sole business merely two years earlier.

The effectual suspension of printing between August and November

[104] Saxe, *American Iron Hand Presses,* 98–99.

1851 marked an important transition: from a period as a private press during the tenure of the state of Deseret, to a shaky status as a commercial newspaper and job printing *business* in the fledgling territory of Utah. In his closing editorial for volume 1 Richards seems to have recognized that the place of printing in Mormon Utah had changed. Although the *Deseret News* and its press continued to provide *a* voice for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, its printing press was no longer regarded by Brigham Young or Willard Richards as *the* voice. Expressed another way, perhaps closer to how Young and Richard would have preferred it, the City of the Saints could afford a press fiscally "independent" from the church because it was being superintended by a trusted churchman. It may have been a thin line, but it was a significant one. From this point on in Utah history Mormon leadership remained vitally interested in the conduct of the newspaper but expected the printing office to stand on its own.

Printing in Utah had turned a corner. The relationship to the church had certainly changed. That the *Deseret News* would remain substantively a church paper, conducted under the direction of an appointed churchman, was a given. The actual printing concern, however, would no longer be conducted—or supported—as a church institution. The precedent that had been established in 1842 with the buyout of the *Times and Seasons* had been made under the assumption that publishing was the same as printing. This relationship was divided and redefined in Utah. Now that the newspaper was being issued under the direction of an appropriate editor, no longer did Brigham Young feel the need to exercise church control of printing. This would be an intellectual curacy, not an economic one as had earlier been the case. To be sure, the tiny commercial printing establishment and its newspaper would always enjoy a powerful patron in the region's dominant social institution.

If we look at the stature of the press from 1849 to 1851, rather than at the printing it carried out, we can see that it accomplished two major tasks. First, it served as the voice of the church in reincorporating an established Mormon society, but this was a shorter and less difficult process than had been initially imagined; second and more important, in the frantic rush to create a viable government for Deseret the press assumed a secular (or at least political) role as a culturally valued forum, as printing was used to report and formalize "democratic" action. That the result was generated by subterfuge was immaterial; it was a report presented *in print* that added its cultural weight to the petition for statehood. With these two goals accomplished there was little purpose left for a strictly sectarian press in Utah. By

1851 the church had established its center place, and the federal creation of Utah Territory made Deseret's private voice superlative. Without those imperatives, Richards and his press were left with one option: to assume a more secular role as one of the city's business concerns. Like most evolutions, this one was not marked by a sharp change. Richards had needed to meet his expenses, and his employees had executed job work almost since they began working. But with the beginning of the *Deseret News*'s volume 2, "W. Richards" as a commercial news and job printing venture was functionally and economically on its own.

By 1851 the Mormon settlement of Great Salt Lake City was well on the way to becoming something that had not been intended. It would remain a bastion of Latter-day Saint culture but would also serve as a wayside inn for overland travelers, a depot for the outlying communities, an opportunity for eastern investors, and within a decade the equivalent of a "foreign" outpost for the U.S. military.

The arrival of a second printing press and the opening of the second volume of the city's newspaper ends the true pioneering period of Utah's printing and marks the first small steps toward a more market-responsive conduct of printing as a business. The church, the regional economy, and territorial politics were all changing; printing in Utah would change, too.

CHAPTER THREE

Afterword

PRINTING CONDUCTED IN DESERET FALLS between two larger periods of the American industrial economy and occupies a similar position in the development of LDS institutions. As with most evolutions, it is difficult to assign a specific beginning point and to chart changes clearly. Expanding capital, technological development, social culture, and the shifting economy each drew upon and affected one another. To my knowledge the effect of the industrial revolution on the printing/bookselling market has not been studied carefully.[105] Nevertheless, some illustrative generalizations allow comparisons.

Printing in a Nineteenth-Century Context

Printing had already undergone tremendous development by the turn of the nineteenth century. But for many reasons the century itself stands as one of the most significant periods in the culture of Western literacy. Traditional assumptions and practices that governed the interrelated economies of printing, papermaking, bookselling, and education were already in flux and changed radically during the nineteenth century. Much of the change stemmed from larger shifts in the culture and economy: the dawn of the machine age and the increased demand for goods in sprawling urban cultures, the rise of literacy, and the economic transition from an age of exploration to an age of colonization. For printing, change grew primarily out of two seemingly disparate roots: the development of mechanically powered machinery and the widespread availability of manufactured goods as a result of the industrial revolution. This is a larger issue than just book publishing or newspapering. The century saw fundamental shifts in print

[105] A number of superior works consider selected aspects of the general topic: James Moran, *Printing Presses: History and Development from the Fifteenth Century to Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt with Lawrence C. Wroth and Rollo G. Silver, *The Book in America: A History of the Making and Selling of Books in the United States,* 2d ed. (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1951); Charles A. Madison, *Book Publishing in America* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965) [a business history of major publishers]; and Dard Hunter, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft,* 2d ed. (New York: Dover, 1978). The assertions and conclusions herein are my own, drawn mostly from studying bibliographies, period photographs, and attributions made on printed materials.

culture—what printing was used for—as a whole. A catalogue of printing-related developments generated between 1800 and 1850 is impressive by itself: the widespread adoption of the Fourdrinier paper machine, the development of the lever-action handpress and powered printing presses of many varieties, the invention of stereotyping and electrotyping, the use of mechanical book-binding equipment, the rise of speculative over subscription publishing, and enforceable copyright are a few.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, title pages appearing in urban London began to change slightly. The eighteenth century had shown that as printers flourished and books became more available, there was also more to print and printers were less willing to risk the costs of manuscript acquisition and editing, book production, and distribution. More frequently by 1801, books were being printed not merely for the printer but for a third party backing the venture—a publisher. Printers were taking the first small steps toward becoming contract employees. This change accelerated as the nineteenth century dawned.

James Watt's perfection of the steam engine in the 1770s provided the first mobile power source, but it also issued a challenge to think about the application of mechanical power in new ways. Lord Stanhope's creation of the iron-framed printing press at the very opening of the nineteenth century was probably the first manifestation of a new format to affect the staid mechanics of the printer's craft. Stanhope's press used iron rather than wood as a construction material, and levers rather than a screw as a power-transfer action.

The mechanical world of printing was in terrific flux. A handpress works on a simple up-and-down motion, an inefficient movement for mechanically powered machinery. That fact necessitated the development of an entirely different type of printing press, one that was driven by wheels, gears, cams, and rods rather than a screw or lever. The pressman became a tender rather than a power source. This development, mirrored in the mechanization of many other traditional trades, allowed women into the less physically demanding pressroom. Like most innovations, the new equipment was adopted first by printers who served urban centers and worked its way only slowly into the less densly populated communities. England was operating steam-powered rotary presses as early as 1814, a fact that was responsible for the development of the modern large-format newspaper and an explosion of the number of newspapers—morning and evening issues—publicly available. By 1837 newspapers in London were being printed on the earliest steam-driven rotary presses, grandchildren of

Watt's genius. Like any tool with tradition behind it, handpresses continued to be used throughout the century and in fact were revived by William Morris and the fine press movement at the century's close.

Mechanization made possible by the industrial revolution also brought about the high-output production of manufactured goods, which in turn fostered specialization among manufacturers. Specialized economies of scale allowed manufacturers to produce quantities far beyond the small amounts a local economy could absorb. An attendant rise in faster bulk transportation (primarily steamships and railroads) made it possible to distribute goods to distant markets. With their wares being shipped afar, manufacturers needed to differentiate their products from among similar goods. It was not long before the development of brand names necessitated various means to identify the products of a particular manufacturer. Packaging, labeling, and advertising therefore became the natural offspring of the economic marriage between mechanized manufacturing and distributive consumption.

For a time a local printer could meet manufacturers' small-scale demands for labels and handbills (and record and bill forms, which became necessary for accounting and for the movement of goods), but within a few years the demand for such printed goods grew to the point that printers in the cities began to find it more profitable to specialize. Specialization was founded on technology as much as it was on a market. This process occupied half a century and had many regional variations and exceptions. The materials that resulted can be divided into two categories, which I categorize as *context* and *content* printing.

"Context" printing tended to be illustrative or graphic and related to the production of ephemera, a service industry supporting manufacturing and retailing.[106] It did not take long to step beyond this function and into the realm of generating printed ephemeral material as a retail product itself (such as valentines or various promotional goods like advertising blotters). This industry began with the traditional text-dependent letterpress process but quickly moved first to engraving for illustrations and decoration and then toward large-scale lithography for colored graphic materials, primarily advertising and packaging, and into national and international distribution.

[106] Ephemera has been defined into six areas of association by one author: social, educational, entertainment, military/medical/civic, political, and merchandising. Dale Roylance, *Graphic Americana: The Art and Technique of Printed Ephemera* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Library, 1992). Different divisions might be made.

"Content" printing, in contrast, retained printing's traditional textual nature. For the first three centuries European printing maintained an arrangement wherein printing *was* publishing. The printer was manufacturer and often the promoter as well (though the specialized nature of binding had always been a business distinct from presswork, since early books were typically bound for the needs or tastes of individual purchasers). That had begun to change in the 1700s. As presses multiplied, printers needed work and became less willing to gamble their assets on a work's estimated popularity. Printers were quite willing to be paid contractually to manufacture an author's work or reprint a specific edition for its backers. This was the economy that welcomed the invention of the mechanized paper machine in the 1780s, stereotyping in 1803, the rotary printing press in 1811, and canal and railroad distribution networks in the 1820s. The range and availability of printing stock increased at the same time distribution and market opportunities widened. The market for reading materials flourished as printers capitalized on the development of mechanized high-output equipment, and the variety of printed materials exploded in the 1830s and 1840s. In one respect this was a reaction to changes in bookselling and the rise of secondary sales venues, which had come about as printers sought wider audiences for their larger press runs. Book buyers no longer needed to contact a distant printer to secure a copy of a book if a bookstore or importer chose to acquire eight or ten copies as a stock investment. Not only were books in many genres pushed before the public. Specialized niches were carved from the literate readership and filled by a tremendous variety of magazines and recreational reading matter. Newspapers proliferated, including daily newspapers and sometimes morning and evening editions of a paper as well. One time when the *Deseret News* already produced daily, semiweekly, and weekly editions, the paper's directors contemplated publishing an edition specifically for distribution to railroad travelers.

Such publishing concerns were international, national, and regional industries, and all of them were urban. Until late into the century, small-town printers typically assumed a community's context and content printing. They produced the town's localized reading material: the town or county newspaper and the job printing that a few pamphlets or occasionally a small book of local biography, history, or literature represented. They also catered to the context printing needs of local small-scale manufacturers and to the populace of their immediate vicinities with local-consumption materials, especially job printing such as handbills and

performance or social-event ephemera. Often they relied on preprinted or ornamental ready-made products from large context-material printers and merely printed in a name or dates by letterpress. These businesses capitalized on the dramatic proliferation of decorative typefaces and other design elements available and the doubling of American typefoundries in mid-century (1825–75). Typesetting remained a task done by hand until Ottmar Mergenthaler's invention of a practical typecasting machine in 1886 that set characters individually but cast full, justified lines in single slugs. But some six decades earlier the duplication of a single press forme was made possible by the stereotype process. At the same time, the economics of the industrial revolution were creating an active market for supplying printed material to increasing numbers of literate people.

The increased availability of printed material, consumer goods, advertising, and transportation all contributed to a spectacular rise in literacy. The growth of literacy rates during the nineteenth century was partly fueled by the explosion of printed material—particularly newspapers and magazines—made possible by high-output printing equipment.

As it happened, Utah was being settled at the end of an industrial era when these shifts were well under way, particularly in urban centers. Rotary printing presses were already being sold widely in the 1840s and were far faster than manually operated handpresses. They quickly became preferred by printers across the country, especially in newspaper offices, where faster machines meant more copies for sale. The handpress as a publisher's tool disappeared just as quickly from all but the most rural venues by the Civil War. Utah was one of those locales. Its isolation made the cost of freighting massive rotary presses overland to the valley prohibitive.

Utah Printing after 1851

For seven years after Utah Territory was formally established the Mormon printory would have no competitor, but the river of gold rush travelers proved positively that competition—and opposition—could, and therefore inevitably would, come. The rush of humanity that flooded westward to the goldfields in 1849 and 1850 dried to a comparative trickle in 1851. But beginning in 1852 the tide of California-bound emigrants rose again. This time most companies were composed of families rather than adventurers. They were attracted less by gold than by the climate and the soil and the opportunities of a new state. By this time it was well known that the route through the Mormon city represented the shortest, safest way west. But the saints had become sufficiently secure that they tired of host-

ing such a large transient population. With the 1852 emigration season the Mormons were said to have actively encouraged travelers to take the cut-off routes farther north that bypassed their city.[107] Obviously, it did not work. For good or ill, reports of Great Salt Lake City were scattered through letters home, newspaper accounts, and "what-I-saw-on-the-way-to-California" books by returned and returning fortune seekers. Until the coming of the railroad the route through Great Salt Lake City was the most popular road to the Far West.

The 1852 season also saw major changes to the makeup of Great Salt Lake City. The Mormon in-migration continued unabated, but the new arrivals were now primarily foreign-born converts rather than Americans: English, Welsh, and Scots (the great migrations of Danes and Swedes began a few years later). Although the city was still small, by the middle years of the 1850s it was permanently established, and the attention directed to establishing and strengthening new settlements was focused beyond the valley itself. Utah's printing office was one of the beneficiaries of the 1852 emigrant influx. When Willard Richards began volume 2 of the *Deseret News,* Arieh C. Brower returned to work the press and Joseph Cain remained in the front office. Within the year the office secured the services of a skilled young English printer, Joseph Bull. Co-workers remembered Bull as being as taciturn and methodical as his name implied. He pulled the weight of the *Deseret News* printing operation for over forty years. Others came as well, including Welshman John Sylvanus Davis and another English convert, George Hales.

This year also saw the first challenge to the church's hold over the Utah printing market, one that came from inside its culture only months after Richards's second press arrived. In January 1852 Almon W. Babbitt wrote his wife from Washington, D.C., that he was preparing to return west after superintending Deseret's failed bid for statehood. Once at home he expected to put to use a new printing press. "The press that I have at your city," he wrote, "I may some day use[.] I shall cause it to be stored in the house where you reside as soon as my agent arrives there." Precisely which printing press he was referring to is unclear. As was mentioned earlier, Willard Richards hoped Orson Hyde would bring him the *Frontier Guardian* press in the spring of 1851. This didn't happen, and Hyde in fact sold Babbitt the *Frontier Guardian* press in Kanesville (Council Bluffs) in 1852 when the apostle moved to Utah. But on the way home from

[107] Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners,* 127–30.

Washington, Babbitt and his brother-in-law, Joseph E. Johnson, bought another printing press from the Cincinnati Type Foundry (this was the one evidently destroyed in a fire in Kanesville the next year). Since this letter was written before the *Guardian* press sale was completed, it is also possible that Babbitt refers to yet another new press since he says it is "in [the] city." His intention is clear: he had secured one or more printing presses for his own use (or was in the process of doing so) without notifying his superiors.[108]

Almon Babbitt may have been respected as a useful asset, but he was never a member of the Mormon's governing councils and does not seem to have been genuinely trusted. In the first place, he leaned in the wrong political direction (being an unabashed Jacksonian Democrat). Second, his decisions and actions were unpredictable enough to earn him the reputation of being a somewhat unstable character. The lawyer was sufficiently contrary to awaken concerns of political divisiveness within the territorial press.[109] Though it was in Iowa, Babbitt's press served as a warning that another press represented the potential for a separate communication channel to the outside world—an editorial competitor, an alternate voice to the one used by the church.

Quite aside from the possibility of a conflicting editorial perspective, Babbitt's plans raised the economic issue of competition and market share. The territory's editorial flagship was barely remaining afloat; how would another newspaper survive, and worse, what would the competition do to the *News?* Babbitt's design on a Democratic newspaper was probably abandoned before he arrived in July 1852, either because Johnson did not move West or perhaps as a tacit admission that Utah was not yet prepared for a competitor to the established sheet. Several years later, in retrospect, the *Deseret News* editor agreed: "It must always be borne in mind that the 'News' is emphatically a church paper, and that leading matter should be in keeping with its known character and design. And this must continue to be

[108] Almon W. Babbitt to Dear Mary, 10 Jan. 1852, transcript by Thomas Bullock in Brigham Young papers, Church Archives. The plan for two printing presses is reinforced by a letter of William D. Johnson to Joseph Ellis Johnson, 25 Jan. 1852, Papers of Joseph E. Johnson, Univ. of Utah Manuscripts Division, Salt Lake City, cited in Rufus Johnson, JEJ, *Trail to Sundown: Cassadaga to Casa Grande* (Salt Lake City: Joseph Ellis Johnson Family Committee, 1961), 175; see also 179, 194. Orson Hyde, editorializing specifically about the representative's Democratic politics in his *Frontier Guardian* (2 May 1851), states that Babbitt "has brought a press, and we hear, intends publishing a paper."

[109] See Thomas L. Kane to My Friends, 24 Sept. 1850; Orson Hyde to Dear Brethren, 29 Dec. 1850; Evan M. Greene to First Presidency [et al.], 28 Apr. 1851; all in *Journal History* under their respective dates.

the case, until the reading portion of Utah's population are ready and willing to properly sustain the publication of two or more papers."[110] Evidently nothing came of Babbitt's plan to use the press he had, and it was probably acquired by Richards for the *Deseret News* printing office.[111] Thus, within three years of the commencement of printing in the territory, Utah could have had a publishing capacity of three functional printing presses. They constituted the only working printing equipment in Utah until 1857.

Babbitt's plans and the editor's pronouncement cited above point out the foundational assumption that governed printing in Utah: though non-Mormons were welcome among the saints, the only "appropriate" voice in the West was the one curated by the church. Still, that role had changed since the exodus. The *editorial* press constituted the voice of the church, not the *printing* press itself. Perhaps Young and the LDS leadership finally recognized that there was a difference. Nowhere is this more evident than in the changes made to compensate for the death of apostle/editor Willard Richards in 1854. His replacement was Albert Carrington, not an apostle (at least, not for a few more decades) but another of Brigham Young's secretaries and someone who could be trusted nonetheless. The change from a curatorial apostle to an editor without official church position was not a temporary shift either; Richards was, in fact, the only one in Utah and the last apostolic trustee to "superintend" the church's newspaper or printing, as Brigham Young had said less than five years before.

Little in Utah's printing business changed in the half-decade between 1852 and 1857. The *Deseret News* continued publication but also continued to cope with chronic interruptions of its paper supply. Hoping to draw on the skills of English papermaker Thomas Howard, Brigham Young commissioned construction of a papermill in 1852. The project foundered because it lacked sufficient funding and equipment. In 1854 Howard managed to cobble together a serviceable pulp processor from the unused machinery of a failed beet-sugar project and for a time formed sheets by hand. This was the only stock available to the printers during the summer and fall of 1854.[112]

In Salt Lake City, industrially isolated from the rest of the country and

[110] *Deseret News,* 4 Jan. 1856.
[111] *Deseret News,* Jubilee edition, 24 July 1897. Babbitt's arrival is mentioned in the columns of the *Deseret News* 10 July 1852. Nothing is said of his plans for a newspaper or press.
[112] It was used for the *Deseret News* issues 22 June–28 Sept. 1854. Saunders, "Rags! Rags!! Rags!!!" 44–50.

without a railroad connection until 1869, the *Deseret News*'s Philadelphia press and its partners remained the sole presses in Utah until the arrival of Kirk Anderson's printing press. Just as printing and the press had once constituted a linguistic and cultural front in the Spanish conquest of the Americas, it also trekked to the valley in the ranks of the Utah Expedition to conquer the Mormons. Army camp follower Kirk Anderson brought a printing press to the Utah Expedition's encampment at Camp Floyd in 1857 or 1858. Unfortunately, the camp proved to be a smaller market than even Salt Lake City, and the supply-line issue that faced the *Deseret News* was identical. Anderson edited his newspaper, the *Valley Tan,* for only a short time before selling out and leaving the region.

His successor's editorial offering circulated almost exclusively within the military encampment and its environs, but the paper's printshop and editorial offices were in Salt Lake City. The shop foreman was George Hales, once and subsequently a *Deseret News* employee. His position might explain why, despite the animus existing between the two papers, the *Deseret News* occasionally subcontracted job printing for the *Tan.*[113] The economic success of the *Tan*—or rather, the lack thereof—was part of the reason behind the vituperative, accusatory editorial stance its editors assumed against the Mormons. The Mormon newspaper ignored the *Tan* almost totally. This fact ultimately worked against the Mormons, for the *Valley Tan* was exchanged with newspapers, primarily military post sheets, throughout Colorado, California, and the East. Many of the non-Mormon newspapermen who later came to Utah had their first bitter taste of the intermountain West in the pages of the *Valley Tan.* This included most of the *Union Vedette* staff during its existence and several early *Salt Lake Tribune* writers and editors, C. C. Goodwin specifically.

In 1861, a few years after Anderson's press made its debut, Joseph E. Johnson's "Old Guardy," his well-traveled Washington press, arrived in Utah via stops in Nebraska Territory. That press was the one Johnson had acquired from Almon Babbitt and the press Orson Hyde had brought to Kanesville from Cincinnati in 1848. The printer installed his charge at Spring Lake Villa (his home near Santaquin) as a private press. An avid gardener, Johnson issued the *Farmers' Oracle,* a horticultural newspaper. The press eventually went with him to southern Utah but remained essentially a private press and never executed much job printing.[114]

[113] See Alter, *Early Utah Journalism,* 295, 324–27, 379–84, 256–60, 362ff. Specimens of the job printing ostensibly issued by the *Valley Tan* can be found in a newly discovered *Deseret News* sample book located at the Church Archives.
[114] *Frontier Guardian* 1 (7 Feb. 1848): 2; Johnson's JEJ, *Trail to Sundown* has a photograph of

Both these printing operations constitute significant firsts in their own right, but neither was a sufficient challenge to the hegemony of the *Deseret News.* Utah's editorial isolation was ended permanently by horses and copper wire: the Pony Express and its immediate successor the transcontinental telegraph. For a short time the Pony Express brought news to Utah that was only a few days old. The transcontinental telegraph wire was joined in Salt Lake City the same year, linking Utah with the rest of the country. It provided an inexhaustible source of data for a press unused to the informational deluge. The desire to provide residents with complete, current news came at the same time the Civil War created a major paper shortage across the country. To cope with this coincident outpouring of data and shortfall of the printer's medium, Utah's press (the *Deseret News* and its sponsor the church) did two things. First was born the *Pony Express Dispatch,* which after a few issues and a joining of the telegraph cable was renamed the *Telegraphic.* The issues were published irregularly as unnumbered broadside handbills, printed on whatever paper was available, to be distributed hand-to-hand on the streets (no one was supposed to take one home). The cost of newsprint needed for a full newspaper issue was therefore bypassed.

The second measure was to ensure a secure stock of paper by establishing a private papermill in the valley. This move was planned as early as 1859, but negotiations fell through. Thomas Howard, who had produced the first paper in Utah in 1854, was recalled in 1861 from an Idaho homestead to construct such a plant and get it operational.[115] Despite setbacks, it began supplying paperstock in 1861 and was running full-time by 1863. But even with a papermill to supply the medium, the arrival of the wire meant that handpresses simply could not cope with the outpouring of data and the growing number of copies needed to meet subscriptions throughout the territory. The *Deseret News* finally bought its first rotary press, a used steam-driven Bullock press, in 1864.

Even after the twenty tons of Bullock press and support machinery began spitting out sheets, the original Philadelphia and the two larger handpresses continued in service at the Deseret News Printing Office producing small-run job printing. Nevertheless, by the time the Bullock

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the press on p. 514 with a panel in the image listing the press's provenance and editorial output. Babbitt and Johnson acquired the press when Hyde and his printer, John Gooch, left for Utah in 1852. Johnson issued newspapers in Kanesville and in Nebraska before the press was brought along to Utah in 1861. It was lost in the 1890s.

[115] Richard Saunders, "Papermaking and the Paper Industry in Territorial Utah, 1849-1893," unpublished.

press arrived, the days of the handpress as useful printing equipment were essentially over. Within five years the Deseret News handpresses had been replaced by much quicker self-inking jobbing platen presses, and the handpresses were shuffled into a corner.

That printing in Utah would not remain solely in the hands of the Mormons and their presses was inevitable. But until the coming of the railroad the conduct of printing in Utah was primarily a study in capital outlay and transcontinental logistics. With some historically important but culturally minor exceptions, only the Latter-day Saints were in a sufficiently secure economic and social position to exploit the cultural weight that printing carries. Whatever the content, the success of printing in pre-railroad Utah was simply a matter of capturing a market share within a largely homogeneous population. Completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 made transporting massively heavy printing equipment to Utah much easier. As a result, newspapers and their job printing offices sprouted, flourished, and wilted thick and fast across Utah's mining towns and Mormon settlements until well into the twentieth century.

At the same time, the railroad represented opportunity, not cause, in the economic shift of Utah's printing industry. E. L. T. Harrison and E. W. Tullidge, who had expressed dissent against the church in their literary *Utah Magazine,* broke with the church's hegemony when the *Deseret News*'s editor censured the magazine and declined to print it any longer. To the proprietors of the magazine, this was anti-American. But the leaders of the Church of Zion were in a unique position to act, possessing both the will and the capital to do so. Within a year Harrison and a close friend, William S. Godbe, stepped out on their own to equip an independent printing concern for their *Mormon Tribune* (later the *Salt Lake Tribune*); it also served as a rival to the job-printing monopoly of the *Deseret News.*

The establishment of a rival printer in the city polarized opinion (and the city's publishing business) around the two presses along the obvious religious line.[116] From 1870 until statehood was granted in 1896, somewhat parallel printing economies existed in the Salt Lake valley. The Deseret News Steam Printing Establishment responded to the challenge by retreating within its culture; as it had in the early Mormon period, the *News* printed what was of interest to the church or its members. The *Tribune* office did the printing for the territory's growing population of other Christian denominations, secular non-Mormons, and anti-Mormon

[116] Ronald W. Walker, *Wayward Saints: The Godbeites and Brigham Young* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1998), chap. 13.

groups. Meanwhile, the two newspapers flung opinions and battled politics between themselves for the quarter-century until statehood was granted and then continued the fight well into twentieth century. But because there *were* two printers in Utah, there could be more than two. The *Deseret News* and *Tribune* soon found themselves concentrating more heavily on their newspapering and less on job printing. As time passed, their positions as job printers were filled by others.

Salt Lake City was sufficiently urbanized by the early 1880s and the beginning of the "Raids" (active legislative and judicial prosecutions of Mormon polygamy) that it was able to support the final break in nineteenth-century printing, the rise of specialty job printers. The larger newspapers still did some job work (typically handbills and the like from their advertisers), but a new company, Star Book and Job Printing, was able to survive on general short-run printing alone: posters, brochures, handbills, programs, invitations, pamphlets, cards, and so on. By the 1890s the newspapers' places as regional job printers were filled by smaller independent printers such as Star, Skelton Publishers, and Smith & Cummings and by genuine publishers such as George Q. Cannon & Sons. The only substantive change to print technology after this time was the creation of mimeograph and photocopy machines in the twentieth century, which allowed every school, business, or home to have its own "printing press."

By the late territorial period LDS printing capacity was sufficiently developed and the culture mature enough that a new genre evolved to cater to cultural Mormonism. A body of printed work that was uniquely its own arose, creating within the church a subculture of literacy atop the official culture of religious belief. It defined what Latter-day Saints read by providing an outlet for what was acceptable to be written. This genre initially included autobiography, hagiographic biographies, and church history and branched quickly to doctrinal and inspirational materials and music. A small body of genuine literature also grew (mainly poetry but also prose). By the time statehood was granted in 1896, Latter-day Saint publishing was firmly established. Four and five decades earlier, church-operated printing establishments in Kirtland, Ohio, in Far West, Missouri, and in Nauvoo, Illinois, had barely dabbled in job printing and touched not at all such specialty publishing. Most non-newspaper printing jobs were no more than small forms and occasional handbills, and then evidently done only when necessary. Jobbing work from these early LDS presses was essentially church-related publishing, such as the publication of scriptures or the Nauvoo publication of *Heber C. Kimball's Journal* or Joseph Smith's

Views on Government. This was the case for one primary reason: the Mormons had never really had a secular market in their midst before settling Utah, and therefore demand for such work from their presses had never before existed. Because of the demands of the market, the printing business of the Mormon press in Utah diverged from its established pattern. This was something different.

Deseret's Press as an Artifact

Eventually, after the Bullock press whirled into action in 1864, the floor space occupied by the outdated handpresses was needed and a disposition had to be made of Utah's pioneer printing equipment. Because of its precedence as the first printing press in Utah, the Ramage Philadelphia press was accorded honored status as one of the state's pioneers. The larger but latecomer presses were sold off or scrapped as obsolete equipment.

Within twenty years after the arrival of the steam-driven Bullock press the little Ramage press had wandered from daily use as functional machinery into honorable retirement in the collections of the Deseret Museum in Salt Lake City. There it was exhibited for decades, incorrectly captioned as having been brought across the plains by the Pioneer Company. As the years wore on, the Philadelphia press changed nominal hands through various transfers and exhibitions.

In the intervening years Utah's first printing press became a little worse for wear. At the early part of this century it still had its tympan and frisket frames and the leather belts operated by the drum which move the press bed in and out beneath the platen. All three are now missing. Owing to the pressure exerted in tens of thousands of impressions during its service, the foundation bars (supports beneath the rails and directly under the platen) have cracked.

Today the late-model Ramage Philadelphia press shepherded by W. W. Phelps across the continent sits comfortably ensconced in a permanent church history exhibit at the Church Museum of History and Art. In more than a century and a half it has moved no farther away from its first home than one and a half of Salt Lake City's ten-acre blocks. Most visitors who wander through the museum installation stop to take in the sight of Egbert Grandin's visually impressive but fairly common Smith press, one of two handpresses used in Palmyra, New York, to print the first edition of the Book of Mormon. This press is featured in its own exhibit venue, a reconstructed corner of a printing office. A few steps later, after passing recon-

structions of a cabin from Missouri, a section of the Nauvoo Temple, a loaded covered wagon, and berths of an emigrant ship, visitors see a display of pioneer artifacts: linens, trunks, pots, and spinning wheels—the goods brought overland by Mormonism's westering heroes. Here it is easy to overlook a diminutive handpress tucked into one corner. It is easier still to overlook the little press's genuine historical significance. Beyond what it produced during its tenure in Deseret, it is an important example of American pressmaking. This press is one of a half-dozen remaining examples of Adam Ramage's Philadelphia press, and its late design and construction style seem to be unique. As the heart of the first permanent printing concern north of Santa Fe and between the Missouri River and the West Coast, it produced a rich history in its short heyday.

At the beginning of this book I claimed that the history of printing in Utah possesses unique themes different from those of other western states. Printing was carried to Utah not as a speculative venture but as one facet of an established society. Because it was not speculative, it was not driven by market needs, and therefore changes that affected the press tended also to reflect the position of printing and the press of its custodians. A shift in Latter-day Saint culture is visible as well. Isolation in the Great Basin enforced economic realities and a reliance on importation that had not affected earlier Mormon printing efforts. The public market became a source from which to draw income that financed those imports and kept the press functioning. Thus, market forces influenced the arrangement of the printing business, a new situation for the Mormon press. The Deseret press was used initially as a medium to project the region onto the national scene rather than as a missionary tool or a voice within LDS culture itself. It was cheaper to leave those tasks to speakers in Utah pulpits, the better-established *Millennial Star,* and Richard James, the firm that printed most of what the British Mission published. To achieve their political aims (the creation of Deseret as a state, the establishment of a university), the Mormons had to rely upon the press in secular roles.

So the story of printing in the state of Deseret represents not only a first but also a last. The church would maintain an official voice the way it had in Nauvoo with the *Times and Seasons* and would own the means of production for it. But *printing* itself was no longer considered a churchly function. Although the church would set the direction for its newspaper, neither it nor its ruling councils again directly governed the day-to-day

activities of printing and publishing. The Mormons' home would remain "Utah," though they tried several times to reclaim the initiative in the drive for statehood as Deseret. Consequently, history can claim only one state by that name—and there will always be only one brief story about printing in Deseret.

PART II

A Descriptive Catalogue of Utah's Earliest Imprints

CHAPTER FOUR

Concerning Bibliographic Descriptions

IMPRINTS," WROTE BOOKMAN CHARLES P. EVERITT, "are the basic and often the only foundation stones for the history of printing in America." This catalogue describes every imprint known to have been produced in Deseret and Utah Territory between October 1849 and the end of 1851, immediately after the arrival of the territory's second printing press and type. In addition to describing items for which examples survive, the list includes items which may be reasonably inferred from historical sources but for which a surviving copy has not yet been found. The list is presented chronologically in order of production. Comparatively little primary documentation for printing in Deseret and early Utah exists, and most of what is available is tangential or unspecific. For the factual data we do have, we are indebted to the sketchy, one-sided lines in a single account book, a few journal entries or newspaper advertisements that touched on printing or the people who did it, and data on or from the imprints themselves. Happily, enough survives that we can outline the first two years of Deseret's and Utah's bibliographic history.[117]

I present readers with a bibliography in the traditional sense of the term: not a title list with historical notes or a librarian's description from a catalogue but a description of the item as printed artifact. I have, however, reduced the welter of obtuse details in bibliography to basic elements. Purists of the English bibliographic tradition will undoubtedly be scandalized, but I feel that the result, which focuses on *adequate* description rather than inerrantly precise detail, is clear enough for the layman but also detailed enough for the specialist, particularly given the simple nature of the subjects. The tight prescriptions of Fredson Bowers's classic *Principles of Bibliographic Description* for nineteenth- and twentieth-century books have served loosely as the standard for these descriptions, though the order of arrangement varies somewhat from the structure dictated by Bowers and far fewer descriptive minutiae are included here.[118] Notably,

[117] Charles P. Everitt, *The Adventures of a Treasure Hunter: A Rare Bookman in Search of American History* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1951), 21. See McLaws, *Spokesman for the Kingdom,* 46 n. 79. McClaws's tantalizing citation hints that documentary materials may yet survive but are for the present unlocatable, as the cited collection does not seem to exist.
[118] See Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographic Description* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949).

variations of an item are listed as distinct entities under one entry but are enumerated separately in the census.

A Note on Notes

For those unfamiliar with bibliography it will be convenient to have a basic description of descriptions. In this work descriptive entries are structured with the following paragraphic conventions.

Main entry An author or "main entry" is listed first (rather than Bowers's brief catalogue line, which included author, abbreviated title, edition, and date). Sometimes the author is given as a "uniform title" or corporate name entry, following library conventions.

Title Title data are lined out in traditional bibliographic fashion (that is, lines of text on the title page are separated by vertical bars in the transcription) and follow typographic conventions as closely as is practicable. The existence of spaces, rules, ornaments ("dingbats" in printer's parlance), and other nontextual features are described in italics within brackets.

Imprint The imprint is lined out in lowercase letters as a separate paragraph. Where no formally stated imprint exists, the common practice of including the dateline from an invitation or captioning line has been substituted; otherwise, I have supplied an imprint statement (in brackets) based on what we know of the print history. If titling is taken from a location other than an actual title page, that fact is noted here.

Physical description Bowers's separate notes on pagination, collation, and physical description are herein collapsed into a single paragraph, with the respective elements separated in library-fashion by em dashes. Even so, this deserves some explanation. First, pagination, following Bowers, is given for what bibliographers consider an "ideal copy," that is, the folded sheets as they came new to the bindery. Readers are presented with both the paged form and a count of total leaves, including blanks, and dimensions (given in centimeters, height first) for an untrimmed copy. Therefore, a description *might* not match any surviving copy. The same concept applies to the second, somewhat bastardized element included for all items besides broadsides: a collational formula. As traditionally applied, the bibliographer's collational formula is a tangle of superscripts, place-holding Greek letters, and abbreviations of strange sorts. To the untrained reader it is essentially meaningless. Fortunately, early Utah imprints are simple productions, and a basic knowledge of the principles behind The Formula is all that is needed to make these collations intelligible. A signature in a book

(i.e., the flat printed sheet as folded into pages) is described by how it is folded. Traditionally, measurements were based on sizes for handmade sheets which were fairly standard in Europe. Although this system was useful for European practitioners, displaced Yankees at the cusp of the machine age, especially those who hauled their supplies thousands of miles, tended to be more practical. Whole or parent sheets of paper were never used in Utah since they were too large for the single available press. Consequently, sheets were halved (usually folded and slit) and quartered as necessary, *then* printed and folded to a specific size. So where Bowers would properly describe an issue from the first volume of the *Deseret News* as a folio (because it was printed on half-sheets), Willard Richards insisted the paper was a quarto because that was the way it was folded. With due deference to Bowers, I have followed Richards's practical lead here. A printed signature is considered "signed" when a number or letter appears (usually below the bottom margin of the first page) identifying its place in binding order. In the formula a superscript numeral is added to represent the number of leaves in the signature; thus A^8 signifies one sheet of sixteen pages (one page on each side, including blanks) folded to make eight leaves. Unsigned signatures, which are traditionally represented by a capital Greek chi, are instead given here as empty brackets with the number of leaves or foliation appended in superscript, such as $[\ ]^4$ for an unsigned quarto-folded signature (that is, one sheet of whatever size folded twice, leaving the folds to be trimmed at the top). If an imprint consists of more than one unsigned signature, the number is typically given in the brackets, such as "[1–3]." The occasional presence of single sheets or folios "made" or pasted rather than sewn to their fellows is signified with a plus (+), for example, $1^8+[\ ]^1$. In my descriptions this paragraph typically concludes with a note regarding specific physical details, such as paper and binding style (such details may be somewhat expanded in the contents note).

Contents A summation of contents is given by page, and blanks are noted as such, though separate endpapers (as part of the binding) are described under the physical details.

References Citations to cross-references are given when an item has been listed or described in other descriptive works or important catalogues (a list of abbreviations follows).

Notes One or more paragraphs of historical notes provide a context of the known history and production of the imprint itself, together with relevant (if somewhat abbreviated) biographical data on the authors. A lack

of source material has occasionally demanded some flights of fancy, but I have adhered to documentable facts and reasonable conclusions in each case.

Census The heart of every union list is a census of locatable copies; institutions are listed alphabetically by their National Union Catalogue (NUC) abbreviations as assigned in the current edition of *Symbols of American Libraries.*[119] Characters following dashes indicate institutional subunits. Suitable abbreviations are created for libraries and institutions not listed in that source by mimicking the established patterns and rules. In a few cases I have added some supplementary data to an extant NUC code: in this census, parentheses are used to indicate a location within an institution, typically a specific collection. Since this is an imprint census and not a catalogue checklist, I have recorded only imprints themselves and not reproductions (e.g., photocopies, microfilm, microcard). Nonetheless, a few italicized census entries are given in deference to enumerations copied from earlier imprint lists or catalogues but for which a recheck could not positively confirm the holding (or the lack thereof) of an original item. No meaningful effort has been made to locate copies in private hands, so the abbreviation "Pvt." is used only when no copy is located in a publicly accessible library. The census is therefore a statement of accessibility, not rarity. Other copies of an imprint may exist in private hands. Incomplete or imperfect imprints are noted thus: [*imp.*].

Bibliographic References

Alter	Alter, J. Cecil. *Early Utah Journalism: A Half Century of Forensic Warfare, Waged by the West's Most Militant Press.* Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1938.
Auerbach	Parke-Bernet Galleries. *The Distinguished Collection of Western Americana . . . Formed by the Late Herbert S. Auerbach.* 2 vols. New York: Parke-Bernet Galleries, 1947–48.
Centennial	*Centennial of the Settlement of Utah: Exhibition June 7, 1947–August 31, 1947 . . . at the Library of Congress Together with a Catalog of the Exhibition.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1947.
Cowan	Cowan, Robert Ernest. *A Bibliography of the History*

[119] 14th ed. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Cataloging Distribution Service, 1992.

	of California, 1510–1930. San Francisco: Printed by John Henry Nash, 1933.
Eberstadt *Utah*	*Utah and the Mormons: Rare Books, Manuscripts, Paintings, etc. Offered for Sale by Edward Eberstadt & Sons.* New York: Edward Eberstadt & Sons, [1956?].
Flake	Flake, Chad J., ed. *A Mormon Bibliography, 1830–1930: Books, Pamphlets, Periodicals, and Broadsides Relating to the First Century of Mormonism.* Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1978.
Graff	Storm, Colton. *A Catalogue of the Everett D. Graff Collection of Western Americana.* Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press for the Newberry Library, 1968.
Howes	*USiana (1650–1950): A Selective Bibliography in Which Are Described 11,620 Uncommon and Significant Books Relating to the Continental Portion of the United States.* Rev. and enl. New York: R. R. Bowker Co. for the Newberry Library, 1988.
McMurtrie (Utah)	McMurtrie, Douglas C. *The Beginnings of Printing in Utah: With a Bibliography of the Issues of the Utah Press, 1849–1860.* Chicago: John Calhoun Club, 1931.
Mormon Fifty	Crawley, Peter, and Chad J. Flake. *A Mormon Fifty: An Exhibition in the Harold B. Lee Library in Conjunction with the Annual Conference of the Mormon History Association.* Provo, Utah: Friends of the Brigham Young Univ. Library, 1984.
Rust	Rust, Alvin E. *Mormon and Utah Coin and Currency.* Salt Lake City: Rust Rare Coin Co., 1984.
Streeter	Parke-Bernet Galleries. *The Celebrated Collection of Americana Formed by the Late Thomas Winthrop Streeter.* Vol. 4. New York: Parke-Bernet Galleries, 1968.
WCB	Wagner, Henry R., and Charles W. Camp. *The Plains and the Rockies: A Critical Bibliography of Exploration, Adventure, and Travel in the American West, 1800–1865.* 4th ed. Rev. Robert H. Becker. San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1982. *See also the earlier notes in* 3d ed., Columbus, Ohio: Long's College Book Co., 1953.

National Union Catalogue Library Abbreviations

CaBVaU	University of British Columbia, Vancouver
CSt	Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, Calif.
CtY-BR	Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
CSmH	Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
CU-B	Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley
DLC	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
DLC-L	Library of Congress Law Library, Washington, D.C.
ICN	Newberry Library, Chicago
ICRL	Center for Research Libraries, Chicago
MH	Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass.
MH-L	Harvard University Law Library, Cambridge, Mass.
MiU-C	William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
NBuG	Grosvenor Reference Division, Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, Buffalo, N.Y.
NjP-SC(W)	Western Americana Collection, Princeton University Library Special Collections, Princeton, N.J.
NNC	Columbia University Library, New York
Pvt.	Private collection
TxFTC	Texas Christian University Library, Fort Worth
ULA	Utah State University Special Collections, Logan
UPB	Brigham Young University Special Collections, Provo, Utah
USlC	Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Historical Department Library, Salt Lake City
USlC-A	Church Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Department, Salt Lake City
USlC-A(Y)	Brigham Young Papers, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Department, Salt Lake City
USlD	Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum, Salt Lake City
UU	Marriott Library Special Collections, University of Utah, Salt Lake City
UU-Ms	Manuscripts Division collections, Marriott Library Special Collections, University of Utah, Salt Lake City
WHi	State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison

Incomplete or imperfect copies are noted thus in the census: [*imp.*]

CHAPTER FIVE

Deseret Imprints of 1849

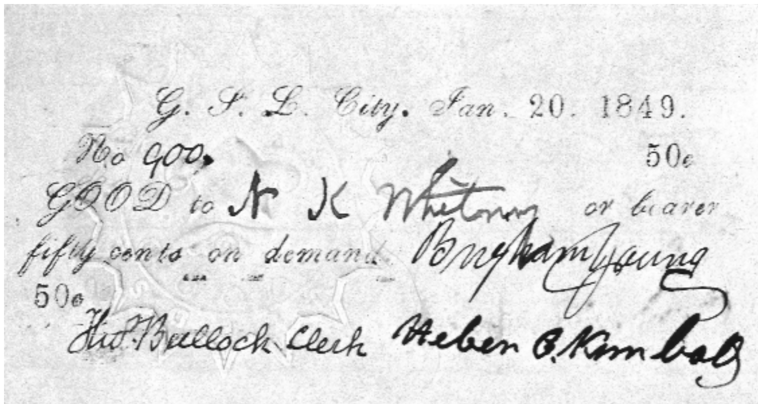
GREAT SALT LAKE CITY (UTAH). CURRENCY. 1849.

1. *G. S. L. City. Jan.* 20. 1849. | *No* [*blank*] 50c | *GOOD to* [*blank*] *or bearer.* | *fifty cents on demand.* | 50c

[Great Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, 1849]

broadside ; 5.5 × 10 cm. (cut) — White ruled wove paper, probably cut from a ledger.

Contents: Issued notes are embossed with a seal. At the center of this seal is the impression of a crown with three points over an eye (specifically, a Phrygian crown above an all-seeing eye). These elements are surrounded by a circle composed of twelve smaller circles. This group of circles is, in turn, encompassed by a single-line circle. Beyond it the sixteen points of a sunburst, composed of halves of intersecting octagons, delimit the edge of the seal. Each of the sixteen points of the sunburst contains an individual letter; the whole reads clockwise, beginning with the topmost point, "PSTAPCJCLDSDATW." This abbreviation is most probably interpreted as "Private Seal [of the] Twelve Apostles [of the] Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints [in the last] Dispensation [of] All The World." Each note is endorsed in manuscript with a serial number and the full signatures of Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and "Th." or "Thos." Bullock, the latter writing in "Clerk" after his name. Notes are issued to N. K. Whitney.


G. S. L. City. Jan. 20. 1849.
No 900, 50c
GOOD to N K Whitney or bearer
fifty cents on demand Brigham Young
50c
Tho. Bullock Clerk Heber C. Kimball

References: Eberstadt *Utah* 132, Rust fig. 72
NjP-SC(W) USlC

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY (UTAH). CURRENCY. 1849.

2\. *G. S. L. City. Jan.* 20. 1849. | *No* [*blank*] *1.00d* | *GOOD to* [*blank*] *or bearer.* | *one DOLLAR on demand.* | 1.00*d* | [*blank*] *Clerk.*

[Great Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, 1849]

broadside ; 5.5 × 10 cm. (cut) — White ruled paper, probably cut from a ledger.

Contents: This imprint differs in general description from the previous entry only in the denomination and addition of the designation "Clerk" in type on the form. The printed serial line remains but the number is not written in. The two validating manuscript signatures are abbreviated to "B. Young" and "H. C. Kimball."

References: Auerbach 1:133, Eberstadt *Utah* 132, Rust fig. 73
CtY-BR NjP-SC(W) UPB USlC

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY (UTAH). CURRENCY. 1849.

3\. *G. S. L. City. Jan.* 20. 1849. | *No* [*blank*] *2.00c* | *GOOD to* [*blank*] *or bearer.* | *two DOLLARS on demand.* | 2.00*c* | [*blank*] *Clerk.*

[Great Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, 1849]

broadside ; 5.5 × 10 cm. (cut) — White ruled paper, probably cut from a ledger.

Contents: Except for the denomination change, contents as described above. Some notes have been found unissued.

References: Auerbach 1:134 and 135, Eberstadt *Utah* 132, Rust fig. 74
CtY-BR NjP-SC(W) UPB USlC

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY (UTAH). CURRENCY. 1849.

4\. *G.S.L. City. Jan.* 20. 1849. | *No* [*blank*] *3.00e* | *GOOD to* [*blank*] *or bearer.* | *three DOLLARS on demand.* | 3.00*c* | [*blank*] *Clerk.*

[Great Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, 1849]

broadside ; 5.5 × 10 cm. (cut) — White ruled paper, probably cut from a ledger.

Contents: Except for the denomination change, contents as described

above. Note that an *e* is incorrectly used as a cent sign after the denomination in the second line.

References: Auerbach 1:136, Eberstadt *Utah* 132, Rust fig. 75
NjP-SC(W) UPB USlC

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY (UTAH). CURRENCY. 1849.

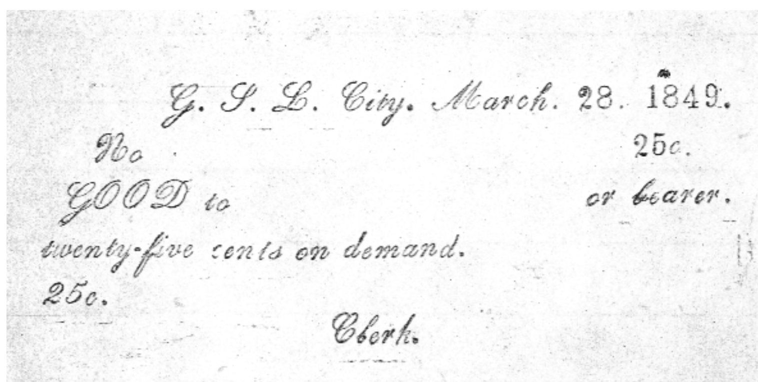
5. *G.S.L. City. March.* 28. 1849. | *No* [*space*] 25*c.* | *GOOD to* [*blank*] *or bearer.* | *twenty-five cents on demand.* | 25*c.* | [*blank*] *Clerk.*

[Great Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, 1849]

broadside ; 5.5 × 10 cm. (cut) — White ruled paper, probably cut from a ledger.

Contents: Not only a denominational change but also a change in date distinguish the text of this imprint from those described in the preceding entries. No examples of it are known which have been issued (i.e., bearing the appropriate signatures and embossed seal).

References: Eberstadt *Utah* 132, Rust fig. 76
NjP-SC(W) ULA UPB USlC


G. S. L. City. March. 28. 1849.
No 25c.
GOOD to or bearer.
twenty-five cents on demand.
25c.
Clerk.

The first actual printing executed in Deseret consisted of these several impressions of scrip, issued in different denominations and used as a medium of exchange in Great Salt Lake City's cash-poor economy. These bills are known interchangeably by the colloquialisms of the "White Notes" and "Valley Notes." From Bullock's diary we know that an earlier version of the notes was written out longhand on the 1849 New Year, but no authentic examples are in existence (forger Mark Hofmann produced several in the handwriting of clerk Thomas Bullock, patterned after the printed versions). The Valley Notes are all small denominations. Issued at

the same time to cover denominations from ten to one hundred dollars were the ten-year-old engraved bills of the failed Kirtland Safety Society Bank, countersigned by Brigham Young and the First Presidency to validate the reissuance. The face values of both "series" were backed at 80 percent by gold dust brought into the valley by returning members of the Mormon Battalion who had been employed at John A. Sutter's mill in California early in the previous year.

Paper for the White or Valley Notes was secured from the blank leaves of one or more anonymous ledgers. The "press" was an ad hoc creation by architect Truman O. Angell. But finding paper and contriving a workable press were the easiest parts of the proposition. The key to the endeavor was type. The wonder that the notes were in fact *printed* has been entirely overlooked in the many considerations of the topic. The sudden availability of a font of type (partial or otherwise) is most likely the factor that provided Angell the impetus to produce his "press," rather than the other way around.

The type on the White Notes seems to be a fourteen-point face on a fifteen- or sixteen-point body, a script face of the style used primarily for social announcements and invitations. Neither the face nor the font ever appears in any other imprint known to have been produced in Deseret or territorial Utah before statehood (1896). This fact alone suggests that the font was the property of a private individual, and probably not one involved with printing or a member of the church's central councils. The typefoundry is unknown, yet how the font came to be in the valley at all remains a greater mystery. It has been supposed that because Angell constructed the press, he also can be credited with the type.[120] Punching matrices and casting type by hand is both a highly skilled and a technically difficult process. The complexity of the italic type style and uniform quality of the face suggest that the type was instead the product of a commercial foundry, but which one is not known. Though it is likely an American face, even at this early date Mormon converts had arrived in Utah from Britain through every major port, as well as from all over the United States.

Discussions within the Council of Fifty after the failure of minter John Kay's crucibles probably provided the forum that originated the idea of a scrip issue. The possibility was discussed as early as December 28, 1848, when it was concluded to make a manuscript issue of notes. The availability of type in the valley became known and may have been the reason for

[120] Rust, *Coin and Currency,* 60.

another meeting held on January 20. At this point it was decided to redeem the labor- and time-intensive manuscript issue with printed notes. Despite the printed date appearing on the first four notes (January 20), the forme for the first note—the fifty cent—was not set until the 22d of the month by Brigham H. Young, nephew to the noted leader, and Thomas Bullock, Brigham Young's secretary. Printing was executed shortly thereafter. Though the *Journal History,* quoting the unattributed Thomas Bullock diary, notes under the date of the 20th that the notes "were to be printed" on Angell's press, the original Bullock diary fixes printing for the first fifty-cent notes on January 23. The other denominations were printed indeterminately thereafter through late January and before April 1849. The fifty-cent bills were numbered sequentially, but although "No." and a space was printed on all the forms, serial numbers were omitted for the other notes. No precise information exists on the number of scrip notes that were produced, but in his book Rust has compiled the most complete tables of the extant numbers for each denomination, and we can compare the general tabulations for redemptions found on the "Statement of Great Salt Lake City Paper Currency May 29 1850."[121] All the bills, both manuscript and printed, were issued to Bishop Newell K. Whitney rather than to individual depositors.

CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS. FIRST PRESIDENCY.

6. SECOND | GENERAL EPISTLE OF THE | PRESIDENCY | OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST | OF | LATTER DAY SAINTS | FROM THE | GREAT SALT LAKE VALLEY, | TO THE SAINTS SCATTERED THROUGHOUT THE EARTH, | **GREETING:** | BELOVED BRETHREN:— | . . .

Great Salt Lake City, Print. Oct. 20th. 1849. | Brigham H. Young, Printer. — Caption title; imprint from page 10.

[1] 2–10 p. (5 leaves) ; 26 × 15 cm. (untrimmed) — [ ]^4+[ ]^1 — Newsprint.

Contents: Page [1] bears the caption title and text of the epistle, beginning "Since our communication of April" and ending at the foot of page 5: "We remain your brothers in the new Covenant. Great Salt Lake City,

[121] *Journal History,* 28 Dec. 1848; Peter Knecht and Peter Crawley, eds., *History of Brigham Young, 1847–1867,* (Berkeley: MassCal Associates, 1964), 30; Thomas Bullock diary, typescript, Church Archives; Rust, *Coin and Currency,* 82–88; Arrington, "Coin and Currency in Early Utah," 63–74; "Statement . . ." is in Brigham Young papers, Church Archives.

SECOND
GENERAL EPISTLE OF THE
PRESIDENCY
OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF
LATTER DAY SAINTS
FROM THE
GREAT SALT LAKE VALLEY,
TO THE SAINTS SCATTERED THROUGHOUT THE EARTH.

GREETING:

Beloved Brethren :—

Since our communication of April, many events interesting in their nature, as relating to the progress of truth, and the happiness of the faithful, have transpired, and we improve the earliest moment to write of the same, that the hearts of all may be united with us in praise to Israel's God for the fulfillment of his promises and of the prophecies in these last days.

On the 12th. of April, Elder Amasa Lyman left this place in company with several brethren for Western California, carrying our former epistle; and Capt. Allen Compton started with a mail containing the same, for the States, two days after, and although the snow was unusually deep, and had been long considered impassible, we are happy in having learned, that Br. Compton and the little band of brethren accompanying him, arrived safe in Kanesville after a speedy and toilsome journey.

The heat of summer, began to be exhibited at midday about the middle of April, which rapidly dispersed the snow upon the mountains;—though more or less continues in sight of our beautiful valley, perpetually; and the weather continued variable until the 23d. of May, when it was very severe, accompanied by a heavy fall of snow, and was followed the succeeding day, by a severe frost; since which time, the weather has been mild and warm, generally, with occasional slight frosts in the valley every month, and almost every week, until the last, when two or three successive and severe frosts put an end to vegetation generally.

The Nauvoo Legion has been re-organized in the valley, and it would have been a source of joy to the Saints throughout the earth, could they have witnessed its movements, on the day of its great parade; to see a whole army of mighty men in martial array, ground their arms; not by command but simply by request, repair to the temple block, and with pick and spade open the foundation for a place of worship, and erect the pilasters, beams and roof, so that we now have a commodious edifice 100 by 60 feet, with brick walls, where we assemble with the Saints from Sabbath to Sabbath, and almost every evening in the week, to teach, counsel and devise ways and means for the prosperity of the Kingdom of God; and we feel thankful that we have a better house or bowery for public worship the coming winter, than we have heretofore had any winter in this dispensation.

Deseret. Oct. 12th. 1849. Brigham Young. Heber C. Kimball. Willard Richards." At the top of page 6 the text of a second letter begins: "Great Salt Lake City. Oct., 16th. 1849. President Orson Hyde. Beloved Brother. The Lord has been . . . making manifest, ways and means to facilitate the gathering of the Saints," which extends to page 7. Near the foot of the same page is printed (with this caption title): "MINUTES OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE | AT GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, DESERET Oct., 6th. 1849." This transcript ends on page 10: "THOMAS BULLOCK, Clerk." and the imprint.

References: Auerbach 1:1508, Flake 1677, McMurtrie (Utah) 2, *Mormon Fifty* 33, Streeter 2286, WCB 177

The successful transfer of church administration to the Great Basin and the movement of the apostolate there provided a measure of finality and closure to three years of the Mormon exodus; whatever remained to be done was merely gathering converts to Zion. It was obviously time to recommence official communications. The *General Epistle,* printed in St. Louis in the last month of 1848, served as a convenient pattern for the process. In April 1849, after the church's annual conference but before the valley's printing equipment left Kanesville, the First Presidency sent a manuscript for a "First General Epistle" from the Salt Lake Valley to Kanesville, Iowa, for issuance from Orson Hyde's *Frontier Guardian* press. No copy of the separate impression survives, though the text was reprinted in Hyde's newspaper.[122] The issuance of a second epistle the same year was occasioned both by the arrival of the printing press itself and by the church's semiannual general conference in early October. In it the establishment of Great Salt Lake City and of a new refuge for the church is announced formally, and the call is issued for believers to gather there.

Though serving as the de facto printing foreman, Brigham H. Young was functioning at the level of a printer's apprentice, and one without a master, incidentally. He had been given the responsibility for establishing Deseret's production capability probably with little guidance beyond his original commission, occasional suggestions, and a healthy dose of common sense. By the time production for the *Epistle* began, he had been on the job for all of about seven weeks and in his career had produced nothing more substantive than the White Notes (nos. 1–5). Since typesetting

[122] *Frontier Guardian,* 30 May 1849; Henry R. Wagner and Charles W. Camp, *The Plains and the Rockies: A Critical Bibliography of Exploration, Adventure, and Travel in the American West, 1800–1865,* 4th ed., rev. Robert H. Becker (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1982), 176a.

occupied an entire week between the completion of the letter and the impression of the first sheet, and because B. H. added his own name to the document as an imprint, he was most likely the one who set the type for the press's inaugural production. Given the lack of experience of the printer, the remarkable absence of typographical errors is probably attributable to Thomas Bullock's proofreading.

The number of copies in the press run was evidently not recorded and is therefore unknown, but it could not have been large or the distribution very extensive. At least one copy was sent as far afield as the *Millennial Star* office in Liverpool, England. Unfortunately, it never arrived, and the *Star* reproduced the text from an issue of the *Frontier Guardian,* which received its own copy. At least one other copy was sent to the *St. Louis Republican;* it arrived in the last days of December and was inserted in that paper.[123] These few known facts of its distribution suggest that the small number of copies and nonchurch destinations had been carefully considered. The number that seem to have arrived on the desks of far-flung newspaper editors hints that the Great Basin saints were relying on the public press to reprint and distribute the text more effectively (and less expensively) than printing and mailing copies of the epistle themselves. A few copies of a further distribution may have included regional church authorities beyond Utah and the Midwest. If this supposition is accurate, the pressrun probably did not number above fifty and may well have been considerably smaller. Given the import of the letter, it is curious that more copies were not preserved; this fact also suggests it was distributed primarily abroad.

In his enumeration of Utah's then-known imprints, completed in the early 1930s, Douglas McMurtrie cautioned that "it is rarely possible to identify with unqualified certainty the first book or pamphlet printed in any community unless we are fortunate to have a definite record. . . . Without some such conclusive evidence, ascriptions of priority must be made with caution." His advice is well founded, yet it is evident that McMurtrie was unaware that there *is* such an ascription in Utah's case. A complete imprint consists of a single leaf pasted to a quarto-folded signature (2 + 8 = 10 pages in all). A surviving copy of the folded pages only in the USlC collections is docketed by Willard Richards, not only a counselor to Brigham Young but also church historian, editor-to-be of the *Deseret News,* and general manager of the press itself. He records in the margin of the first

[123] *Millennial Star* 12 (15 Feb. 1850): 54; *Millennial Star* 12 (15 Apr. 1850): 118–22. The *Republican* had printed the initial *General Epistle* in December two years before.

page: "This is the first sheet ever printed in the Great Salt Lake Valley. since the days of the Nephites= October 20th 1849. Attest, Willard Richards, Gen. Ch[ch] Recorder." It is doubtful that Richards was implying that the Nephites (an ancient American people figuring prominently in the Book of Mormon) actively engaged in printing; rather he meant that this was the first imprint in the region's recorded history. The presence of the church historian's holographic statement on a copy (and on only the first sheet of the full imprint) suggests that McMurtrie was correct, that the *Second General Epistle* is in fact the Salt Lake press's first imprint (obviously excepting the White or Valley Notes printed at the first of the year, the precedence of which the Mormons themselves disregarded). On the strength of the history behind the *First General Epistle,* McMurtrie opined incorrectly about the likely existence of a Kanesville impression of this second epistle that predated the Utah issue. Richards's date on his archival copy and the date of the letter are separated by barely a week, which strikes out the likelihood of an earlier Kanesville impression for the text. Given the Mormons' penchant for celebrating steps made in the spread of their culture, it is entirely credible to accept Richards's inscription literally and conclude that the sheet he inscribed is in fact *the first sheet* of the first imprint issued from Deseret's press. Though in strict numerical terms not the rarest item issued from Deseret's press, this is undoubtedly the most significant, since it rightfully holds the place of precedence in any list of the state's imprints.

Besides the contemporary printings and abstracts referred to earlier, the text has been reprinted in the Clark compilation of First Presidency communications and more recently in David White's collection of works described in *News of the Plains and the Rockies.*[124]

CtY-BR NjP-SC(W) USlC[*imp.*]

[124] Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency,* 2:30–37; White, *News of the Plains and the Rockies,* 3:196–208.

CHAPTER SIX

Deseret Imprints of 1850

DESERET (STATE : 1849–1850).

7. [Bond for public officers].

[Great Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, 1850]

broadside?

The *Journal History,* citing the "Historian's Office Journal" kept by Thomas Bullock, notes that on February 7 Brigham H. Young interrupted his typesetting of Deseret's constitution (see no. 14) long enough to set and print "a form of the bond and obligation for different officers of the state." *Form* as used here could be taken to refer to an actual certificate, probably a pledge of office, or merely a proof pulled from the made-up press forme. If the former, an imprint this early would make the bond the first public printing executed for Deseret.

Fewer than a dozen specific appointments to state office are mentioned by diarist and Council of Fifty member John D. Lee in his diary, and thus there would have been only a few copies of the bond printed. Unfortunately, no example has yet come to light, suggesting that the certificates were scrapped when Utah Territory was created, or that the form was merely a proof that was never formally issued, or that the "bond," even if it was printed in multiple copies, may not have actually been used.[125]

No copy located

[CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS?].

8. [Record form?].

Just what the "branch records" were that B. H. Young was so busily engaged in printing on February 16, 1850, remains unclear. Were they church record forms for local LDS ecclesiastical units? If so, one would expect to see the more standard term *ward* used to describe them. If they instead related to Deseret's emerging government, the meaning would be even more puzzling since no other mention is made in the contemporary record of

[125] Lee, *Mormon Chronicle; Journal History,* 7 Feb. 1850; Ashton, *Voice in the West,* 24.

printing being requested or delivered. It is conceivable that this was a separate impression of the membership record outline that later appeared as a sample in the *Deseret News,* though no records of this type with printed headings have yet been found.[126]

No copy located

UTAH (TERR.) RECORDER OF MARKS AND BRANDS.
9. LIST OF RECORDED BRANDS. | [*beveled thick-thin filet*] | . . .

[Great Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, 1850] — Caption title.

[1] 2–20 p. (10 leaves) [collation incomplete] ; 39.5 × 27 cm. — Printed and distributed in folios on quarter-sheet newsprint.

Contents: Tabulated in columns; the listing immediately follows the double rule under the caption title, which is carried only by the first sheet. Each separately printed sheet contains roughly one hundred registrations listing the brand (represented by bold type or by a specially cut piece of wood type, and in later sheets by outline type), its dimensions, placement on the animal, date of record, and owner name and residence down to the ward, block, and lot number. The first sheet lists thirteen brands recorded in the last three days of 1849 and January through March 1850; contents of the second backtrack to December 31, 1849, and carry through to March 18, 1850; dates included on the third range from March 18 to May 27; the fourth includes May 28 to August 10; the first entry on the fifth and final extant folio is August 16, and the last date is November 4, 1850. Ear marks are described, outside this tabulated body matter, at the foot of pages 4, 8, 12, 16, and 20 (i.e., at the end of each folio). An "ERRATA" is printed at the foot of page 8. Additional folios beyond the fifth, as discussed hereafter, have not yet been located.

References: none

Shortly after distributing house lots in the new city, the settlers created the "big field," a community herd ground, on the plain immediately south of the settlement. Most later Mormon satellite communities instituted similar arrangements. A bill enacted by the assembly on December 19, 1849, established a central registry for the region's animal marks and brands. Section 7 provided, "It shall be the duty of the Recorder, to furnish a printed copy free of charge, of all Marks, Brands, and record of Brands, to every individual applying for the same, and having a certificate of record, as

[126] *Journal History,* 16 Feb. 1850; *Deseret News,* 22 Feb. 1851.

LIST OF RECORDED BRANDS.

Brand	Length of Letter (Inches)	Breadth of Brand (Inches)	Place of Brand	Date of Record	Owner's Name	Place of Residence	Ward	Lot	Block
				1849					
W R	7-8	1 1-2	Left Horn	Dec. 29	Willard Richards	G. S. L. CITY	14	7	76
W	3 1-4	4 1-2	Horses Hoof Left Hip	Do	do	do	"	"	"
S	3 1-2	"	Right Hip	Do	Daniel Spencer	do	13	1	57
S	3 1-2	"	Left Hip	Do	Orson Spencer	do	"	2	57
A P R	1-2	1 1-2	Left Horn	Do	A. P. Rockwood	do	"	6	75
H	3 1-4	2 3-4	Left Hip	Do	Heber C. Kimball	do	18	3	93
W S	2 1-4	5	Left Shoulder	Do	Willard Snow	do	13	1	71
D J	7-8	"	Left Horn	Dec. 31	Dan Jones	do	14	4	69
J	3 3-8	"	Left Hip	Do	do	do	"	"	"
N K W	1-2	2 1-8	Left Horn	Do	Newel K. Whitney	do	18	5	88
W	3 3-4	3 1-4	Left Shoulder	Do	do	do	"	"	"
W C	2 3-4	4 1-2	Do	Do	William Clayton	do	17	1	95
P	3 1-8	"	Both Hips	Do	David Peters	do	15	7	48
				1850					
J R	5-8	"	Left Horn	Jan. 2	John Robinson	West of Jordan up the River.			
J D	3	"	Right Hip	Jan. 3	James Davis	G. S. L. CITY	19	4	117
T	3 1-2	"	Left Hip	Do	Thomas Jeremy	do	16	4	60
D	3 3-4	"	Do	Do	Daniel Daniels	do	"	[illegible]	60
Y	4 1-8	3 1-8	Do	Do	Brigham Young	do	18	3	89
L	3 1-4	2 1-8	Do	Jan. 4	Elizabeth Lewis	do	13	3	70
C F	3 1-2	5	Do	Jan. 5	Charles A. Foster	do	16	3	100
F	3	2	Left Shoulder	Do	Loren Farr	do	17	8	95
F	3 1-2	1 1-2	Left Hip	Do	Aaron F. Farr	do	"	7	95
M	2 3-8	2 3-4	Left Shoulder	Do	Thomas Moore	do	2	5	19
P N	3 1-8	5 1-2	Do	Do	Peter Nebeker	do	19	3	116

speedily as possible after the entry of one hundred Brands, *also to repeat the same on the completion of the entry of every succeeding hundred*" (italics added). Thus established as a public document, this imprint is evidently the earliest brand registry separately printed (though not the earliest kept) in what is now the United States. Loose folios of the registry were issued

serially to county pound keepers, justices, and interested subscribers as the sheets were printed. Distributed individually, the sheets technically constitute separate imprints and would have been sent out within a few weeks of the last date that appears on each.

Entries were made in registrar William Clayton's manuscript volume as claimants presented sketches and descriptions of their respective brands for registration. As would be expected, the newness of the registration itself created a rush of enrollments that required several sheets to be issued in 1850. As enough registrations were recorded to warrant issue of a new folio "sheet," the pages were set, struck, and distributed. Printing for the first folio had begun at least as early as three days after the last entry recorded on it, when Thomas Bullock noted that "the printers were busy setting in type the record of brands." The fact of serial publication is further attested on the first four folios of the UPB and USlC copies, each of which is noted "N. K. Whitney" at the top, precisely the same kind of subscriber mark carried by newspapers of the time as sorted for pickup. The delivery note existing on the UPB copy suggests that printing for at least the first four folios would have occurred before Whitney's death on September 24, 1850. An errata appearing on page 8 (the end of one sheet but in the middle of the "imprint") is another hint toward serial issue.

Though the extant printed folios end with a record dated November 4, 1850, Clayton's manuscript record continues the entries *made the same date* on its succeeding page spread. Through the rest of the year substantially fewer brands and marks were entered than had been in the previous months. It is likely that Clayton simply had the typesetter work to the bottom of the manuscript record's double-page spread (numbered 16) and continued the entries for November 4 in the next sheet, which would be the sixth of the series. With the entries in folio five coming as close to the end of the year as they did, the as-yet-unlocated sixth sheet is certainly a later imprint.

From a notice printed in the columns of the *Deseret News* in April 1852 it seems that the sixth folio of the "book" was issued that spring covering entries made through November and December 1850, all of 1851, and the first months of 1852. Clayton also states that all six folios were still available to interested purchasers. It is also probable that seventh, eighth, and ninth folios (none of which has yet been seen) were issued as required through 1854. The evidence for this is a separate register kept in the manuscript brand record which records distribution of the printed sheets to territorial pound keepers, justices, and county sheriffs through "9." The

series ended with the issuance of the ninth sheet. A cumulative monographic compilation of the territory's marks and brands was issued in 1855 but updated in precisely the same serial-folio fashion. Why all the locatable copies consist of only the first five sheets while the latter four do not survive is entirely unanswerable at this point, but it means that all present collections of the imprint are unavoidably incomplete.[127]

NjP-SC(W)[*imp.*] UPB[*imp.*] USlC[*imp.*] *UU*

DESERET (STATE : 1849–1850). CITIZENS.
10. TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY | OF THE | STATE OF DESERET. | GENTLEMEN,— | . . .

Great Salt Lake City, Feb. 8, 1850. — Imprint from last leaf. Caption title.

[1] 2–4 p. (2 leaves) ; 21 × 13.5 cm (untrimmed) — [ ]^2 — Newsprint.

Contents: The text begins immediately after the caption title and continues in a single column to page 4. The imprint (but not dative numerals) is given in italics.

References: McMurtrie (Utah) 4

This missive supporting the establishment of a college and commenting on the social value of higher education was certainly not a spontaneous public petition. Near the beginning of February 1850 the state's General Assembly appointed a board of regents to establish an institution of higher learning to serve as a normal school, the forerunner of the present University of Utah. Given the date and the actions being taken to establish the school, the "petition" was probably written by the regents (perhaps intentionally dated early) as one of the efforts to elevate eastern opinion of the new "state." Irrespective of the purpose, this imprint served as an important (if symbolic) formal step in chartering the institution.

Most of the printing done toward formally establishing the university was executed in April. This is probably the item for which (despite the February date) Horace Whitney recorded "Comp. on 'Petition to Assembly'" over two days early in that month.[128]

CtY-BR UPB USlC-A(Y)

[127] *Journal History,* 21 Mar. 1850; *Deseret News,* 3 Apr. 1852; Brand registry book, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City; *Book of One Thousand Marks and Brands, Alphabetically Arranged* (n.p., n.d.); the imprint and date of this later compilation are known from contemporary records, however.

[128] Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:363; Horace K. Whitney, "Account Book of Work

TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE
STATE OF DESERET.

GENTLEMEN,—

Your petitioners beg leave to say that they feel, most sensibly, the many difficulties they are daily called to encounter, in the common concerns of life, for the want of a good education; and this feeling is what prompts them to address you on the present occasion; and

Whereas, under existing circumstances, we cannot hope that our children will be able to attain to greater knowledge than their fathers; and, as we are already a great people, and are continually increasing in numbers, wealth and power, and means to accomplish and do any thing that ought to be done; and are occupying a space in the material world, where Nature, the greatest University of arts and science, can be studied to to its utmost perfection, surrounded as we are by teachers, whose researches are not confined to earth: and,

As we have gathered to this place from the various nations of Christendom, and are of different languages and dialects; of different customs, habits, manners and propensities; arising, in a great degree, from the impress of early examples; with but few books in our midst, and fewer teachers capable of instructing us from those books; while the diversity of knowledge and language in our midst is so great, that it is often difficult to transact the common and necessary business of life; and, unless some general system of education is introduced, those difficulties are likely to continue; and,

As we are now in our infant State, just beginning to exercise the powers and prerogatives that belong to an independent Government; are at that period of time when it is easier to guide the infant mind aright, than it will be to turn the aged from their errors; and we feel that it is of the utmost importance for this State, whose inhabitants are destined to become very numerous, to lay the surest foundation for a system of general education in its infancy, that the rising, and succeeding generations may be benefited, and thereby become assimulated in their general characters and cus-

Done in the Printing Office," 4, 5 Apr. 1850, in Helen Mar Whitney Family Papers, Utah State Univ. Special Collections, Logan, (hereafter cited as Whitney, "Account Book").

ADDRESS.

WILLARD RICHARDS, SECRETARY OF STATE;

To the Chancellor and Regents of the University of the State of Deseret, delivered in the Bowery, at Great Salt Lake City, in presence of his Excellency, Governor Young, April 17th., 1850.

Intelligence is the great governing and controling principle of the Universe. If God were not in possession of more light, knowledge, and intelligence, than the Devil, he could not maintain his government, or dominions; and they would be liable to be overthrown every time that evil should lift itself up against good. If man were not possessed of more intelligence than brutes, he could not govern them; for brutes are possessed of the greater physical force. Does the animal creation, reason, and converse? It does. It is often asserted that man is possessed of reason; and because he can reason and beasts cannot, he is the superior. The daily and general observation of men proves this principle false; brutes do reason, and some of them reason better than some men. Brutes talk. Their language is as intelligible to others of the same species, as man's is to his fellows; and if the horse does not understand the language of the cow, or the wolf the deer; or any species of animal should not understand the language of another species, it is no wonder, so long as men of one nation or language or dialect, do not understand the language of another nation, language or dialect.

Before sin entered into the world, the serpent, the most degraded of all the beasts of the field, spoke the language of man, was understood by him, and conversed with him; and will any one dare to assert that other animals, and those of a more exalted nature, could not talk as well as the serpent? If so, let him prove his assertion. Birds as well as brutes; talk: and distinctly too. Who, that has listened to the horrid oaths of the tame crow and the parrot, repeated distinctly from the lips of their prison keepers, or owners, will dare say that those birds can never be taught to pray, if man shall become enlightened and pious enough to teach them; as readily as they are now taught to swear?

As well might the college graduate assert that the Malay and Circassian could not talk, and had no language, because the ignorant sophomore could not understand them; as for the crow, the parrot, the serpent, or man, to say that other brutes, birds, or even the fishes could not talk, because their language is unintelligible to the ignorant assertor. It may be objected to the general principle, that the cases mentioned, and others that might be mentioned, are exceptions to a general rule. The fact is admitted, and what does it prove? If one truth exists in the circle of our acquain-

DESERET (STATE : 1849–1850). SECRETARY OF STATE.
11. ADDRESS. | WILLARD RICHARDS, SECRETARY OF STATE; | To the Chancellor and Regents of the University of the State | of Deseret, delivered in the Bowery, at Great Salt Lake City, in | presence of his Excellency, Governor Young, April 17th., 1850.

[Great Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, 1850] — Caption title.

[1] 2–12 p. (6 leaves) ; 21 × 13.5 cm. — [ ]^4 [ ]^2 — Printed with italic type in places. Newsprint.

Contents: The address begins immediately after the caption title and ends at the foot of page 12.

References: Flake 7255

The University of the State of Deseret was chartered by an act of the legislative General Assembly on February 28, 1850. Faced with creating an institution out of nothing, the regents met in early April and proposed that each board member and the university chancellor draft a memorial to be printed for circulation at large—a prototypical capital campaign. In meetings held on April 8 and 11 messages from several of the regents were read to the body and approved. Though not a member of the Board of Regents, in his position as secretary of state Richards was apparently asked to contribute his perspective also. His is a long discourse on the need for studying languages, the power of observation, intelligence, and the role and nature of colleges in a fledgling society.

Though the heading date of April 17 suggests this address was delivered on that day, the meeting in the Bowery at which this and other speeches were ostensibly "delivered" was actually canceled; a quorum of regents was not present. The Bowery was a temporary adobe-bricked hall on the southeast corner of the Temple Block which served as a public and ecclesiastical meeting place until the 1852 construction of the Old Tabernacle. Since the meeting was not held (and was apparently never rescheduled) and because Horace Whitney devoted a day to typesetting the following day, printing was probably completed shortly thereafter. This printed version would have been distributed privately if at all.[129]

NjP-SC(W) UPB USlC

[129] *Acts,* 175; Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:363–67; Whitney, "Account Book," 18 Apr. 1850.

UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF DESERET.
CHANCELLOR.

12. CIRCULAR | OF THE | CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF DESERET. | [*beveled thick-thin rule*] | PATRONS OF LEARNING! | . . .

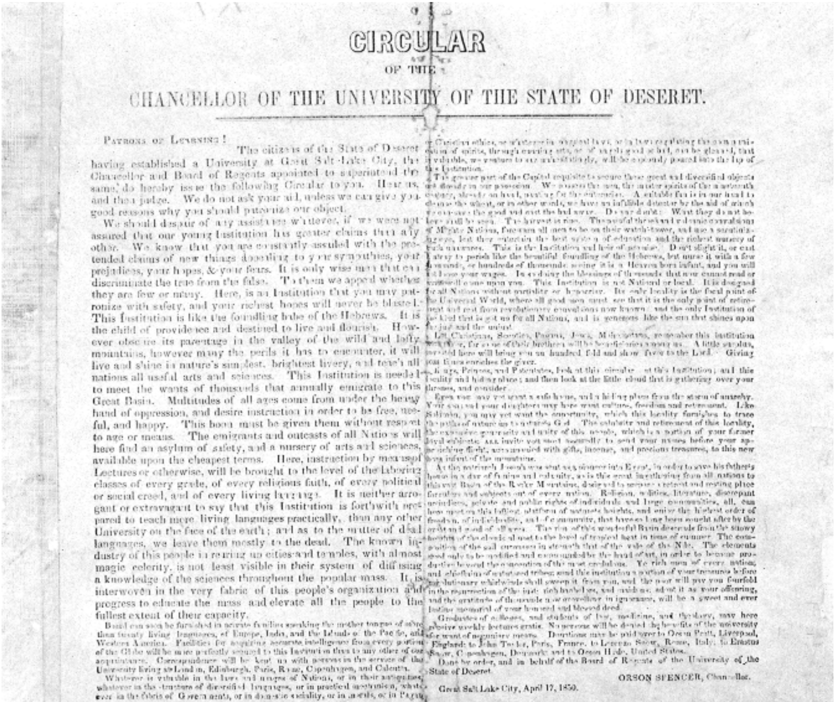
Great Salt Lake City: | April 17, 1850 — Caption title; imprint from signature line.

broadside ; 22 × 24 cm. (trimmed) — Signed in type by "Orson Spencer, Chancellor." Newsprint.

Contents: The text of the broadside, in wide double columns, follows the double rule below the caption title and ends at the foot of the second column: "Done by order, and in behalf of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of Deseret. ORSON SPENCER, Chancellor." The first thirty-one lines are in ten-point type; the balance of the first and the entire second column are set in eight point.

References: Flake 8321a

Spencer had been charged with writing a message for the commencement of the university as its chancellor. One of the few converts with a col-



CIRCULAR

OF THE

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF DESERET.

PATRONS OF LEARNING!

The citizens of the State of Deseret having established a University at Great Salt Lake City, the Chancellor and Board of Regents appointed to superintend the same, do hereby issue the following Circular to you. Hear us, and then judge. We do not ask your aid, unless we can give you good reasons why you should patronize our object.

We should despair of any assistance whatever, if we were not assured that our young Institution has greater claims than any other. We know that you are constantly assailed with the pretended claims of new things appealing to your sympathies, your prejudices, your hopes, & your fears. It is only wise men that can discriminate the true from the false. To them we appeal whether they are few or many. Here, is an Institution that you may patronize with safety, and your richest hopes will never be blasted. This Institution is like the foundling babe of the Hebrews. It is the child of providence and destined to live and flourish. However obscure its parentage in the valley of the wild and lofty mountains, however many the perils it has to encounter, it will live and shine in nature's simplest, brightest livery, and teach all nations all useful arts and sciences. This Institution is needed to meet the wants of thousands that annually emigrate to this Great Basin. Multitudes of all ages come from under the heavy hand of oppression, and desire instruction in order to be free, useful, and happy. This boon must be given them without respect to age or means. The emigrants and outcasts of all Nations will here find an asylum of safety, and a nursery of arts and sciences, available upon the cheapest terms. Here, instruction by means of Lectures or otherwise, will be brought to the level of the laboring classes of every grade, of every religious faith, of every political or social creed, and of every living language. It is neither arrogant or extravagant to say that this Institution is forthwith prepared to teach more living languages practically, than any other University on the face of the earth; and as to the matter of dead languages, we leave them mostly to the dead. The known industry of this people in rearing up cities and temples, with almost magic celerity, is not least visible in their system of diffusing a knowledge of the sciences throughout the popular mass. It is interwoven in the very fabric of this people's organization and progress to educate the mass and elevate all the people to the fullest extent of their capacity.

[illegible]

[illegible] Christian ethics, [illegible] can be gleaned, that is valuable, we venture to say [illegible], will be [illegible] poured into the lap of this Institution.

The greater part of the Capital requisite to secure these great and diversified objects [illegible]

[illegible] This Institution is not National or local. It is designed for all Nations without partiality or hypocrisy. [illegible] and the only Institution of the kind that is got up for all Nations, and is generous like the sun that shines upon the just and the unjust.

[illegible] A little surplus, [illegible] Giving [illegible] enriches the giver.

Kings, Princes, and Potentates, look at this circular [illegible] at this Institution; and this locality and hiding place; and then look at the little cloud that is gathering over your thrones, and consider.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Graduates of colleges, and students of law, medicine, and theology, may here receive weekly lectures gratis. No persons will be denied the benefits of the university for want of pecuniary means. Donations may be paid over to Orson Pratt, Liverpool, England; to John Taylor, Paris, France; to Lorenzo Snow, Rome, Italy; to Erastus Snow, Copenhagen, Denmark; and to Orson Hyde, United States.

Done by order, and in behalf of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of Deseret.

ORSON SPENCER, Chancellor.

Great Salt Lake City, April 17, 1850.

legiate education (Union College, class of 1824), he had also taught school and practiced law before taking a degree from the theological college at Hamilton, New York. Spencer joined the church in 1841 and upon moving to Nauvoo had become one of the city aldermen. In the two years before emigrating west he had served as British Mission president and editor of the Mormon news magazine in that country, the *Latter Day Saints' Millennial Star.* On his arrival in the valley Spencer was chosen chancellor of the as-yet-unborn university, a position in which he served until the effective dissolution of the college in 1852. He served a mission to Prussia after that time and died en route to missionary service among the Cherokees in 1855.

Like Willard Richards's *Address* (see no. 11), this item was dated April 17 for a meeting that was, in fact, canceled. Horace Whitney devoted a full day to typesetting on April 19; printing was executed very shortly thereafter on the paper brought to the valley with the press in 1849 (the season's freight trains could not have arrived at such an early date). The address was reprinted in the *Deseret News* in August the same year, divided between issues to continue in succeeding numbers. The first installment was printed in the newspaper, but the balance was never completed. The text itself is reprinted in Ralph Chamberlin's history of the University of Utah.[130]

USlC

UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF DESERET.

13. [Handbill].

[Salt Lake City: B. H. Young, 1850].

broadside?

The first item on the "Record of Donations, Contributions, and appropriations to the University of the State of Deseret," a loose manuscript sheet inserted into the first volume of the Board of Regents' minutes, is an undated entry for five dollars "Paid for printing Hand bills." Just what the "Hand bills" were is unclear. In mid-April while he was working on several other university-related items, Horace Whitney recorded billing for composition work on a "Reg. Proclamation" that could be this item. The handbill in question thus may have been the regents' general advertisement for the classes to be offered later that year.

[130] Whitney, "Account Book," 19 Apr. 1850; *Deseret News,* 3 Aug. 1850; Ralph V. Chamberlin, *The University of Utah: A History of Its First Hundred Years, 1850–1950* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1960), appendix B.

University classes commenced in the home of Mrs. John Pack on November 11 under the tutelage of Cyrus Collins. The college's five-thousand-dollar annual appropriation initially granted by the Deseret state assembly was revoked by the Utah territorial legislature in 1852. Without a sufficient economic base of support the university closed, a victim of irregular attendance and financial shortfall. Its place was taken by a bevy of smaller, mostly private colleges and lyceums until the institution reconstituted in 1869 and functioned under the direction of John R. Park. Though its sponsoring entity had become a U.S. territory with a different name in the meantime, the school retained its former identity as the University of Deseret until 1892. It was, despite the name, a different institution entirely.[131]

No copy located

DESERET (STATE : 1849–1850). CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, 1849.

14. **CONSTITUTION** | OF THE | STATE OF DESERET.

[Great Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, 1850] — Caption title.

[1] 2–34 p. (17 leaves) ; 23.5 × 14.5 cm. — $[1–4]^4$+$[\ ]^1$ — Printed on half-sheet newsprint as quarto-folded signatures.

Contents: The constitution (pp. 1–8) is followed on pages 9–34 by ordinances passed by the General Assembly between November 12, 1849, and March 28, 1850.

References: Auerbach 1:1353, Centennial 218, Flake 2783, Howes M813, Sabin 98220

The curious story of the constitution for the proposed state of Deseret, together with that of its first impression in Iowa, has been examined in detail elsewhere.[132] The constitution for the state of Deseret was generated—lifted, almost—from the Iowa constitution in the summer of 1849. The document was first printed in Kanesville, Iowa, by apostle Orson Hyde at the *Frontier Guardian* office in September 1849, an action taken to support the petition for statehood carried by Almon Babbitt.

Due to the lateness of the season or the small number of copies available, the Kanesville printing of the work probably had not arrived in Utah when B. H. Young began typesetting for this impression of the *Constitution* on

[131] Chamberlin, *University of Utah,* 545; Whitney, "Account Book," 17 Apr. 1850; Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:336–37; *Deseret News,* 16 Nov. 1850.

[132] Crawley, *Constitution;* Morgan, *State of Deseret;* see also Poll, review of *State of Deseret.*

Excessively Rare

1849-1850

Not listed by Mr McMurtrie

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

STATE OF DESERET.

PREAMBLE—

WHEREAS a large number of Citizens of the United States, before, and since the Treaty of Peace with the Republic of Mexico, emigrated to, and settled in that portion of the Territory of the United States, lying west of the Rocky Mountains, and in the Great Interior Basin of Upper California; and

WHEREAS, by reason of said treaty, all civil organization, originating from the Republic of Mexico became abrogated; and

WHEREAS, the Congress of the United States has failed to provide a form of Civil Government for the Territory so acquired, or any portion thereof; and

WHEREAS, Civil Government and Laws are necessary, for the security, peace and prosperity of Society; and

WHEREAS, it is a fundamental principle in all Republican Governments, that all political power is inherent in the People; and Governments instituted for their protection, security and benefit, should emanate from the same:

THEREFORE, your Committee beg leave to recommend the adoption of the following CONSTITUTION, until the Congress of the United States shall otherwise provide for the Government of the Territory hereinafter named and described, by admitting us into the Union. WE, THE PEOPLE, Grateful to the SUPREME BEING for the blessings hitherto enjoyed, and feeling our dependence on Him for a continuation of those blessings, DO ORDAIN, AND ESTABLISH A FREE AND INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT, by the name of the STATE OF DESERET; including all the Territory of the United States, within the following boundaries, to wit: Commencing at the 33°, North Latitude where it crosses the 108°, Longitude, west of Greenwich; thence running South and West to the Northern boundary of

January 22, 1850. The Kanesville impression could have served constitutional and legal purposes, but an impression made within the state did two things: it reinforced the perception that printing was a hallmark of civilization and therefore that Deseret was culturally prepared for admission to the Union, and it provided working copies for the use of the representatives in the state assembly. The Kanesville printing is fattened with "minutes" and "transcripts" from the meetings that ostensibly produced the text. Conversely, this impression is comparatively lean, containing only the constitution itself and the laws passed by the state's legislative assembly.

To push the printing work along as expeditiously as possible, Thomas Bullock repaired to the printing office between sessions of the assembly and dictated at least part of the text directly to Young. The eight-page gathering consisting of the actual constitution may have been distributed soon after the legislature reconvened in mid-February or early March. Page 9 begins with a subheading, suggesting that the three gatherings of enacted laws may have been issued sometime after the constitution itself.

Although there is virtually no information to contextualize production and issuance, typesetting and prepress work continued at least as late as April 3, when Horace K. Whitney recorded "Comp. on Constitution" under the date in his weekly billing ledger, suggesting that the balance of the document, the ordinances, was being set and printed through the rest of the spring while the session was meeting. Since the legislature apparently concluded the 1849–50 session on March 2, it is unlikely that the full compilation of the constitution was available to legislators before the end of the session, but the date of actual availability for the full imprint has gone unrecorded.

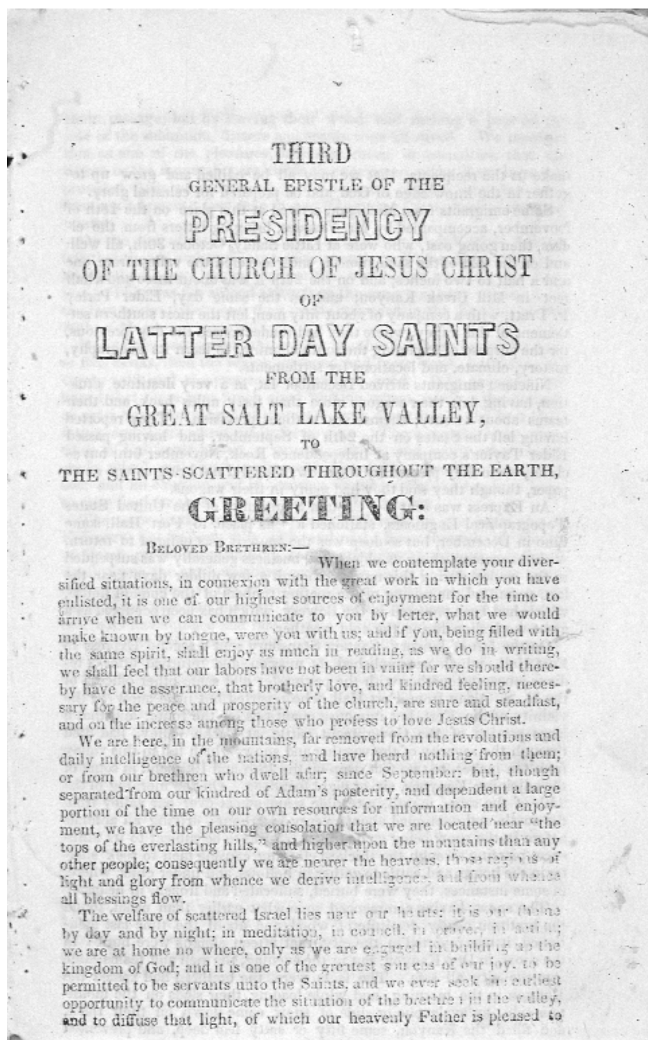
How many copies could have been printed is a matter for conjecture. At least one copy made its way to Washington, D.C., where it naturally wound up in the Library of Congress. The Kanesville impression probably met the need for distribution for the statehood petition and general distribution to members of Congress. If this reasoning is correct, it is conceivable that the Salt Lake impression was intended primarily for the private use of the Council of Fifty members who sat in the state legislature. That would suggest a pressrun of fifty or fewer copies. Given the amount of paper available to the pressman in the city, a lower total rather than a higher one is more reasonable.[133]

DLC-L ICN MH-L NjP-SC(W)[imp.] ULA UPB USlC

[133] *Journal History,* 22 Jan. 1850; Whitney, "Account Book," 3 Apr. 1850; relative to actions of this session see Morgan, *State of Deseret,* 44–50.

CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS.
FIRST PRESIDENCY.

15. THIRD | GENERAL EPISTLE OF THE | PRESIDENCY | OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST | OF | LATTER DAY SAINTS | FROM THE | GREAT SALT LAKE VALLEY, | TO | THE SAINTS SCATTERED THROUGH THE EARTH, | **GREETING:** | Beloved Brethren:— | . . .



THIRD
GENERAL EPISTLE OF THE
PRESIDENCY
OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF
LATTER DAY SAINTS
FROM THE
GREAT SALT LAKE VALLEY,
TO
THE SAINTS SCATTERED THROUGHOUT THE EARTH,
GREETING:

Beloved Brethren:—

When we contemplate your diversified situations, in connexion with the great work in which you have enlisted, it is one of our highest sources of enjoyment for the time to arrive when we can communicate to you by letter, what we would make known by tongue, were you with us; and if you, being filled with the same spirit, shall enjoy as much in reading, as we do in writing, we shall feel that our labors have not been in vain; for we should thereby have the assurance, that brotherly love, and kindred feeling, necessary for the peace and prosperity of the church, are sure and steadfast, and on the increase among those who profess to love Jesus Christ.

We are here, in the mountains, far removed from the revolutions and daily intelligence of the nations, and have heard nothing from them; or from our brethren who dwell afar; since September: but, though separated from our kindred of Adam's posterity, and dependent a large portion of the time on our own resources for information and enjoyment, we have the pleasing consolation that we are located near "the tops of the everlasting hills," and higher upon the mountains than any other people; consequently we are nearer the heavens, those regions of light and glory from whence we derive intelligence, and from whence all blessings flow.

The welfare of scattered Israel lies near our hearts: it is our theme by day and by night; in meditation, in council, in prayer, in action; we are at home no where, only as we are engaged in building up the kingdom of God; and it is one of the greatest sources of our joy, to be permitted to be servants unto the Saints, and we ever seek the earliest opportunity to communicate the situation of the brethren in the valley, and to diffuse that light, of which our heavenly Father is pleased to

Great Salt Lake City, Deseret, | N.A., April 12, 1850. — Caption title; imprint from final leaf.

[1] 2–8 p. (4 leaves) ; 23 × 14.5 cm. — [ ]^4 — Signed in type by Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards. White newsprint.

Contents: The text of the epistle immediately follows the caption title on page [1]: "Beloved Brethren:- When we contemplate your diversified situations" and continues to the foot of page 8, where the printed names of the First Presidency appear.

References: Flake 1679, McMurtrie (Utah) 5

The *Third General Epistle* constitutes the last of the separate printings for the First Presidency's general communications. Absolutely nothing is known of the production of this imprint beyond what may be deduced from the date, which is about the time of the church's annual general conference. Beginning with the fourth epistle, dated exactly one year after this impression of the third, the First Presidency's general epistles began to be circulated only in the pages of the *Deseret News.* Annual messages of this type continued for several years and may be found in the pages of the newspaper.

Richards was the author of this missive, as he had been for the earlier epistles. As usual, the topics ranged broadly and were chosen to update readers with the latest news. The Stansbury expedition (a government exploration of the Great Salt Lake) is discussed, the arrival and departures of the mails and of convert and emigrant companies are given in some detail, and the weather and trail conditions are noted. Church matters are also discussed, including instructions for changes in the British Mission presidency, the activities of Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich in California, and a plug for the Perpetual Emigrating Fund. As with earlier communications, the full text may be found in Clark's compilation of First Presidency communications and in David White's gathering of texts described in Wagner-Camp, and other contemporary sources.[134]

CtY-BR USlC

CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS. GENERAL CONFERENCE (1850 Apr).

16. MINUTES OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE, HELD AT | GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, DESERET, APRIL 6, 1850.

[134] *Frontier Guardian,* 12 June 1850; *Millennial Star* 12 (15 Aug. 1850): 241–46; Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency,* 2:40–49; White, *News of the Plains and the Rockies,* 3:212–20.

MINUTES OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE, HELD AT GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, DESERET, APRIL 6, 1850.

Present of the First Presidency—Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards.

Patriarch—John Smith.

Of the Twelve Apostles—P. P. Pratt, G. A. Smith, E. T. Benson.

Presidency of the Seventies—Levi W. Hancock, Zera Pulsipher, Henry Herriman, A. P. Rockwood.

Presidency of the Stake—Daniel Spencer, David Fullmer, Willard Snow.

High Priests Quorum—John Young, R. Cahoon.

Presiding Bishop—Newel K. Whitney.

THOMAS BULLOCK, CLERK OF CONFERENCE.

The Conference was called to order, by Elder David Fullmer. The choir sung a hymn. Prayer by Elder Fullmer, and singing.

Elder P. P. Pratt then arose to present the business of the day, and without any preliminaries, on motion, President Brigham Young was sustained as the first President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, by unanimous vote, and also Heber C. Kimball, as first, and Willard Richards, as second Co inseller to President Young.

Moved that John Smith be sustained as Patriarch of the whole Church; carried.

Moved that Orson Hyde be the President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles; carried; also P. P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, John Taylor, George A. Smith, Amasa Lyman, E. T. Benson, Charles C. Rich, Lorenzo Snow, Erastus Snow, and Franklin D. Richards, as members of the same; carried.

Moved that Willard Richards, be sustained as Historian, and General Church Recorder; carried.

Moved that John Young, be sustained as the President of the High Priests' Quorum, also Reynolds Cahoon, and George B. Wallace as his Counsellors; carried.

Moved that Joseph Young, be sustained as the first President, Levi W. Hancock second, Henry Herriman third, Zera Pulsipher fourth, A. P. Rockwood fifth, Benjamin L. Clapp sixth, and Jedediah M. Grant seventh, Presidents of all the Quorums of the Seventies; carried.

Moved that Daniel Spencer be sustained as the President of this Stake of Zion, also David Fullmer, and Willard Snow, as his Counsellors; carried.

Moved that Henry G. Sherwood be sustained as President of the High Council, and Eleazer Miller, John Kempton, Heman Hyde, Lewis Abbott, W. W. Major, Levi Jackman, Elisha H. Groves, Ira Eldredge, John Vance, Edwin D. Woolley, and Thomas Grover members of said Council; carried.

Moved that Newel K. Whitney be sustained as the presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; carried.

On motion, John Nebeker was sustained as President of the Elder's Quorum, also James H. Smith and Aaron Sceva his Counsellors.

Salt Lake, Print. — Caption title; imprint from final leaf.

9–20 p. (6 leaves) ; 23.5 × 15 cm. — [1–2]^4 — White newsprint.

Contents: Page 9 begins with the caption title and a report of the afternoon session of April 6, beginning: "Presidents of the First Presidency—Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards." At the foot of page 11 begins the report of a meeting of "all the High Priests and Elders . . . in the Bowery, at five o'clock P.M." The report of the morning session on Sunday, April 7, 1850, begins near the center of page 13; the afternoon session of the same day on page 15; the Monday morning session on page 19 and ending on page 20: "THOMAS BULLOCK, Clerk of Conference." and the imprint.

References: Flake 1404, Streeter 2288

The date for the text of this imprint suggest that its composition and impression occurred during the late spring before production began on the first numbers of *Deseret News.*

Both recorded copies of this conference transcript survive as discrete works, although the pagination indicates that they were probably intended to accompany the eight-page *Third General Epistle.* The holes from stab sewing on neither copy match with marks on any of the surviving epistles. Though one copy of the *Epistle* in private hands has been seen without the *Minutes,* untrimmed and with the original stab sewing intact, unfortunately there is no conclusive evidence, physical or otherwise, that the two imprints were *not* issued together. It is reasonable to conclude, however, that if this *Third General Epistle* was distributed similarly to the *Second,* the *Minutes of the General Conference* accompanied only the copies distributed to missions and regional leadership.

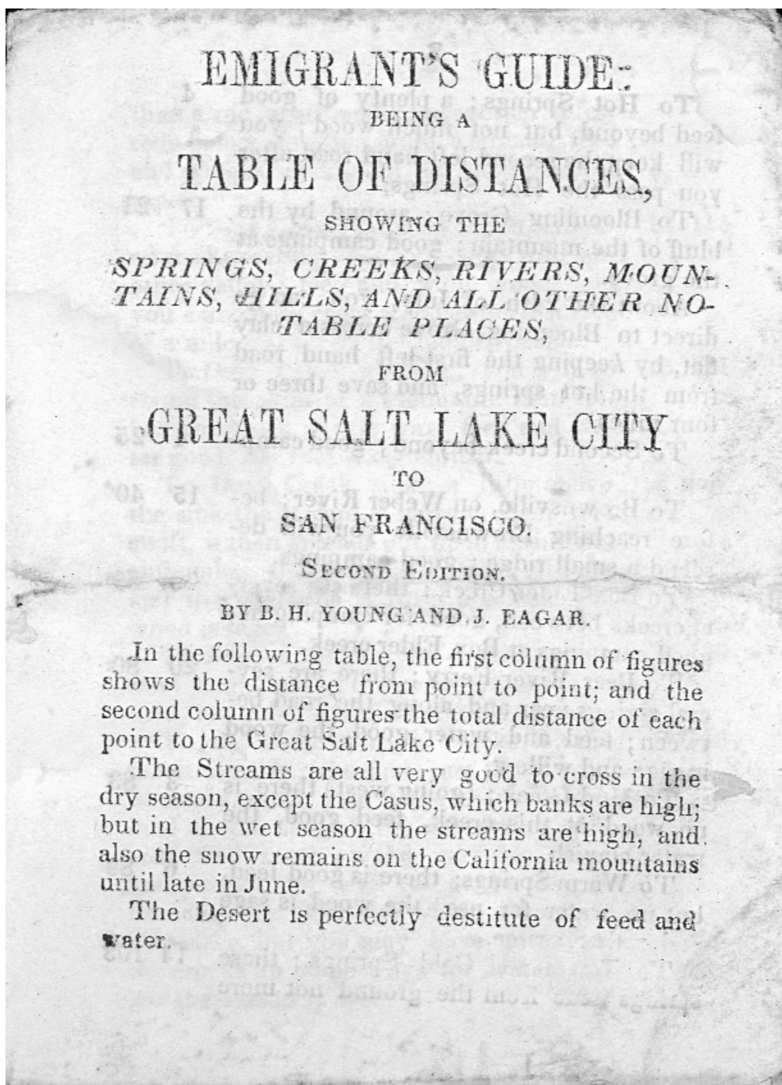
The text of the piece has been reprinted in the *News of the Plains and the Rockies.*[135]

NjP-SC(W) USlC

BRIGHAM H. YOUNG *and* JOHN EAGAR.

17. EMIGRANT'S GUIDE- | BEING A | TABLE OF DISTANCES, | SHOWING THE | *SPRINGS, CREEKS, RIVERS, MOUN- | TAINS, HILLS, AND ALL OTHER NO- | TABLE PLACES,* | FROM | GREAT SALT LAKE CITY | TO | SAN FRANCISCO. | SECOND EDITION. | BY B. H. YOUNG AND J. EAGAR. | . . .

[135] White, *News of the Plains and the Rockies,* 3:220–25.


EMIGRANT'S GUIDE:
BEING A
TABLE OF DISTANCES,
SHOWING THE
SPRINGS, CREEKS, RIVERS, MOUNTAINS, HILLS, AND ALL OTHER NOTABLE PLACES,
FROM
GREAT SALT LAKE CITY
TO
SAN FRANCISCO.
SECOND EDITION.
BY B. H. YOUNG AND J. EAGAR.

In the following table, the first column of figures shows the distance from point to point; and the second column of figures the total distance of each point to the Great Salt Lake City.

The Streams are all very good to cross in the dry season, except the Casus, which banks are high; but in the wet season the streams are high, and also the snow remains on the California mountains until late in June.

The Desert is perfectly destitute of feed and water.

[Great Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young?, 1850] — Caption title.

[1]–8 p. (4 leaves) ; 14.5 × 10.5 cm. — [ ]^4 — Sewn through the fold into a crude binding of thin straw board covered inside with newsprint and outside with blue poster paper, edges not turned in. Newsprint.

Contents: Introductory text is set single-column immediately beneath the titling information in the caption on the first page. Beginning on page 2

the remaining pages are printed in tabular form giving trail information, distances between desirable campsites, and the cumulative distance from Great Salt Lake City.

References: Flake 10077, WCB 193b

The once isolated Mormon settlement began receiving its second installment of gold-driven emigrants in the early summer of 1850, and Great Salt Lake City was well on the road to becoming an important way station on the overland trail. Those who chose the Salt Lake detour at Fort Bridger left the main trail for a trip south and west through the Wasatch Mountains to the city. From Great Salt Lake City they would either turn north on the Salt Lake Road to return to the main route (from Fort Bridger through Idaho to the City of Rocks and along the Humboldt River route to the Sierra) or take the southern route (following the Spanish Trail along the rim of the Great Basin to the Virgin River, across the Nevada and Mojave deserts). With time and resources at stake (lives, too), correct data about trail conditions were crucial. The harrowing account of the Donner-Reed party's fate was news not yet five years old, and that tragedy had happened in a place just beyond the route this guide describes.

Eagar had been a member of the Mormon contingent of New York emigrants who rounded the Horn aboard the *Brooklyn* with Samuel Brannan (and another printing press, incidentally) in 1846. Two years later, just after John Marshall's discovery, Eagar hooked up with members of the discharged Mormon Battalion, including Ira J. Willis, at Sutter's Mill near Sacramento. That summer an impromptu company of forty ex-soldiers and five others (Eagar among them) opted to depart for the Salt Lake valley, blazing a new trail that within a year would become known as the Carson route over the Sierra, one of the most heavily traveled transmontane gateways. The travelers arrived in the fledgling city of the saints bunched into small groups through late September and into early October 1848. From a note in the diary of traveling companion Addison Pratt, Eagar appears to have had practical experience as a printer, though he is not known to have practiced his trade in Utah. This interest and the need to make a living as a new arrival may have led him to the printing office and Brigham H. Young. Unquestionably, Eagar had made Young's acquaintance by 1850, the result of which is this guidebook. In 1849 John Eagar had been called to a proselyting mission in the South Seas (an appointment later rescinded by President Young), and he was enrolled on the 1850 land ownership records in Salt Lake City. By 1853 Eagar had moved his young family to Sanpete County, where he was elected probate judge in 1856. He

is listed in the 1860 census following the occupation of a clerk and died March 3, 1864.[136]

A son of Brigham Young's older brother Phineas, Brigham Hamilton Young had once been kidnapped with his father and held captive by non-Mormons in the random conflicts that preceded the forced evacuation of Nauvoo. The first of his children was born in Illinois, and a second was imminent when the small family arrived in the Salt Lake valley in the fall of 1847, members of the large emigrant company of apostles Pratt and Taylor. As we have seen, Brigham H. Young was appointed to the practical care of the printing equipment by his uncle Brigham and remained in the printing office until being appointed a census taker in early 1851. In August that same year, B. H. began carrying mail on the overland contract but ultimately returned to the city, where he turned to storekeeping for a living before finally settling into the freighting business. In the late 1860s he suffered a tremendous financial setback when a consigned shipment of store goods was hijacked by Indians on the plains. The goods were destroyed, the animals were driven off, and several packers were killed. Though he could not be faulted for the incident, Young voluntarily assumed the enormous liability and worked almost to the end of his life to retire the debt. In his declining years he moved to California, where he died thirty years after Eagar.[137]

The little guidebook itself provided bibliographers with an interesting puzzle. There is no imprint given, and Becker was unable to deduce details of its production sufficiently to identify its source and complete a description for the new edition of *The Plains and the Rockies.* A close examination of physical details (not to mention the route described by the text) points to the conclusion that the book is properly a Deseret imprint. The item shares inconclusive physical similarities with other contemporary imprints in materials and binding style. The best evidence for its being an imprint of the Great Salt Lake City printory is provided by two unique characteristics, the first of which is the typeface. Available type fonts constitute an asset unique to any particular printshop at a given time. The titling in the *Emigrant's Guide* is set from several fonts, each of which is

[136] Green, *Road from El Dorado,* 15; S. George Ellsworth, ed., *The Journals of Addison Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1990), 343; Norma B. Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion: U.S. Army of the West, 1846–1848* (Logan: Utah State Univ. Press, 1996), 207, 222; *Journal History,* 31 Jan. 1846, 28 Sept. 1848, 10 June 1849; Nicholas G. Morgan, comp., *Pioneer Map of Great Salt Lake City* (n.p., n.d.); *Journal History,* 17 July 1853, 13 Jan. 1856; John Eagar family group sheet, LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City.
[137] *Journal History,* 7 June 1898; Willard Richards diary (by Joseph Cain), 1 Aug. 1851, Church Archives.

demonstrably used by Great Salt Lake City's first printers, and it uses none else. Second—and the conclusive characteristic identifying this as a Utah imprint—is a coincidental shortfall in body type reflected in this imprint, a factor that was unique to one specific *Deseret News* font. The long primer (ten-point) text font used in Salt Lake City was short of roman lowercase k's. Until new fonts arrived in October 1851, Young, Horace Whitney, and other typesetters were forced to regularly substitute italic *k*'s in straight matter as needed when out of roman characters. This compensation is particularly noticeable in other contemporary Salt Lake City imprints: isolated issues of the newspaper and specifically the *Mormon Way Bill* (no. 32). Unsurprisingly, the pages of Eagar and Young's guidebook also rely on italic *k*'s. These two details positively identify Young and Eagar's *Emigrant's Guide* as a Great Salt Lake City imprint from 1850.

Perhaps as many as ten thousand overland adventurers passed through Great Salt Lake City in 1849, beginning as early as June. Some had relied on William Clayton's incomparable *Latter Day Saints Emigrants' Guide* (St. Louis: Missouri Republican, 1848) to come thus far, and they were hungry for accurate trail news past that point. Based on his experience coming to the Salt Lake valley from California the year before, Ira Willis compiled and distributed an eight-page manuscript guide to eager buyers in the summer of 1849 titled "Best Guide to the Gold Mines." Distribution was handicapped by the effort needed to copy out each version longhand. The availability of a printing press in the city the following year made distributing trail data more efficient.[138]

What Brigham H. Young contributed to merit precedence in the credits for the *Emigrant's Guide* is unclear. Undoubtedly, Eagar approached Young with the idea of producing a trail guide, since at this date the latter was not known to have been west of Tooele Valley, let alone California. The undertaking was perhaps spurred by popular interest travelers had demonstrated in Willis's manuscript guide the previous year. Charges for typesetting do not appear in Whitney's accounts, nor is the book mentioned in the pages of the *Deseret News,* suggesting that the book was done both before Whitney was heavily involved with the office and likely before the newspaper was available to advertise it. As pressman for the printing office, Young almost certainly produced the book, and it is reasonable to assume that he edited Eagar's now-lost trail notes or other manuscript while typesetting. It is unlikely that many copies could have been printed. Though this impression claims to be a "second edition," no clear citations

[138] Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners,* 33; Unruh, *Plains Across,* 317.

to or copies of an earlier edition have been located to date. If the edition statement on this imprint was not merely a marketing ploy, the first version of the route guide might have existed as Willis's did, only in manuscript. Tangential evidence for this point is Becker's note that "excerpts [of the guide] have been found copied into manuscript diaries of 1850" (WCB 193b). Just in whose diaries it is mentioned or when they were in Salt Lake City Becker does not say, but it is unlikely that hasty emigrants would have bothered to copy out longhand something otherwise available on the market. That raises an interesting possibility, however. Because Willis and Eagar traveled the same route in the same group (the Ephraim Green company), it is possible that Becker mistakes references to the Willis manuscript guidebook as coming from the Eagar guide. It is therefore also conceivable that the Willis guide *is* the "first edition" implied by Young and Eagar, in which case we could wonder how Eagar rather than Young became involved.

It was perhaps an oversight that the authors neglected to advertise their guide in the newspaper (particularly since one of them was typesetting and printing it weekly by June). The venue was clearly exploited by Joseph Cain and Arieh Brower a year later (see no. 32). The first overland company of 1850 to pass through the city dashed across the prairies to arrive on May 16, fully a month before expected. The earliest contemporary record of the *Guide* is found precisely two months later in the diary of emigrant Silas Newcomb, who bought a copy in the city on July 17 on the strength of Clayton's *Emigrant's Guide,* which his company had been using. Two weeks later he had concluded that Young and Eagar's offering was "a poor thing and cannot be depended upon" but does not state why.[139] Newcomb's record of purchase fixes firmly a latest possible date for its issuance, but based on what else was going on in the printing office, a better estimate for the guide's publication is between late April and mid-June 1850. This would place production immediately before the second annual wave of immigrants was expected to flood into the city, indeterminately within the down time Young experienced between completion of the University of Deseret printing and commencement of the weekly production of the *Deseret News.* Consequently, it may be stated with certainty that Young and Eagar's *Emigrant's Guide* supplants the place of the *Mormon Way Bill* (no. 32) in Wright Howes's attribution of the first overland route guide actually printed in the West.

[139] Silas Newcomb, "Journal [of a trip from Darien, Wis., to] California [by way of] St. Joseph, Mo., and Salt Lake City," photostat, 123, 137, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.

The provenance for the single recorded copy is uncertain; it was acquired from an unknown source sometime during the 1950s by collectors Frederick W. and Carrie Beinecke. It went with their book collection to Yale, where the imprint was first described in the 1990 edition of *The Plains and the Rockies.*

CtY-BR

DESERET NEWS.

18. Deseret News. Vol. 1.

1 vol. (39 n. in 312 pages; 156 leaves) ; 29 × 21.5 cm. — First page of each issue omits pagination. Printed quarto on newsprint half-sheets.

Contents: In complete volumes collated and finished at the *News*'s bindery, page [i] is a volume title page not issued as part of or numbered into the series; [ii–iv] are blank; masthead of the first issue, dated June 15, 1850, begins on page [1]; the issue for August 19, 1851, the final one of this volume, concludes on page 312; page [313] is another separate imprint with a caption title: "INDEX | TO THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE | DESERET NEWS, 1850–51."

References: Alter pp. 280ff, Auerbach 1:314, Flake 2822

"Considering with respect to the conditions under which it was created," wrote historian Seymour Dunbar, "the apparently insuperable difficulties encountered and surmounted in its publication; the spirit which guided and characterized it; and the decisive power it wielded, the *Deseret News* may well be described as perhaps the most remarkable and historically interesting newspaper that ever existed."[140] The paper's production history is certainly colorful enough.

After circulating a manuscript prospectus about the city near the first of June, editor Willard Richards compiled the first issue of the paper, B. H. Young got the type set, Thomas Bullock proofed the galleys, and the pages were made up. The inaugural number was printed June 15, 1850, and made available to the small handful of local subscribers—no more than three hundred fifty, most of whom had probably subscribed on promises—two days later. Thereafter, for a year and two months, the editor, proofreader, and pressmen continued to crank out the quarto issues through the thirty-nine numbers of the paper that constitute the first volume. The newspaper

[140] Cited in Edward Eberstadt, "The William Robertson Coe Collection of Western Americana," *Yale University Library Gazette* 23 (Oct. 1948): 109.

DESERET NEWS.

BY W. RICHARDS. G. S. L. CITY, DESERET, JUNE 15, 1850. VOL. I.--NO. I.

LAT. 40° 45' 44" LON. 111° 26' 34"

PROSPECTUS.

DESERET NEWS.

MOTTO—"TRUTH AND LIBERTY."

We propose to publish a small weekly sheet, as large as our local circumstances will permit, to be called "*Deseret News*," designed originally to record the passing events of our State, and in connexion, refer to the arts and sciences, embracing general education, medicine, law, divinity, domestic and political economy, and every thing that may fall under our observation, which may tend to promote the best interest, welfare, pleasure and amusement of our fellow citizens.

We hold ourselves responsible to the highest Court of truth for our intentions, and the highest Court of equity for our execution. When we speak, we shall speak freely, without regard to men or party, and when, like other men, we err, let him who has his eyes open, correct us in meekness, and he shall receive a disciple's reward.

We shall ever take pleasure in communicating foreign news as we have opportunity; in receiving communications from our friends, at home and abroad; and solicit ornaments for the "*News*" from our poets and poetesses.

The first number may be expected as early in June as subscriptions will warrant—waiting the action of 300 subscribers.

Terms, 6 months, $2,50; *invariably in advance.*

Single copy, 15 cents.

Advertising, $1,50 per square lines, and 50 each succeeding insertion. $1 for half square, or 8 lines.

TRAVELLERS AND EMIGRANTS, 25 cents per copy, with the insertion of their names, place of residence, time of arrival and leaving. Companies of 20, and upwards, entered at once, 20 cents each.

A paper that is worth printing, is worth preserving; if worth preserving, it is worth binding; for this purpose we issue in pamphlet form; and if every subscriber shall preserve each copy of the "News," and bind it at the close of the volume, their children's children may read the doings of their fathers, which otherwise might have been forgotten; ages to come.

U. S. SENATE.

"Sketch of debate," in the Senate, for Feb. 6, 8, 12, inclusive, 1850, on the Right of Petition; represent Messrs. Seward, Hale & Chase as chief speakers. Mr. Mangum presented the proceedings of a meeting at Wilmington, N. C., denouncing the fanaticism of the North, threatening a dissolution of the Union, in a certain contingency, &c.—Laid on the table.—Several petitions were presented by Mr. Hale, from various sections, "for promotion of the abolition of slavery; improving the condition of the free people of color; to prevent the increase of slavery by the non-admission of new States into the Union; for abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia; to prevent the introduction of slavery in the Territories; to prevent internal slave trade between the States; and respectfully ask Congress to propose, without delay, some plan for the immediate and peaceful dissolution of the American Union."

The Germantown ladies address Congress, as "Dear Friends," and after an appropriate prayer, "we bid you an affectionate farewell." Many joined the above gentlemen in debate, which was generally warm, criminative and recriminative; somewhat dramatic, with some symptoms of the tragic.

Query; If the people, the whole people, want the Union peacefully dissolved, why not dissolve it? Why ask Congress to do a thing they have no power to do? Congress did not make the Union; the Union made Congress, and the people made the Union; consequently, on the principles of federal republicanism, the same power that makes must unmake, if unmade at all; and if the Union is ever peacefully dissolved, it will be by the sovereign people who made it; for they alone possess the rightful power of dissolution within themselves, and not in their Senators or Representatives; and we hope we shall never again hear of any portion of the American people petitioning Congress to do what it has no power to do, even if it had the disposition. Let our Union remain forever, peacefully!

TERRIBLE FIRE IN SAN FRANCISCO.

An appalling and destructive fire occurred on the 24th of December, which threatened for a time to reduce the famous city of San Francisco to a heap of smoking ruins. The fire broke out in Dennison's Exchange, and in two hours, nearly a million of dollars worth of property was destroyed. The Parker House was among the buildings burned. All the buildings, except the Delmonico Hotel, on Portsmouth square, and all on Washington street, commencing at the "Eldorado," and running to Montgomery street, were burned.

The Parker House, U. S. Restaurat, Exchange, Eldorado, Merchant's Exchange, Our House, Central House, Washington Arcade, Pollard & Co's. Auction Room, Guerschard & Van Buren's Establishment, and many more valuable buildings were burned, or blown up, to stop the progress of the fire.

was not delivered in the modern sense. Subscribers in the city itself retrieved their copies from the post office. Home delivery was available at a surcharge of fifty cents. For the first few issues, no provisions at all were

made to get papers to subscribers living beyond the city. Beginning with issue number 5, the editor proposed to make up into packages all the newspapers from a given area (e.g., Utah Valley) and forward them collectively to agents for distribution.

The *Deseret News* began as a weekly organ (printed on Saturdays, available the following Monday) and lasted in that fashion for seventeen numbers between June 15 and October 5, 1850. Without warning, beginning with number 18 (October 19, 1850), the paper began issuing numbers to its subscribers semiweekly because of "a lack of paper." This measure of economy may have been occasioned by the arrival of Wilford Woodruff and a new supply of printing paper five days earlier. Someone in the printory must have calculated the number of issues that could have been printed on the available paper stock: a full year's issues, even with no increase in subscribers, would have exceeded twice the original amount of paper available and left nothing for job printing or public printing, or for the proofing needed for all three. Issuing numbers semimonthly was a necessary arrangement that lasted until the close of the first volume eleven months later. Even with this resource-conservation measure, publication was still occasionally held up by other circumstances. Issue number 30 (April 8, 1851) was held over from Saturday to Tuesday to accommodate a report of the church's spring session of its general conference. By mid-July of 1850 it was evident that even biweekly issues could not be guaranteed. Production of the final number of the first volume (no. 39, August 19, 1851) was held in abeyance an extra week, probably in hopes that someone would arrive carrying paper and there need be no interruption between numbers of the first and second volume. When it was finally decided to close out the volume and the last number was distributed, the small supply of newsprint that remained in the city was effectively exhausted. The newspaper was forced to suspend publication entirely. The wait was longer than anyone had planned on—from mid-August until mid-November 1851. Volume 2 (see no. 48) began on the new printing press and a fresh stock of paper.

The last number of the paper's first volume included in its columns a succinct index, less than a full column. Sometime after the second printing press and type arrived, volume 1 was reindexed. The new index and a separate title page were printed for binding, a practice that continued through several volumes. From the availability of the extant copies, it seems these separate indices were distributed only through the printing office's affiliated bindery, and then only when newspaper volumes came in for binding.

This would have been somewhere near the end of the second volume in 1853, as bookbinder John B. Kelly began work as the binder at about this time.[141] Neither the volume title page nor the separate index may be considered part of the original impression.

As a newspaper, the *Deseret News* was conceived to meet two goals: to provide a voice representing the church beyond the valley and to distribute information about events in the outside world to the local populace. The paper's role as a community information source was filled mostly by advertisements and occasional announcements. Local affairs were almost entirely ignored to make room for items of value beyond the valley itself—sermons, speeches, and periodic reprints of public laws. Nonetheless, it is a vital historical resource.[142]

CSmH CtY-BR *DLC* ICN MH MiU-C UPB USlC UU

[C. P. T.]

19. [Concert bill. June 28, 1850?].

[Great Salt Lake City: Deseret News office, 1850].

broadside?

"We purpose giving another Concert in the Bowery on on [*sic*] the evening of thursday the 4th, July," reads an announcement in the *Deseret News* of June 29. Interested concertgoers were enjoined in the advertisement, "For further particulars see Bills." Unfortunately, we can't, but contemporaries did. The evening concert was widely attended, and Hosea Stout recorded laconically in his diary that the house was crowded.[143]

No copy located

HOLLIDAY & WARNER (*Firm*).

20. [Handbill].

[Salt Lake City: Deseret News office, 1850].

broadside?

The *Deseret News* of July 6, 1850, carried an announcement that

[141] Kelly's mislabeled account book is in the collections of the Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

[142] Holdings for CaBVaU, CSt, CU-B, ICRL, WHi recorded in the National Union Catalogue have been confirmed as microfilm only. NBuG is an incorrect listing.

[143] Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:372.

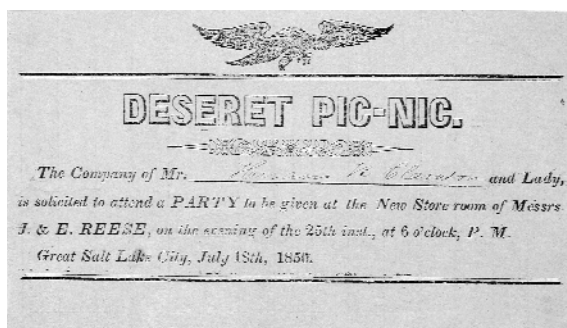
"Messrs. Holladay [*sic*] & Warner's goods, by the mule train, arrived early this week, all safe. A great share are sold, the remainder for sale. (See advertisement and handbills.)" The advertisement was printed in another column of the same issue of the *News,* and the handbills were obviously a separate imprint produced to be distributed on the streets among emigrants and the city's residents.

This firm was reportedly the second merchandising venture to arrive in the city, behind Livingston & Kinkead (who came in 1849), and was one of several that opened in Salt Lake City intending to capitalize on the rush to the California goldfields. Freighting goods halfway across the continent was an expensive and risky proposition that drove up prices for goods to levels that residents and emigrants alike regarded as unfair but that nearly everyone was willing to pay.[144]

No copy located

J. & E. REESE (*Firm*).

21a. [*eagle ornament*] | [*full beveled thick-thin rule*] | DESERET PIC-NIC. | [*type ornaments*] | *The Company of Mr.* [*rule*] *and Lady,* | *is solicited to attend a PARTY to be given at the New Store room of Messrs.* | *J. & E. REESE, on the evening of the 25th inst., at 6 o'clock, P. M.* | . . .



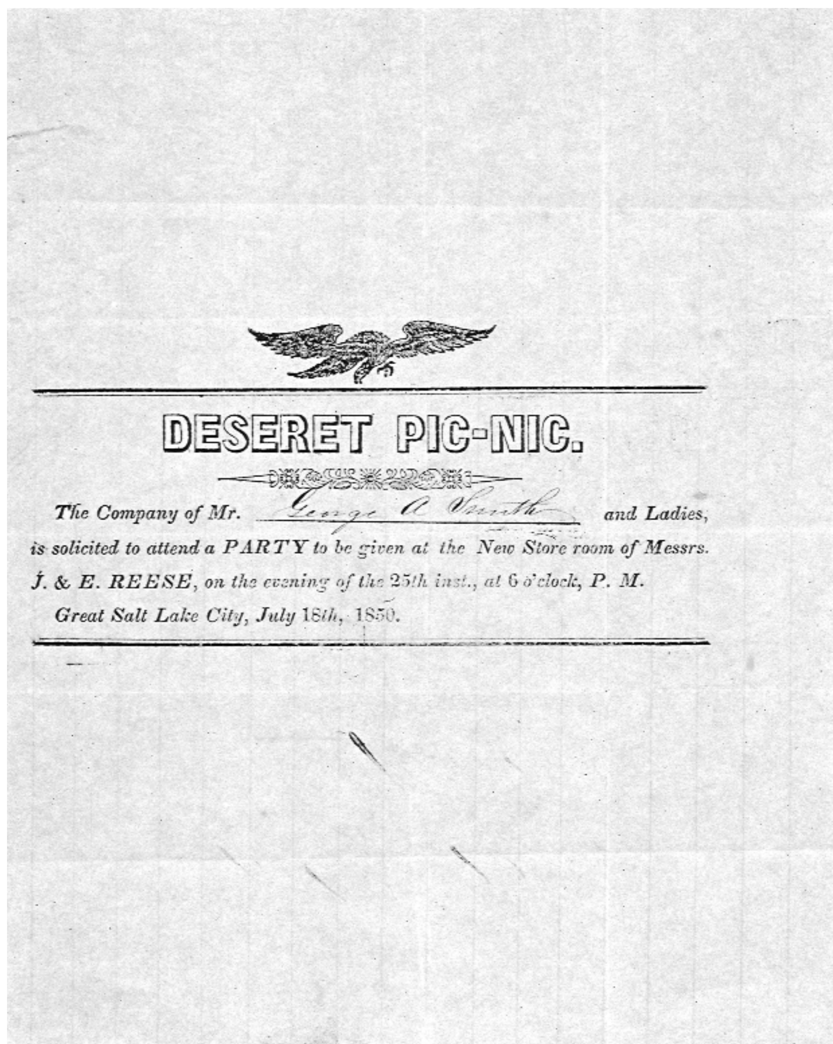
DESERET PIC-NIC.

The Company of Mr. ______ *and Lady, is solicited to attend a PARTY to be given at the New Store room of Messrs J. & E. REESE, on the evening of the 25th inst., at 6 o'clock, P. M.*

Great Salt Lake City, July 18th, 1850.

21b. [*eagle ornament*] | [*full beveled thick-thin rule*] | DESERET PIC-NIC. | [*type ornaments*] | *The Company of Mr.* [*rule*] *and Ladies,* | *is solicited to attend* . . .

[144] The history of the city's earliest merchants is covered briefly in Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders* (Salt Lake City: E. W. Tullidge, 1886), 379.


DESERET PIC-NIC.

The Company of Mr. George A Smith *and Ladies, is solicited to attend a* PARTY *to be given at the New Store room of Messrs.* J. & E. REESE, *on the evening of the 25th inst., at 6 o'clock, P. M.*

Great Salt Lake City, July 18th, 1850.

Great Salt Lake City, July 18th, 1850. — Imprint from last line.

broadside ; 19.6 × 16 cm. — Printed in the center of a quarter-sheet of common ruled blue stationery, which was trifolded and addressed to form the invitation.

The curious variant impressions of this invitation perhaps constitute the first acknowledgment of the Mormon practice of polygamy to appear in printed form, predating the official public avowal of the practice by

better than two years. That it exists in a format as informal as an invitation says volumes about Mormonism's open secret.

The invitation was for the opening of the Reese brothers' first location. Theirs was the city's third such concern. In September the pair opened a mercantile establishment in a new Main Street location "fifty rods south of the State House." At the end of 1851 John and Enoch Reese sold their remaining stock to Heber C. Kimball and closed up their retail business in the city. Enoch Reese stayed in town to serve as a member of the first Great Salt Lake City city council and was later a member of the territorial legislature. John went to California in 1853 and made enough in the venture to return to the city and establish a second business partnership with Utah's future congressional delegate, William H. Hooper.[145]

variant A: UU-Ms
variant B: USlC-A

C.P.T.

22. [Handbill].

broadside?

In an advertisement dated July 10 William Clayton advertised a "Grand Concert" for the following Wednesday, for the entertainment of residents and visitors in celebration of the city's second annual Pioneer Day. It was an informal affair designed to amuse rather than impress. "As the people love amusement, we design to gratify them, with a series of Comic pieces and songs, most of which will be entirely new in this Valley, and some original, got up *ex*pressly for the occasion. For particulars see hand bills." Because the advertisement was dated so long before it actually appeared in the paper, it may have been that the handbills served as the initial method of advertising.[146] But although the advertisement survives, the handbills evidently did not.

No copy located

PERPETUAL EMIGRATING FUND.

23. **These letters truly certify to all men, that we** | [blank] as

[145] *Deseret News,* 28 Sept. 1850; index entries for John and Enoch Reese in Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier.*
[146] *Deseret News,* 20 July 1850.

PRINCIPLE, and | [*several blank lines*] | as SURETIES | are hereby held and firmly bound unto the Agent of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day | Saints, in the penal sum of [*blank*] Thousand Dollars, *on the following Conditions,* | [*3 lines*] | *Payment* of which, well and truly to be made. *We* hereunto set our hands and seals, at Great Salt | Lake City, State of Deseret, *This* [*blank*] *day of* [*blank*] 185[*blank*] | *In presence of* [*blank*]

[Salt Lake City: Brigham H. Young, 1850?]

broadside ; 15 × 19.5 cm. — White newsprint.

The Perpetual Emigrating Fund (or PEF) had a rough beginning as a legitimate replacement for a joint stock company—a scam, really—run in England by three well-placed but unscrupulous church members. It was cleaned up and redesigned to underwrite the up-front cost of emigration for poor converts, who were expected to repay the loans after getting on their feet in the new Mormon heartland. Though it had functioned as a viable entity since the fall of 1849, the PEF was formally chartered by Deseret's legislature a year later, on September 14, 1850, an act that was printed in the columns of the *Deseret News* a week later. As could be expected of the hand-and-glove relationship between church and state in Deseret, the terms of the charter and its powers were exceedingly generous.[147]

Sections 7 and 8 of the chartering ordinance provided that the president and each of twelve assistants should give bond. This partially printed form was the result and could be used either as security for a trusteeship or (more commonly) as a due bill for assistance rendered by the fund. The earliest date for such a bond, given in manuscript on a bill for Isaac Chase, is September 25, 1850. The early date suggests that it was printed shortly after incorporation. This imprint is described from a photocopy; the precise whereabouts of the original are unknown.

No copy located

J. & E. REESE (*Firm*).

24. [Handbill].

[Salt Lake City: Deseret News office, 1850].

broadside?

The success of a merchant's business in early Great Salt Lake City was determined almost solely by how regularly the establishment could obtain

[147] "An Ordinance Incorporating the Perpetual Emigrating Company"; Morgan, *State of Deseret,* 150–52; *Deseret News,* 21 Sept. 1850.

a stock of goods. The columns of the *Deseret News* are replete with announcements trumpeting the various arrivals of someone's "new train of goods." The handbill noted in this specific advertisement undoubtedly heralded the Reeses' resupply, which arrived September 25, the first since their establishment opened in midsummer (see no. 21). Unfortunately, whatever details the handbill might have given about merchandising in the city are now absent.[148]

No copy located

CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS. SEVENTIES QUORUM.

25. [Seventies' Intelligence Hall share certificates].

[Salt Lake City: Deseret News office, 1850].

broadside?

The odd name for a lecture hall is derived from the number of men in a Quorum of Seventy Elders (or Seventies). In a meeting of the city's priesthood holders on October 26, 1850, "tickets, representing shares of five dollars each," to support construction of the hall were presented before the attendees. Owing to the number of subscribers anticipated (most men in the city belonged to one of the several quorums), production of a printed form for the "tickets," probably gang printed on stationery and then cut, was more efficient than writing out manuscript ones. At the meeting Brigham Young suggested that the name of the hall be changed to the "Seventies Hall of Science" and that the subscription be raised to twenty-five dollars, both of which proposals passed the assembly. Since the subscription price was thus changed, it is doubtful that these earlier forms were ever used. A photostat of the printed five-dollar share certificate is said to have existed in the collections of the Utah State Historical Society but is not now to be found.

No copy located

CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS. SEVENTIES QUORUM.

26. $25 [*space*] ONE SHARE [*space*] NO. [*blank*] | This certifies that

[148] *Deseret News,* 28 Sept. 1850; *Journal History,* 25 Sept. 1850.

[*blank*] has paid TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS | To the Trustee of the Quorum of Seventies, for the building of the SEVENTIES HALL OF | SCIENCE, in Great Salt Lake City—and the bearer is hereby entitled to one share in said | Hall. Transferable by endorsement.

Great Salt Lake City, [*blank*] 185 . [*space*] Trustee. — Imprint from last line.

broadside ; 7.6 × 20 cm. — Printed within a decorative border on blue stationery, probably gang printed.

References: Rust fig. 81

This printed certificate was issued sometime after a meeting on October 26, 1850, that proposed the idea of building a lecture hall. Construction on the hall was begun in early 1851, and the foundation was completed by mid-May. Work on the building thereafter progressed sporadically. The share certificates were issued to subscribers as late as 1853, when in May of that year Brigham Young announced that owing to the huge number of English emigrants arriving in 1852, money collected and pledged to the Hall of Science was to be used to build needed houses and barns and that the shareholders would be credited for the amount donated. Consequently, the Hall of Science was never completed.[149]

Pvt.

PITT'S BAND.

27. **Grand Concert.** | [*beveled thick-thin rule*] | A Grand Concert will be held in the Bowery, | on Saturday evening, the 9th inst., | when a variety of new and | amusing pieces will | be performed, which are as follows: | **PROGRAMME.** | . . .

November 5th, 1850. — Caption title; imprint date from closing line.

broadside ; 45 × 21 cm. — Newsprint.

Contents: The program is listed under "Part First," consisting of ten offerings, and "Part Second," consisting of another twelve. The last of these is followed by this notice: "Doors opened at 5 1–2, and performance at 6 1–2 o'clock precisely. Tickets, 25 cents—can be had at the Tithing Office, and of the members of the Band." (See no. 55).

Even after the infusion of capital and resources from the second season of gold rush travel, the Salt Lake economy still hovered at the subsistence level. In a season when no substantial farming could be done, concerts

[149] *Deseret News,* 17 May 1851; *Journal History,* 28 May 1853.

served both as a community diversion and as a source of income for the musicians. No report of the concert has been discovered, but the text of the poster suggests that it was another of the variety shows so popular in the city.

USlC

CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS. FIRST PRESIDENCY.

28. FESTIVAL. | [*type ornament*] | *Mr.* [*rule*] | **The honor of your company is respectful- | ly solicited at a SUPPER PARTY, at the | Bath House, near the Warm Spring, on | Wednesday, the 27th inst., at 2 O-clock, |** . . .

G.S.L. City, Nov.22, 1850. — Imprint from last line.

broadside ; 16.5 × 19.5 cm. folded to 16.5 × 9.75 cm. — Signed in type by Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards. Printed on white unlined stationery.

One of the Salt Lake valley's natural features that most impressed the Mormons was a line of warm and hot springs rising at the foot of the hills a mile and a half north and west of the city (near the present location of the Utah Children's Museum, which was formerly Wasatch Springs, a municipal swimming facility). In an era when hot water was a luxury and indoor plumbing was essentially unknown, such features invited exploitation. Within two years Deseret's legislature had made construction of a bathhouse one of the first public works projects of the fledgling community. James and Drusilla Hendricks operated the establishment under the name of the Deseret Bathing House.

This party was a private affair that predated the official opening the next week. The invitations, printed by Willard Richards's mechanical charge, would not have been distributed much more widely than the Twelve Apostles and a few selected friends. Leonora Taylor (to whom the USlC copy was sent) was wife to apostle John Taylor and was invited since at the time the party was given her husband had been absent for a year on a proselyting mission to France.

USlC-A

DESERET (STATE : 1849–1850). GOVERNOR.
29. GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE; | DESERET, DECEMBER 2, 1850. | [*short rule*] | TO THE SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF | THE STATE OF DESERET.

[Salt Lake City: Deseret News office, 1850?] — Caption title.

[1] 2–3 [4] p. (2 leaves) ; 23 × 15.5 cm. (untrimmed) — [ ]^2 — Newsprint.

Contents: The text of the message begins in double columns on page [1] immediately following the caption title—"Gentlemen:–Again have our duties brought us together in the capacity of a legislature, for the purpose of establishing a government"—and ends near the center of page 3, "Your co-laborer, | BRIGHAM YOUNG." The remainder of the page and page [4] are blank.

References: Flake 2791, McMurtrie (Utah) 6

Brigham Young's election as governor of Deseret, in what Dale L. Morgan wryly termed the "extraordinary informalities" of the state's official establishment during July 1849, was no surprise. Since a printing press was unavailable until after the first session of the legislative assembly had concluded, it was the second year of Deseret's existence that saw the publication of its earliest imprints. In this speech, Young's second such address to the body, the governor produces a fairly standard "state of the union" address, but one that contains some important data. He reports word of the congressional act establishing the territory of Utah (news had been received only two weeks before) but optimistically noted that "as yet, no official announcements have been made; consequently the government of Deseret will continue." He was obviously holding out hope that statehood was still a live issue. Young was quite willing the next February to take the oath of office as governor of Utah Territory on the strength of newspaper reports of his appointment. Most of the document consists of positive reports of public improvements made at minuscule costs to the state government, political jabs at "our golden browed neighbor," California, which had just been granted U.S. statehood without a territorial apprenticeship as part of the Compromise of 1850.

This separate printing was undoubtedly produced for the use of the legislature's members. With the newspaper itself surviving on half-rations, the *Message* was certainly struck in fewer than one hundred copies, perhaps fewer than sixty. The text of the governor's message was reprinted for the state's population and the world at large in the pages of the *Deseret News* early the next year.[150]

CtY-BR UPB USlC

[150] *Deseret News,* 11 Jan. 1851.

GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE;

DESERET, DECEMBER 2, 1850.

TO THE SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF DESERET.

GENTLEMEN:—Again have our duties brought us together in the capacity of a legislature, for the purpose of establishing government, and prescribing laws and regulations, which shall prove adequate to the wants and necessities of the people.

It is usual upon occasions like this, to lay before the law-making department, a full and concise report of the situation of affairs pertaining to the government; as well as to make such suggestions and recommend such measures as in the opinion of the executive will prove the most advantageous to the body politic. I purpose so to do, so far as I shall have the ability and the means within my reach, reserving unto myself the privilege of completing any report, as circumstances shall dictate or require.

It is probably known to you that Congress has passed an Act to establish the Territory of Utah, and provided for taking the census of Deseret; but as yet, no official announcements have been made; consequently the government of Deseret will continue in all its departments, until such time as it shall be superceded by an organization contemplated under the act of congress. Whatever may be effected under the new organization, we have the proud satisfaction, of having sustained a quiet, yet energetic government, under all the vicissitudes incident to new and untried localities; and when the general government shall have assumed to pay the expenditures consequent upon the Indian expeditions;—of being comparatively free from debt.

Unlike the golden browed neighbors of our sister state; no agent of ours is hawking about our state bonds, to obtain the necessary means to defray the sixteen dollars per diem allowance of the members of the legislature. In this state, no expense has been incurred, by any of the departments of government for services rendered.

The auditor's report will show, the amounts paid out, being almost exclusively for public improvements, or articles purchased for public use. And here permit me to remark, that in order to make the settlement of the pecuniary matters of the state more direct and feasible, I wish to direct your attention to the suggestions contained in that report, and recommend their adoption:—in defining the duties of all officers in any wise handling the public funds. In all time to come, it is to be hoped that that enlightened and wise policy will pervade our legislatures, which not requiring laws to restrain, will yet keep their appropriations and allowances within proper limits. The success of all governments depends upon their having power and ability to perform their various functions, and there is no surer way of crippling their energies and binding their exertions, than plunging them heedlessly and hopelessly into debt; it is far better to assess a tax at once, adequate to all the necessary expenditures of government, than permit an accumulation of indebtedness to harrass every department, and the consequent necessity of forced and temporary loans.

Under the fostering care of the government, the subject of education is fast assuming an importance that will reflect great credit upon our exertions. The board of chancellor and regents of the University have already established schools in various parts of the state, mostly however, without incurring any expense to the institution. The enlightened course pursued by that board, will unquestionably redound to the benefit of the institution, as well as to a general system of education, throughout the state; and must certainly meet with your cordial approval, and warmest encouragement. The situation selected for educational purposes upon the eastern side of the city, will probably be enclosed the ensuing winter; and suitable buildings erected as soon as the necessary funds can be obtained for that purpose.

In extending, and making new settlements, one uniform course has been recommended; that of building and settling in forts in the first instance, and farming in one enclosure.

DESERET (STATE : 1849–1850). GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

30. RULES AND REGULATIONS | FOR THE GOVERNING OF BOTH | HOUSES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY | OF THE | STATE OF DESERET, | WHEN IN JOINT SESSION; AND FOR EACH | RESPECTIVE HOUSE, WHEN IN SEPARATE SESSION. | [*short rule*] | ADOPTED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, | DECEMBER 2, 1850. | [*short rule*]

[Salt Lake City: Deseret News office, 1850?] — Caption title.

[1] 2–3 [4] p. (2 leaves) ; 24 × 15.5 cm. (untrimmed) — [ ]^2 — Newsprint.

Contents: "Rule 1" through "Rule 14," which extend to the middle of page 2, are followed by lists of "Standing Committees," which end one-quarter down page 3. The remainder of that page and [4] are blank.

References: Centennial 219

All legislatures are addicted to order, and the title of this imprint therefore speaks for itself. Though news of the establishment of Utah Territory had been received October 15 and an official copy of the document arrived November 9, governance under the rubric of Deseret continued as its legislature retained hope for recognition of the state and its constitution. The legislature opened its second annual session on December 2 and proceeded through its organization. As noted in the title, these rules relating to self-regulation were passed that first day. Deseret's legislative session continued intermittently until March 28 the next year. On this day legislators voted to meet again and dissolve the state government on April 5, 1851.

The committee assignments listed on pages 2 and 3 of the imprint include the names of Wilford Woodruff and Charles C. Rich. Both men were appointed to the representative body by Brigham Young on December 5, filling the vacancies created by the September deaths of Newell K. Whitney and Cornelius Lott. This imprint therefore would have been produced after those appointments were made, which would place its printing sometime during the session in mid-December.

All thirty-nine members from both houses would have been given a copy, as well as clerks and the executive. Therefore, perhaps fifty copies (or a few more) were printed.[151] It was reprinted as an Appendix to Morgan's *State of Deseret.*

DLC-L USlC

[151] *Journal History,* 15 Oct., 9 Nov., 2 Dec. 1850; *Woodruff's Journal,* 3:582 (2–5 Dec. 1850); Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:384; Morgan, *State of Deseret,* 194–95.

W. Woodruff

RULES AND REGULATIONS

FOR THE GOVERNING OF BOTH

HOUSES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OF THE

STATE OF DESERET,

WHEN IN JOINT SESSION; AND FOR EACH RESPECTIVE HOUSE, WHEN IN SEPARATE SESSION.

ADOPTED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DECEMBER 2, 1850.

Rule 1. The house shall meet at the time specified, at all previous adjournments.

Rule 2. The clerk shall call the roll within fifteen minutes after the time specified for meeting.

Rule 3. Any member absent, and not answering to his name when the roll is called, shall be subject to a fine of fifty cents.

Rule 4. Any member being absent thirty minutes after the roll is called, shall be subject to a fine of one dollar.

Rule 5. Any member being absent one hour after the roll is called, shall be subject to a fine of two dollars.

Rule 6. The fine so imposed, shall be paid to the clerk of the house, to be applied in purchasing wood, lights, &c., and towards defraying the incidental expenses of the same.

Rule 7. Any member giving a reason for his absence, considered sufficient by the house, no fine shall be imposed.

Rule 8. No member shall be permitted to leave the house, during the session of the day, without leave of absence by the speaker.

Rule 9. No member shall be permitted to address the house, while another member has the floor.

Rule 10. The clerk of the house shall be required to keep a faithful record of the proceedings of the house, and perform such other duties, as the house may provide, from time to time.

Rule 11. The sergeant-at-arms duty shall be, to lock up and unlock the house; to cleanse, warm, and have it prepared by the

HISTORIAN'S OFFICE
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
47 E. South Temple St.
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

CHAPTER SEVEN

Utah Imprints of 1851

WILLIAM WINES PHELPS.

31. DESERET ALMANAC. | FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD | 1851: | THE THIRD AFTER LEAP YEAR, AND, AFTER THE 6TH | OF APRIL, THE 22D YEAR OF THE CHURCH OF | JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS; AND | THE FIRST OF THE LAST HALF CENTURY | OF THIS DISPENSATION | [*compass rose in box with motto: "God and time for all"*] | CALCULATED FOR 40° 45' AND LONGITUDE | 111° 26'—GREAT SALT LAKE CITY: | ACCOMPANIED WITH NOTABLE EVENTS, ETC. | [*wavy rule*] | COMPILED BY W. W. PHELPS | [*wavy rule*]

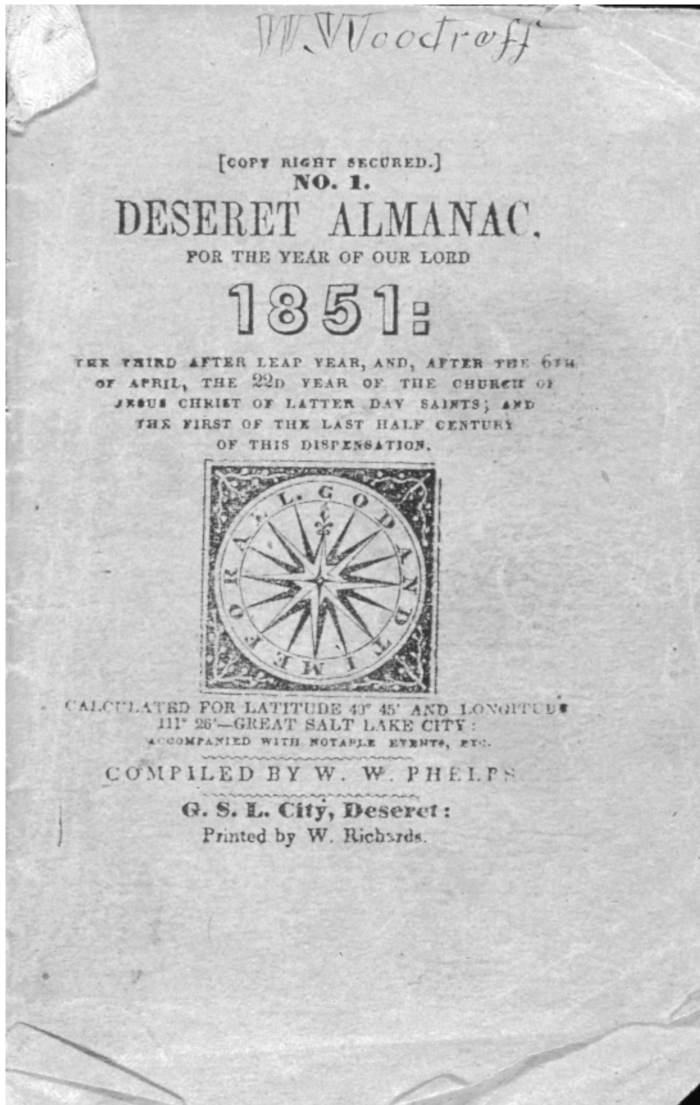
G.S.L. City, Deseret: | Printed by W. Richards. — At head of title: "[COPY RIGHT SECURED.] | **NO. 1.**" Cover title.

[1–16] p. (8 leaves) : portrait ; 15 × 9.5 cm. (untrimmed) — [ ]^8 — Sturdy brownish paper (packing or butcher paper?). Includes a profile wood engraving of Joseph Smith on page [16].

Contents: Page [1] serves as a cover title. The upper half of page [2] lists "ECLIPSES FOR 1851"; an "EXPLANATION OF THE CALENDAR PAGE" follows and is concluded on page [3]. The remainder of page [3] is occupied with the printing of three stanzas of an unsigned verse titled "THE CENTER OF THE HEAVENS." Pages [4]–[15], each devoted to a separate month, carry calculations noting the rising, southing, and setting of the sun and the southing of the moon and of notable "planets and fixed stars." In the same columnar form "notable events, observations, &c." are cryptically noted, epigrams and practical advice being interspersed with historical allusions. At the foot of each page anniversaries of significant events in LDS history are indicated. These notations are carried over to the final page, which ends with "A FABLE" and a box formed by double rules enclosing a list of "THE PRESIDENCY" and "THE TWELVE APOSTLES" with dates of their births (excepting the final two—Erastus Snow and Lorenzo Snow—for whom this information is missing).

References: Flake 6344, McMurtrie (Utah) 7

For about twenty years Mormonism produced its version of one of the most popular genres of nineteenth-century American reading material, the almanac. This tradition began in the mid-1840s with apostle and



W Woodruff

[COPY RIGHT SECURED.]

NO. 1.

DESERET ALMANAC,

FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD

1851:

THE THIRD AFTER LEAP YEAR, AND, AFTER THE 6TH OF APRIL, THE 22D YEAR OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS; AND THE FIRST OF THE LAST HALF CENTURY OF THIS DISPENSATION.

GOD AND TIME FOR ALL.

CALCULATED FOR LATITUDE 40° 45' AND LONGITUDE 111° 26'—GREAT SALT LAKE CITY: ACCOMPANIED WITH NOTABLE EVENTS, ETC.

COMPILED BY W. W. PHELPS.

G. S. L. City, Deseret:

Printed by W. Richards.

mathematician Orson Pratt, who published his *Prophetic Almanac* in 1845 and 1846 while serving as a missionary in New York City. In the first issue Pratt promised to generate such works annually, but events surrounding the evacuation of Nauvoo and his participation in the Pioneer Company prevented him from making good his promise. He did calculate and circu-

late a manuscript almanac at Winter Quarters, Nebraska, in 1849, but it was brought to the valley before the press arrived and was never committed to print. As far as is known, no Mormon almanac was done—manuscript or printed—for 1850. The nature of the relationship between the two men is not known, but it is unlikely that W. W. Phelps would have undertaken an almanac for 1851 if in late 1850 Pratt had been working on one himself.

Phelps produced a second almanac in 1852, the same year Pratt was selected by Brigham Young to announce formally the practice of polygamy, or "plural marriage." Whatever plans Pratt may have entertained for subsequent almanac publications were given short shrift later that year when he departed for Washington, D.C., to defend LDS polygamy in a magazine called *The Seer.* W. W. Phelps stepped into Pratt's place, producing the *Deseret Almanac* annually in the territory between 1851 and 1865. In fact, most LDS almanac publishing may be credited to Phelps.

Because the annual issues of the *Deseret Almanac* were never printed in great numbers, the old printer may have compiled this and later almanacs for his own diversion or as a small-scale commercial venture. Phelps had arrived in the valley with the 1848 emigration. Shortly afterward he established himself as a practitioner of the law, becoming one of the territory's busiest early counselors and an instructor in the earliest years of the University of the State of Deseret. Nevertheless, he occasionally took time to write, issuing the almanac and occasional poetry in the *Deseret News* both under his own name and under the pseudonym "King's Jester" or the abbreviation "K.J."

No mention of the piece appears in Horace Whitney's work ledger charged against Richards, and the imprint "Printed by" subtly implies something different from the "W. Richards Print" that characterizes other job printing done the same year. These clues suggest that Phelps came to the printing office to produce the rather complex bit of tabular typesetting on his own. Though typesetting may have begun late in 1850 in a race to beat the calendar to the New Year, publication was first announced in the *Deseret News* on January 25, 1851, where it was also noted that "the edition will be small." The same issue of the newspaper included a long communication to the editor in which Phelps explained the origin of the zodiac. Far from subscribing to any mystical meanings, Phelps explicitly reduces the phases of the moon and planetary cycles to convenient organizational superstition.

The first issue of the almanac was advertised in the pages of the

newspaper on February 8, 1851, as "out of press, and for sale" at the office. The single surviving copy belonged to apostle Wilford Woodruff, who recorded in his journal receipt of the almanac directly from Phelps four days after the newspaper announced its availability. One correction to the almanac's calculations was made for an eclipse of the sun in the city's newspaper issued July 26, 1851.[152]

USlC

JOSEPH CAIN *and* ARIEH C. BROWER.

32. MORMON | WAY-BILL, | **TO THE GOLD MINES.** | FROM THE | PACIFIC SPRINGS, | BY THE NORTHERN & SOUTHERN ROUTES, | VIZ. FORT HALL, SALT LAKE, AND | LOS ANGELOS, INCLUDING | SUBLET'S, HUDSPETH'S, | AND THE VARIOUS CUT-OFF'S; | ALSO—FROM LOS ANGELOS TO ST. FRANCISCO BY COAST | ROUTE, WITH THE DISTANCES TO THE DIFFERENT | RIVERS IN CALIFORNIA ;—TOGETHER WITH | IMPORTANT INFORMATION TO EMIGRANTS; | [*rule of four em dashes*] | BY JOSEPH CAIN & ARIEH C. BROWER. | [*rule of four em dashes*]

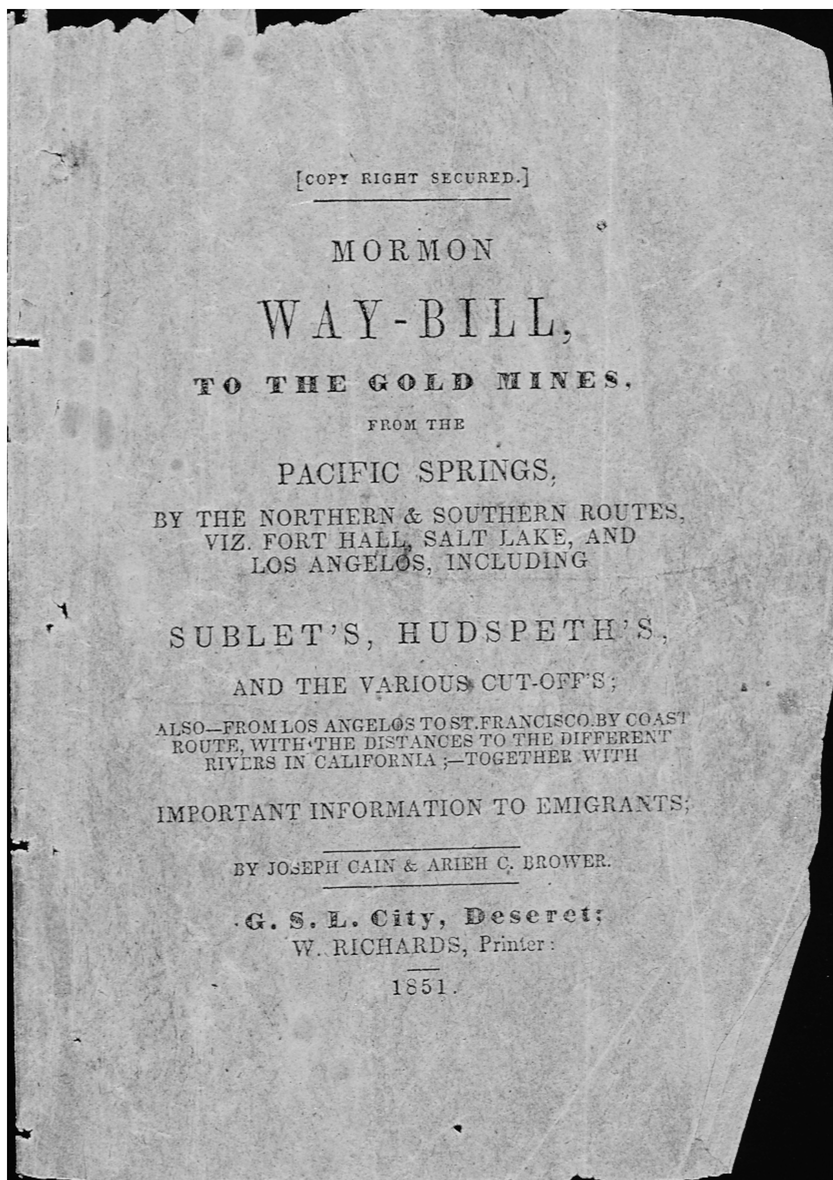
G. S. L. City, Deseret; | W. Richards, Printer: | [*em dash*] | 1851. — Cover title. At head of title: "[COPY RIGHT SECURED.]".

[1–4] 5–32 p. (16 leaves) ; 19 × 13 cm. — $[1–2]^8$ — Found on varying papers: light brown similar to that for the 1851 *Deseret Almanac,* and a greenish tissue wrapping paper.

Contents: Page [1] cover title; [2] blank; [3]-25 is the text, beginning route descriptions at Pacific Springs on page 8 for "SUBLET'S CUT-OFF", "HUDSPETH'S CUT-OFF" on page 9; the "FORT HALL ROUTE" on page 10; "ROUTE TO LOS ANGELOS" on page 18, and the "COAST ROUTE" on page 22, "ADVICE TO EMIGRANTS" begins at the foot of page 22. The guidebook text continues to the top of page 25 and is immediately followed by advertisements through page 32. Some copies include *Oregon Route from Pacific Springs . . .* (see no. 34).

References: Auerbach 1:144, Cowan p. 91, Flake 1067, Graff 536, Howes C18, WCB 196

[152] Pratt's manuscript almanac for 1849 was calculated better than a year in advance; see "Meeting in the Council House," 21 Dec. 1847, General Church Minutes collection, Church Archives; "The Zodiac and the Signs," *Deseret News,* 25 Jan. 1851; *Woodruff's Journal,* 4:8 (29 Jan. 1851); *Deseret News,* 29 Nov. 1851.



[COPY RIGHT SECURED.]

MORMON

WAY-BILL,

TO THE GOLD MINES,

FROM THE

PACIFIC SPRINGS,

BY THE NORTHERN & SOUTHERN ROUTES,
VIZ. FORT HALL, SALT LAKE, AND
LOS ANGELOS, INCLUDING

SUBLET'S, HUDSPETH'S,

AND THE VARIOUS CUT-OFF'S;

ALSO—FROM LOS ANGELOS TO ST.FRANCISCO.BY COAST
ROUTE, WITH THE DISTANCES TO THE DIFFERENT
RIVERS IN CALIFORNIA;—TOGETHER WITH

IMPORTANT INFORMATION TO EMIGRANTS;

BY JOSEPH CAIN & ARIEH C. BROWER.

G. S. L. City, Deseret;
W. RICHARDS, Printer:

1851.

Joseph Cain was the younger brother of Leonora Taylor, apostle John Taylor's wife. Both he and coauthor Arieh C. Brower traveled to Utah with the Taylors in the large company that arrived in the fall of 1847. Despite Brigham Young's general injunction to the Latter-day Saints not to

fly to the California goldfields, in October and November 1849 Young appointed two companies of young men to missions of economic service for the church in that region. Since the late date made departure over the northern route impossible, the companies made the journey over the southern route through the Mojave Desert. Cain was a member of one of the groups. After a year-long foray without much success in the mines or in various business ventures, he returned to Great Salt Lake City in late September 1850 with the Amasa Lyman party over the Carson route along the Humboldt River. By this time Joseph Cain was all of twenty-five.

One of Cain's traveling companions to Utah in 1847 and back to Utah from California in 1851 had been Arieh Coats Brower, evidently another of the economic missionaries. Both young men had gained practical experience in the printing business in the *Times and Seasons* office back in Nauvoo, Illinois. Arieh Brower had been a printer's devil and pressman in Nauvoo, while Cain had worked with his brother-in-law in the business and editorial aspects of printing.[153]

Almost immediately upon arriving in Salt Lake City, Cain hurriedly reviewed his notes and penned a report of dreadful conditions on the road between Mormon Tavern (in the vicinity of present Carson City) and along the Humboldt. The descriptive letter was submitted to the newspaper, so that the up-to-date details of the Humboldt route were available by October 1850, after most emigrants who would depart that year had left but in time for the newspaper issue to be distributed to exchanged papers in the East where it would be seen by the next season's travelers. At about the same time as this letter appeared, the guidebook's coauthors were engaged as general hands in the printing office itself, a fact that might account for the speedy issue of this imprint.

Some time after Cain's letter became public, the pair began the prepress work for the waybill itself. The dates of the actual printing and release become a puzzle at this point. Though the waybill is dated 1851 on the title page, an entry in the *Deseret News* suggests that some version of it could have been through the press and available on or before November 1, 1850. A note in the *Deseret News* in the opening days of November alerted "Emigrants, to the mines, by the Southern route," that "they can procure way bills of the route, of Joseph Cain," and noted that copies might be

[153] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958), 74–76, relates major points in the story of the mission; Carter, "They Came in '47," 424; Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia,* 4:750–51; Ashton, *Voice in the West,* 78.

"seen during the day [at] Heywood & Woolley's store. Mr Cain has been through, and taken notes by the way, and information obtained from him may be relied on." What the notice does not state clearly is the precise nature of the guide being offered. Either Cain's initial offering was a manuscript guide (which seems improbable given the terms expressed in the ad) or the "way bills" referred to in this advertisement were broadsides of Cain's printed letter, perhaps struck from the newspaper's standing type. Thus there may have been two differing impressions of data from the *Mormon Way Bill* (which might be expected during the high-water season of summer travel but is very curious between late fall and winter). A copy of this earlier version in whatever form may yet exist to be discovered somewhere. A second newspaper announcement late in the succeeding January clearly states that the waybill "is about to be issued from the Deseret Press" and solicits advertisements from interested businesses. That the guidebook was out of press and available is noted in the newspaper columns of February 8. This item was cited by Wright Howes as "the first overland guide printed west of the Missouri," though it is now evident that Brigham H. Young and John Eagar's *Emigrant's Guide* (discovered after Howe's comment was penned) predates it (see no. 17). Unruh states that copies of the *Mormon Way Bill* were circulated as far east as St. Louis in the year it was published. If this is so, the guidebook might have received unofficial approbation from church leadership and been sent to the river's departure points as an inducement for travelers to pass through Great Salt Lake City on their way west. Unfortunately, the 1850 travel season had ended the California gold rush, and the 1851 season was a low mark in overland travel. Consequently, the *Mormon Way Bill* saw very limited distribution. The next season, 1852, again witnessed an increase in cross-continental travelers, but they were more home-seekers than fortune-seekers and had a host of guides from which to choose.[154]

Over the years there has been speculation about the original state of this imprint, why some extant copies have forty and others thirty-two pages. With so few copies surviving and no real documentary records available, a definitive answer may remain unknown. The imprint has typically been cited with forty pages, the exception being Becker, in his revision of *The Plains and the Rockies,* who correctly notes the thirty-two-page issue but arrived at that conclusion by examining only the CU-B copy. Physical details hint that the imprint's correct collation consists of thirty-two pages

[154] Unruh, *Plains Across,* 317; Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners,* 127.

and that the final eight-page gathering found in some copies (see *Oregon Route from Pacific Springs . . . ,* no. 34) is in fact a separate imprint, sold to emigrants as a supplementary but optional purchase. First, the trail guide over the northern and southern routes to California occupies pages [3]–25, but pages 25–32 print advertisements for blacksmiths, stores, and livestock dealers in Salt Lake City; whereas in what would be the "final gathering" nothing but the route guide to Oregon appears. Having ads placed squarely through the middle of a complete, monographic work would be a curious arrangement. Second, it can be convincingly argued that those going to California would not need the Oregon route guide and might have saved money purchasing a "basic" edition. Third, physical examinations of three of the four copies (USlD, CtY-BR, ICN) have demonstrated that there is a distinct difference between the paper used for all gatherings of the thirty-two-page imprint and that used in the two existing examples of the eight-page supplement. The final point is the November 1850 note in the newspaper, described above. Notice that the advertisement for the route guide specifically concerns a guidebook to "the Southern route;" no mention is made of the northerly Oregon Trail.[155]

The *Mormon Way Bill* remained unknown to bibliography until the 1920s when Salt Lake City collector Herbert S. Auerbach was offered a copy with the *Oregon Route* appended, bound into a collection of pamphlets. The volume had originally been acquired by W. L. Morgan directly from the binder. Auerbach did not allow his extensive collection to be seen by others, but amateur Salt Lake City historian Charles Kelly heard of the guide and mentioned its existence to Utah's Historical Records Survey director Maurice Howe in 1939. This is the copy now in the Coe Collection at Yale. The text was reprinted by the Daughters of Utah Pioneers in the 1940s, and a photo-offset reprint of Cain's personal copy of the guide in its collections (without the eight-page supplement to Oregon) was issued by the group in 1968 under the title *The Famous Mormon Way Bill of the Route to California.*[156]

CtY-BR CU-B ICN USlD

[155] *Deseret News,* 5 Oct. and 2 Nov. 1850, 25 Jan. 1851; Ashton, *Voice in the West,* 61, 373; Dale L. Morgan, "The Mormon Way Bill," *Bancroftiana* 42 (May 1968).

[156] "Mormon Way Bill to the Gold Mines," *Heart Throbs of the West* 7 (1946): 308–17. That Kelly had not actually been privileged to see it is evident from the description he gives and the fact that he asks Howe to try locating another at the Library of Congress for transcription. [Charles] Kelly to Maurice [Howe], 22 Mar. 1939, Series 7, Container 1, Dale L. Morgan Papers, Bancroft Library, Berkeley. The Flake census erroneously enumerates imprints in the collections of TxFTC and NNC. The examples thus listed are microcard reproductions, not genuine imprints.

UTAH (TERR.).

33. [Predator bounty certificates].

[Great Salt Lake City: Deseret News office, 1851].

broadside?

Calculating to minimize losses of crops and cattle to predatory animals, on December 16, 1848, the Council of Fifty voted to conduct a "war of extermination." This wholesale predator hunt took the form of a contest between two teams and was declared to be in effect for the three months following Christmas Day. John D. Lee and John Pack captained the two teams of hunters, who were awarded points for "wolves, wildcats, catamounts [mountain lions], Pole cats [skunks], minks, Bear, Panthers [mountain lions again], Eagles, Hwks, owls, crow or Ravens & magpies." The teams worked independently and were given the incentive of a congratulatory dinner, to be supplied by the losing team. The contest concluded March 1 the following year. Over four days following the official end of the slaughter a poll of the contestants' trophies was taken, counting fourteen to fifteen thousand birds and animals killed. Thomas Williams alone brought in "about" 2,100 skins or wings, and Lee's team carried away the prize.[157]

Though the contest was concluded in early 1849, a public bounty was thereafter declared on predators effective until revoked. This act created a bookkeeping nightmare, and in an attempt to simplify claims and record-keeping, on March 20, 1851, the *Deseret News* printed a notice advertising the availability of what was possibly the second governmental form in the state: "Blank certificates of wolf and fox pelts for the use of Justices of the peace, for sale at the News office. All Justices of the peace should possess these blanks, so as to produce a uniform system of book-keeping throughout the state." Given the number of bounties awarded and the stated desire to establish a "uniform system of bookkeeping," this must have been a printed form, though whether it was issued as a piece of public printing or merely as a measure of convenience is unknown. The use of "state" in the ad suggests that the import of a grant of territoriality was not widely appreciated though it had arrived the previous November. Unfortunately, no examples of the form seem to survive, but the *Governor's Message* of January 5, 1852, reported that $2,233 in bounties had been paid out to the end of 1851.

No copy located

[157] Lee, *Mormon Chronicle,* 1:81–82, 85, 97, 100. See also Victor Sorensen, "The Wasters and Destroyers: Community-Sponsored Predator Control in Early Utah Territory," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62 (Winter 1994): 26–41.

JOSEPH CAIN *and* ARIEH C. BROWER.
34. OREGON ROUTE, | FROM PACIFIC SPRINGS TO ORE- | GON CITY.

[Great Salt Lake City : W. Richards, 1851]

33–38 [39–40] p. (4 leaves) ; 19 × 13 cm. — [ ]^4 — Caption title.

Contents: Text of a guide for the "Oregon Route" begins below the caption title at the top of page 33. Toward the foot of page 37 begins "ROUTE FOR PACK TRAINS FROM JOHN DAY'S RIVER TO OREGON CITY." On page 38 are the notes for the "ROUTE TO FORT HALL, VIA: GREAT SALT LAKE CITY." The text ends just past the mid-page 38; [39] blank; [40] note on use of colored paper.

Based on the physical evidence noted above in the entry for the *Mormon Way Bill* (no. 32), this title was most likely a separate imprint appended to unsold copies of the famous guidebook at the buyer's discretion. No copy of the Oregon route guide has ever been found singly (although the statistical sample of surviving examples is rather small); both extant copies accompany the thirty-two-page *Mormon Way Bill.*

As mentioned above, 1851 represented a deep low spot in the numbers of transcontinental emigrants and marked a dramatic change in their motivation. This suggests two additional reasons that the *Oregon Route* was a separate—and almost undoubtedly a later—imprint. First, the emigrants of 1852 were headed primarily to Oregon as homesteaders, not to California as gold-seekers, and would therefore buy a route guide to that trail. Second, although the Mormons had been relieved by the economic windfall of emigration, they had settled in the Great Basin wanting to be left alone and by 1851 had begun to say so. Based on these policy reversals, it is likely that this supplementary guide was printed after March 1851.[158] But where the authors acquired their knowledge of the Oregon Trail is unrecorded.

This work was a guide to Oregon away from Salt Lake City (notice that unlike the case in the *Mormon Way Bill,* this route was from Pacific Springs, just west of the South Pass, to Oregon City on the Columbia River, *not* through Great Salt Lake City). The city had acquired an estimated nine hundred new non-Mormon residents in the winter of 1850, an unsettling development in Zion. Homesteaders tended to settle in places they found attractive, and Great Salt Lake City was viewed as quite attractive by Latter-day Saint leaders. Thus, if emigrants didn't pass through the city, they would not stay.

[158] Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners,* 127–28; *Deseret News,* 22 Mar. 1851.

The section on the trail to Oregon occupies the first six of eight pages, or three of four leaves. A note printed on page [40] reads, "This Way Bill is printed on colored paper, being the most durable, and will not wear out by being creased or carried in the pocket." The claim is interesting since the "colored paper" referred to here is nothing more than wrapping paper of about the weight of modern decorative tissue paper. The statement may have been inserted as a bit of marketing propaganda.[159]

CtY-BR ICN[*imp.*]

DESERET BATHING HOUSE.

35. [Tickets].

broadside?

Supplied by natural hot springs (steaming vestiges of which may still be seen below Victory Road and in the west-to-south bend of Interstate 15), the Deseret Bathing House had been one of the city's early public works projects and opened for business on November 27, 1850. The facility understandably became a popular diversion for travel-weary and grimy emigrants. From his advertisement in the columns of the *Deseret News* in mid-March the next year (1851), it seems that James Hendricks had made provisions in his price schedule not only for emigrants but for fairly large family parties from the city—polygamous families, specifically. Printed quarterly tickets ranged in price from 50 cents for the visits of a single person to $3.50 during the same period for a family from "16 to 24 persons." Terms could be arranged "to accommodate families by the quarter, half year, or year." The price schedule as it appeared in the newspaper could have represented as few as one or as many as five different tickets. Unfortunately, we may never know; none of these delightful bits of social ephemera is presently known to exist.[160]

No copy located

[159] The copy of the *Mormon Way Bill* at USlD is traditionally cited as including this imprint, or consisting of the full forty pages. This seems to be an erroneous assumption resulting from earlier, incomplete bibliographic description, as the copy has only thirty-two pages.

[160] *William Clayton's Journal: A Daily Record of the Journey of the Original Company of "Mormon" Pioneers from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1921), 312; Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* 111; *Deseret News,* 22 Mar. 1851. Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners,* 93–94, discusses overlanders' impressions and use of the facilities.

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY (UTAH). LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

36. ORDINANCES, | PASSED BY THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF | GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, AND ORDERED | TO BE PRINTED.

[Great Salt Lake City: Deseret News office, 1851] — Caption title.

[1] 2–4 p. (2 leaves) ; 20 × 13.5 cm. (untrimmed) — [ ]^2 — Newsprint quarter sheets.

Contents: The text of selected ordinances begins immediately following the caption title on page [1] with the "Penalty for riding horses without leave, driving cattle off the feeding range, &c." The five sections of Ordinance 36 and Ordinances 66, 77, 113, and 122, 125, 76, and 127 follow to the middle of page 3. At that point, under a separate caption title, is printed "AN ORDINANCE CREATING AN OFFICE FOR THE | RECORDING OF 'MARKS AND BRANDS' ON | HORSES, MULES, CATTLE, AND | ALL OTHER STOCK." The eleven sections of this ordinance, 130, follow to the foot of page 4.

References: Auerbach 1:502, Centennial 221, Eberstadt *Utah* 339, Flake 7504, McMurtrie (Utah) 3

The final order of business conducted before Brigham Young and the apostles had returned to Winter Quarters in October 1847 was to organize a stake presidency and commission a twelve-man governing high council. The ecclesiastical council and the shadowy Council of Fifty governed settlements in and around the Salt Lake valley for the two years after 1847, an arrangement that was probably unacceptable to the small but growing number of non-Mormon merchants. The community's first municipal council was formally organized in January 1851.[161] This imprint was the first public issuance of the council's legislative work. From the dates of the acts, however, it is evident that most had been enacted by the high council or Council of Fifty and simply ratified by the newly appointed municipal successor.

The selective contents and timing of its release hint that this small folio may have been intended primarily for use in the property-settlement litigations between residents and emigrants which had crowded the local courts for two years. Given the constant flux, relations were bound to strain, particularly when travelers or residents took advantage of or injured the other in some fashion. Just how wide was the distribution is an

[161] Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:387; Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City,* 78.

open question. Lawyer Hosea Stout and other diarists record a lively business before the bar, and it is therefore possible that copies were circulated to the small legal community, courts, justices, and others needing a legal reference to argue cases. Since the comprehensive *Ordinances Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Deseret* (no. 42) was also released this year, this imprint may have had a limited and very specific distribution.

As recorded in his ledger, Horace Whitney presented two bills to Willard Richards that included charges for typesetting "City ordinances" and "city laws," respectively, in April and May, suggesting that the printing was done and the imprint released in the latter month. The quarter-sheets folded folio would not have consumed much stock, but then, given the size of the legal community in Great Salt Lake City, not many copies would have been needed. It was also reprinted by Morgan.[162]

CtY-BR DLC-L MH-L UPB USlC UU

[Mr.] ROUNDY.

37. [Handbill?].

broadside?

Until he left printing in October 1851 for a clerical position in the General Tithing Office, Horace Whitney evidently logged receipts he collected for newspaper advertising and subscriptions against the credit owed him by editor Willard Richards for his typesetting. There was not much printing done beyond the weekly newspaper issue, so entries were posted infrequently. Whitney makes a curious entry in the receipts for April 11 for a cash payment of $2.50 "rec'd on Roundy's horsebills."

Mr. Roundy's identity remains unknown. Mechanical power was common enough in eastern cities, but in the Great Basin animals still provided the primary means of transportation. At the same time, there was no regular livery in the city to account for an advertising handbill. Latter-day Saint Shadrach Roundy had arrived in the new settlement in October 1847, then had left the city, returning in September 1851 before the issuance of this bill. A Lorenzo W. Roundy is mentioned in one of Hosea Stout's diaries six years after this time as having been granted a herd ground. Neither man can be positively eliminated from responsibility for this mysterious broadside but neither seems to fit.

[162] Whitney, "Account Book," 10 Apr., 3 May 1851; Morgan, *State of Deseret,* 198-201.

A valid supposition might be made of an as-yet-unknown Mr. Roundy, perhaps one of the more than nine hundred California emigrants who chose to stay the winter of 1850–51 in Great Salt Lake City rather than risk a crossing of the Sierra during late autumn. Given the date early in the year, the "horsebills" just might have been advertising for an overwintering gold-seeker desiring to trade off a wagon and draft animals for faster mounts and pack stock to get a jump on the season's emigration. The advertising may have been a necessary expense for Roundy. The 1851 emigration constituted a numerical valley between the peaks of 1850 and 1852; wagon buyers would have been somewhat scarce.

No copy located

UTAH (TERR.). GOVERNOR (1850–57 : YOUNG).

38. [Election notice].

broadside?

This imprint, undoubtedly a broadside, probably constituted the official announcement from the newly appointed territorial governor fixing the date for Utah Territory's first official elections, slated to be held August 4, 1851. It is quite likely that the text of an election proclamation found in the pages of the *Deseret News* and dated July 1 represents a simultaneous issue of the proclamation. In the newspaper version the territorial marshal was ordered to present the public with due notice and to "advertise the same accordingly, in three of the most public places in the several counties." This is not proof that the proclamation was printed, and in fact Brigham Young refers to it in his letter of September 29, 1851, only as a "proclamation," not specifically as a printed broadside. But a broadside announcement would have served that purpose admirably. As such, this broadside would constitute Utah Territory's first official imprint. Because the territory then consisted of fewer than ten counties, no more than two score of the separate proclamations would have been needed to meet the required distribution.

The listing for this number would be relegated to the concluding chapter of this book but for Horace Whitney's ledger, wherein he records billing labor for the otherwise unidentified and as yet unlocated "Election Notices" in late July. That some form of the election proclamation was in fact printed is therefore likely. As the saints typically took great pains to

preserve official records of anything with which they were involved, it is exceedingly curious that no example of this item survives.[163]

No copy located

[UNKNOWN].

39. [Record form].

broadside?

All that identifies this item appears in a single word in the typesetter's account ledger with Richards, where, under the date August 19, Horace Whitney recorded an entry for composition on the *News* and on something he identifies only as "blanks." With a bit of imagination we could come up with several speculative identities for this item. They could be something related to oaths or bonds for Utah's first legislators, they could be church-related forms or certificates, they might be related to the activities of one of the city's emerging businesses: due bills, receipts, or checks. Until a partially printed form surfaces with a date from sometime in August or September 1851, such speculations will have to suffice.

No copy located

W. T. CLEAVER.

40. [Handbill].

broadside?

Horace Whitney billed Richards $1.20 for "work on handbills for W. T. Cleaver" in September 1851.[164] Unfortunately, the nature of Cleaver's business remains as unknown as his handbills. He appears neither in the 1850 territorial census records nor in the advertisements printed in the *Deseret News,* the *Deseret Almanac,* or the *Mormon Way Bill,* as would be expected of a local resident advertising goods or services. It is possible that the unknown Mr. Cleaver was one of the few California-bound travelers of the season seeking either to lighten his load or to convert his outfit from wagon to pack animals for the anticipated trip across the southern route (traveling the north road in the winter would have been foolhardy). It is

[163] Whitney, "Account Book," 26 July 1851; *Deseret News,* 26 July 1851.
[164] Whitney, "Account Book," 2 Sept. 1851.

also possible that he was an emigrant intending to practice a trade as he whiled away the winter in Great Salt Lake City.

No copy located

UTAH (TERR.). GOVERNOR (1850–1857 : YOUNG).

41. **PROCLAMATION | BY BRIGHAM YOUNG, |** GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY OF UTAH. | [*ornamental filet*] | *WHEREAS, by the 4th section of the Act to establish a Territorial Government for the Territory* | *of Utah, . . .*

[Great Salt Lake City: Deseret News office, 1851].

broadside ; 30.5 × 19.5 cm.—Signed in type by Young and dated September 18, 1851. Printed on either white newsprint or a slightly heavier paper with a bluish cast, very likely a stationery.

Word of the congressional establishment of Deseret as the U.S. territory of Utah was received in the mails that arrived November 19, 1850, but the provisional government of Deseret continued to function until April 1851, when it officially dissolved and its members reconstituted as the governing body for Utah Territory. The first election for officers of the newly established territory had been announced and slated in early July (see no. 38) and was held August 4, 1851. The election results were officially reported by Governor Young in this broadside, the earliest surviving imprint executed under the Utah rubric. Dated September 18, 1851, the proclamation also issued a call for the first session of the legislative assembly to commence September 22.

With an issuance date so late after the election in August, one has to wonder if this broadside was intended for a purpose other than the one it states. The unique political climate of the new territory—not to mention the haste with which the announcement was issued—suggests that the broadside was intended merely to demonstrate to the federal government that Utah's officers met the legal requirements for public notice; the announcement was probably unnecessary for the actual arrangement of local affairs. A copy was evidently included in the letter Young wrote to the president explaining the situation. Once again the legitimacy that printing gave pronouncements, and the assumption of wide distribution that a printed document implied by its mere existence, is evident.

The legislators ignored the political shadow cast by the conspicuously absent officials, and Utah officially opened its first legislative session as a

PROCLAMATION

BY BRIGHAM YOUNG,

GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY OF UTAH.

WHEREAS, by the 4th section of the Act to establish a Territorial Government for the Territory of Utah, approved, Sept. 9, 1850, it is made the duty of the Governor to declare the persons who have been duly elected in each council district, and the members also elected to be members of the House of Representatives:—Now, therefore, I, BRIGHAM YOUNG, Governor of said Territory, and in pursuance of the directions, and by virtue of the authority invested in me by said Act, do hereby make Proclamation, that the following named persons received the highest number of votes in their respective districts for councillors and representatives, to wit; for Great Salt Lake county, for councillors:—Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Daniel H. Wells, Jedediah M. Grant, Ezra T. Benson, Orson Spencer; for representatives for Great Salt Lake county, Wilford Woodruff, David Fullmer, Daniel Spencer, Willard Snow, W. W. Phelps, Albert P. Rockwood, Nathaniel H. Felt, Edwin D. Woolley, Phinehas Richards, Joseph Young, Henry G. Sherwood, Benjamin F. Johnson, Hosea Stout; councillor for Davis county, John S. Fullmer; for the House of Representatives, Andrew L. Lamoreaux, John Stoker, William Kay; for Weber county, councillors, Loren Farr, Charles R. Dana; for representatives, James Brown, David B. Dille, James G. Browning; for Tooele, representative, John Rowberry; for Utah county, councillors, Alexander Williams, Aaron Johnson; representatives, David Evans, William Miller, Levi W. Hancock; for San Pete county, councillor, Isaac Morley, representative, Charles Shumway; for Iron county, George A. Smith, councillor, Elisha H. Groves, representative.

And whereas, by the said 4th section referred to, the Governor is authorized to convene the said members elect at such time and place as the Governor may direct,—Now, therefore, I, Brigham Young, Governor of the said Territory of Utah, by the authority invested in me, do hereby appoint Monday, the 22d day of September, 1851, at 10 o'clock, a. m., the day for the Legislative Assembly to meet, at the Council House, in Great Salt Lake City, the same having been procured for the purpose by the U. S. Marshall.

Given under my hand and the Seal of said Territory, at Great Salt Lake City, this eighteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one; and of the Independence of the United States of America the seventy-sixth.

BRIGHAM YOUNG.

By the Governor,
B. D. Harris, Sec'y.

U.S. territory on September 22. On this day the body organized itself only, electing a house speaker and other officers but conducting no business. The following day Joseph Cain reported the official reading of this

document in the diary he kept for Willard Richards. Its history is further complicated by Horace Whitney, whose ledger records that he billed composition for an unspecified "Proclamation" on the last day of the month. The text was reprinted the next year in the first compilation of Utah's legislative journals.[165]

CtY-BR UPB USlC UU

DESERET (STATE). GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

42. ORDINANCES. | PASSED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF DESERET. | [*em dash*] | . . .

[Great Salt Lake City: Deseret News office, 1851] — Caption title.

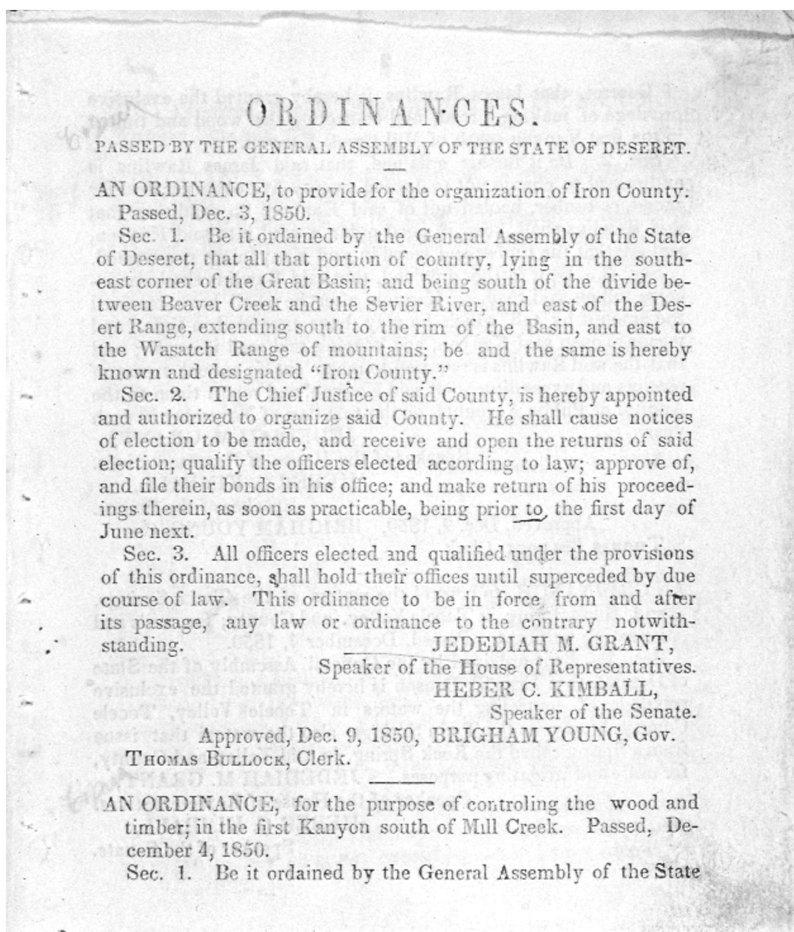
[1] 2–80 p. (40 leaves) ; 17 × 15 cm. — [1–10]^4 — Newsprint.

Contents: The text begins on page [1] immediately under the short rule that separates it from the caption title at the top of the page. It starts with "AN ORDINANCE, to provide for the organization of Iron County. Passed, Dec. 3, 1850." Fifteen ordinances follow this one to the top of page 25. The last of these, "AN ORDINANCE, apportioning the representation of the State of Deseret. Passed, Jan. 17, 1851," is followed by "CRIMINAL LAWS OF THE STATE OF DESERET. Passed, January 16, 1851." The thirty-four sections that comprise these laws end on page 32. They are followed by fifteen further ordinances that end on page 79 with "AN ORDINANCE, to suppress Gaming. Passed, Feb. 24, 1851."

References: Centennial 220, Flake 2795a, McMurtrie (Utah) 8, Sabin 98221

Word of Utah's creation had arrived November 19, 1850. In December Brigham Young as governor of Deseret expressed hope that statehood might yet be granted (see no. 29), but his swearing-in as governor of Utah Territory a month later is a sure sign that the Mormons were at last convinced that their statehood petition was dead. Young's inaugural in fact served as the Mormons' first step toward positioning themselves to take or maintain the upper hand in the governance of the new territory. One of the key steps in this process was to get Deseret's existing laws adopted for the territory. If the saints waited too long, it would be politically difficult to justify enacting additional laws under the Deseret rubric. It does not seem

[165] Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:383, 402; "Willard Richards Journal, Kept by Joseph Cain" [1850–51], Willard Richards diaries, Church Archives; 19 Sept. 1851, Church Archives; Whitney, "Account Book," 30 Sept. 1851; *Journals of the House,* 162–63.



ORDINANCES.

PASSED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF DESERET.

AN ORDINANCE, to provide for the organization of Iron County. Passed, Dec. 3, 1850.

Sec. 1. Be it ordained by the General Assembly of the State of Deseret, that all that portion of country, lying in the south-east corner of the Great Basin; and being south of the divide between Beaver Creek and the Sevier River, and east of the Desert Range, extending south to the rim of the Basin, and east to the Wasatch Range of mountains; be and the same is hereby known and designated "Iron County."

Sec. 2. The Chief Justice of said County, is hereby appointed and authorized to organize said County. He shall cause notices of election to be made, and receive and open the returns of said election; qualify the officers elected according to law; approve of, and file their bonds in his office; and make return of his proceedings therein, as soon as practicable, being prior to the first day of June next.

Sec. 3. All officers elected and qualified under the provisions of this ordinance, shall hold their offices until superceded by due course of law. This ordinance to be in force, from and after its passage, any law or ordinance to the contrary notwithstanding.

JEDEDIAH M. GRANT,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
HEBER C. KIMBALL,
Speaker of the Senate.

Approved, Dec. 9, 1850, BRIGHAM YOUNG, Gov.
THOMAS BULLOCK, Clerk.

AN ORDINANCE, for the purpose of controling the wood and timber; in the first Kanyon south of Mill Creek. Passed, December 4, 1850.

Sec. 1. Be it ordained by the General Assembly of the State

that anyone was keen on having to re-pass the state's laws individually or start afresh on legislation for the territory. Pointing to a printed volume would enable the Mormons to demonstrate that Utah's legislators had adopted Deseret's code as a measure of expediency and in good faith. Unfortunately, in the early spring of 1851 they didn't have a full publication of Deseret's laws to point to, but the saints were clearly willing to exploit the communication lag time between Washington and Great Salt Lake City.

On February 27, 1851, Deseret's secretary of state pro tem Willard Richards released a manuscript true copy of the compilation under his seal. This provided a legal basis on which to act. Deseret's legislature met in

its second session between December 1850 and March 1851, so a few acts passed by the General Assembly actually postdate news of the establishment of the territory. For a time there were essentially two governments, one for Deseret and another for Utah Territory, and Brigham Young was governor of both until Deseret was formally subsumed into Utah in April.

Actual printing of the laws was completed well after territorial status under the name Utah had been granted by Congress. Horace Whitney typeset text for Deseret's *Ordinances* ("Laws," he calls them) sporadically between the manuscript's release in early February and its issuance as a printed volume sometime after mid-September. Utah's first legislative session opened on Monday September 22, 1851. Whitney's bills imply that the completed volume was issued for the benefit of Utah's territorial legislators sometime during or shortly after the impression of the governor's message late in the year (see nos. 43–44) before the printing office ran out of paper.[166]

Few clues exist that suggest how many copies of the *Ordinances* were produced. One appears in a resolution from the territorial legislature's upper chamber, the council, made September 26, where it was voted that each council member (thirteen of them) should receive a copy; no similar resolution was made in the house. This could imply that as few as fifteen printed compilations were available. If distribution was also made to the representatives, justices, and territorial executive officers, the impression could have consisted of perhaps fifty copies. This number would find a parallel with another document, a printed list of legislative members and committees, commissioned the same week and evidently intended only for internal use. Conversely, one hundred copies of an impression combining the territory's organic act and the U.S. Constitution was made only a day earlier, an imprint that would have been intended for public distribution as well as use in the legislative chambers. If one hundred copies of Deseret's *Ordinances* were actually printed, its presswork would have used up at least one hundred twenty-five parent sheets of dwindling paper. Calculations of the stock quantities on hand suggest a pressrun between fifteen and fifty copies. The scarcity of surviving copies compared with the first volume of Utah's laws, printed only a year later, also suggests a smaller number. In any case, the exhaustion of paper from printing for the *Ordinances* and the governor's message (no. 43) is likely the basis of the press's final stoppage.[167]

[166] Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:405; Whitney, "Account Book," 22 Feb., 10 Apr., 30 Sept. 1851.
[167] *Journals of the House,* 7, 9, 13, 16, 51.

Council members must have received their copies quickly, for the day after the council's distribution proposal the house received a resolution suggesting that the legislature unanimously accept the ordinances enacted by the provisional government of Deseret. It was passed, but three days later Representative Hosea Stout proposed that a joint committee be appointed to "revise and classify the legalized provisional laws." Much changed in Utah law in 1851–52, and thus it is possible that this impression of the *Ordinances* saw little actual use. Nevertheless, the creation of Utah Territory was not the end of Deseret: petitions and constitutions to grant statehood under Deseret rather than Utah would continue to be forwarded to Washington for another twenty years. They were obviously unsuccessful.

This impression of Deseret's *Ordinances* is not cumulative; it includes only laws enacted in the second session of Deseret's first (and only) legislature. Laws from the provisional state's first legislative session were printed in the local impression of the *Constitution of the State of Deseret,* produced in the spring of 1850 (see no. 14). The text was reprinted by Salt Lake City's Shepard Book Company in 1919 as *Laws and Ordinances of the State of Deseret (Utah)* with an abstract of the convention minutes and the constitution. The ordinances alone were rearranged somewhat and included later as an appendix in Dale L. Morgan's pathbreaking monograph *The State of Deseret,* which itself has been reprinted.[168] Morgan's appendix was a collection of ordinances transcribed and arranged from primary sources and therefore contains laws not available in the original printed compilation.

DLC-L MH-L USlC

UTAH (TERR.). GOVERNOR (1850–1857 : YOUNG).

43. FIRST | ANNUAL MESSAGE OF HIS EXCELLENCY, | GOVERNOR BRIGHAM YOUNG, | TO THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF | UTAH TERRITORY, | SEPTEMBER 22, 1851 | [*short rule*] | PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE LEGISLATURE. | [*short rule*]

a. News, Prt. — Cleanly printed in double columns on stiff yellowish paper, perhaps a straw wrapping paper. Caption title.

b. Printed at the 'News' Office. — Coarsely printed in double columns on

[168] Dale L. Morgan, "The State of Deseret," *Utah State Historical Quarterly* 8 (Jan.–Aug. 1940), reprinted as *The State of Deseret,* ed. Charles S. Peterson (Logan: Utah State Univ. Press, 1987).

white wove newsprint. Ink is ghosting on some copies, perhaps from incomplete mixing. Caption title.

[1] 2–4 p. (2 leaves) ; 20 × 14 cm. — [ ]^2 — Imprints appear at the end of the text on page 4.

References: Auerbach 1:1354, Eberstadt *Utah* 611, Flake 9346

After the territorial elections in August, Utah's first territorial legislature convened on September 22, 1851. On the stated date the house elected its officers and organized itself into committees but conducted no further business. The next day, according to both the legislative journals for 1851–52 and council member Hosea Stout's diary, the governor's message was read to the legislators. The supreme court justices and secretary of state were invited to attend the reading. All but Justice Snow declined. Following the reading the body voted to have fifteen hundred copies struck for its use and general distribution. Evidently, nobody bothered to correct the date on the manuscript that went to the printer—nor did anyone calculate how much paper would be needed to print the copies requested.

The incorrect date is possibly the one inconsistency in this imprint for which there *is* a reason. There is no documented explanation why two separate settings of the text exist (the second, no. 44, is likely a separate imprint and is discussed next), nor do surviving records hint at why there are two distinctly separate impressions of this first setting. Both variants of this first version appear to have been produced from the same press formes, except for the inexplicable change in the imprint and the paper itself. It is conceivable that 43a represents a proof copy.

But if the first variant *is* merely a proof copy, it stands as the only proof work surviving from the Deseret press. The very fact of its survival argues against that likelihood. A reasonable alternative is that it is an early variant example of the impression and that the imprint for 43b constitutes a press correction. The difference in paper may be accounted for by the perennial shortage of printing stock in the territory, especially this late in the year, and the production of the *Ordinances* (no. 42), which was going on simultaneously and probably had precedence. Since printing was done between the last number of the *Deseret News'* first volume (August 19, 1851) and the first issue of the second (November 15, 1851), the text could not appear in the pages of the *News,* as was usual. In fact, the message may have been set in double columns specifically to appear in the newspaper. That it never appeared in that venue is testimony that the double-column impressions were in fact issued before the single-column reprint (no. 44). We can narrow the production date further to the three weeks between delivery of the

Governor's message Sept. 22nd 1851

[5]

FIRST

ANNUAL MESSAGE OF HIS EXCELLENCY,

GOVERNOR BRIGHAM YOUNG,

TO THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF

UTAH TERRITORY,

SEPTEMBER 22, 1851

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE LEGISLATURE.

FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE COUNCIL and HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, of UTAH TERRITORY.

Having called you from your various avocations, to convene in General Assembly at an earlier day and upon a shorter notice than might appear desirable. I will proceed without delay to lay before you, the chief reason for so doing, as well as make such other suggestions, as to me shall appear necessary and proper, and as shall occur to my mind.

It is a matter of congratulation to me, that thus far in our history, political and social, unity has pervaded our councils, fidelity and integrity our trusts, and while freely admitting the embarrassments of new and untried positions in the affairs of Government, yet, there are none other, than those whose information extends to the wants and wishes of the people, with whom they have to do, that are so well qualified to become the recipients of their confidence.

Hence the wisdom and necessity of local Legislation, of Legislation by the immediate representatives of the people, who coming as they do, from their midst, must necessarily know, what laws are best calculated for their benefit, and will best suit their circumstances. The General Government accordingly organized the Government of Utah, and while she reserves unto herself the right of appointing a few of the principal officers, nevertheless extends to the Legislative Assembly of the Territory, "all rightful subjects of Legislation, consistent with the constitution of the United States, and the provisions of the organic laws."

The subject which I have upon my mind, and which I wish to lay before you more particularly at this time, is the fact of no provisions being made in the organic act for vacancies occasioned by the "deaths, removals, or other necessary absence" of any of the officers, so appointed by the General Government, except the Govenor; in case of

message (September 23) and the arrival of the printing office's new paper in the second week of October. It is probable that after the fifteen hundred copies were ordered by the legislature, as many copies as possible were struck on the remaining paper that was not committed to the *Ordinances.*

The type was then distributed, possibly a make-work project for Arieh Brower since no printing work was possible without stock.[169]

The second variant of this imprint was the topic of a study by Irving Robbins in the 1960s. Robbins mistakes the date appearing in the printed heading, which merely cites delivery of the address, as a production date. He was also unaware of the variant impression.[170]

variant a: USlC
variant b: USlC

UTAH (TERR.). GOVERNOR (1850–1857 : YOUNG).

44. FIRST | ANNUAL MESSAGE | OF THE | GOVERNOR, | TO THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF | UTAH TERRITORY, | SEPTEMBER 22, 1851. | [*rule of four em dashes*] | [1000 COPIES ORDERED TO BE PRINTED.] | [*rule of four em dashes*] | FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE COUNCIL AND HOUSE OF REP- | RESENTATIVES, OF UTAH TERRITORY. | . . .

G.S.L. City, Sep. 22, 1851. — Caption title.

[1] 2–4 p. ; 20.5 × 14 cm. (untrimmed) — [ ]^2 — Imprint from page 4. Newsprint.

References: Flake 9347, McMurtrie (Utah) 9

This impression of the governor's message was entirely reset from the double-column first impression and therefore constitutes a separate imprint. It differs from the first not only in its single-column layout but also by the record of an adjusted printing order for one thousand copies (so noted in the caption title).

No contemporary records clarify its place in the workings of the legislature or hint at its chronology. Carrying through the supposition from the previous entry (no. 43), since a new paper supply arrived in the city during the second or third week of October 1851, we can surmise that this impression was produced sometime between then and the first issue of the *Deseret News'* volume 2 (November 1851). As noted in the preceding entry, the initial printing order for the governor's message had almost unquestionably ignored the supply status of the printing office, and paper was available to complete only a few of the fifteen hundred copies

[169] *Journals of the House,* 103; Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:404.

[170] Irving Robbins, *An Investigation into the Printing of the First Annual Message of Governor Brigham Young, Utah Territory, September 22, 1851* (San Francisco: Lawton Kennedy, 1963).

FIRST

ANNUAL MESSAGE

OF THE

GOVERNOR,

TO THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF

UTAH TERRITORY,

SEPTEMBER 22, 1851.

[1000 COPIES ORDERED TO BE PRINTED.]

FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE COUNCIL AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, OF UTAH TERRITORY.

Having called you from your various avocations, to convene in General Assembly at an earlier day and upon a shorter notice than might appear desirable. I will proceed without delay to lay before you, the chief reason for so doing, as well as make such other suggestions, as to me shall appear necessary and proper, and as shall occur to my mind.

It is a matter of congratulation to me, that thus far in our history, political and social, unity has pervaded our councils, fidelity and integrity our trusts, and while freely admitting the embarrassments of new and untried positions in the affairs of Government, yet, there are none other, than those whose information extends to the wants and wishes of the people, with whom they have to do, that are so well qualified to become the recipients of their confidence.

Hence the wisdom and necessity of local Legislation, of Legislation by the immediate representatives of the people, who coming as they do, from their midst, must necessarily know what laws are best calculated for their benefit, and will best suit their circumstances. The General Government accordingly organized the Government of Utah, and while she reserves unto herself the right of appointing a few of the principal officers, nevertheless extends to the Legislative Assembly of the Terri-

requested. Of this second impression, certainly only enough copies were struck to fill out the remaining number needed for an adjusted order of one thousand. As dear as paper was in the valley, perhaps not even that many were printed.

CtY-BR USlC

UTAH (TERR.). GOVERNOR (1850–1857 : YOUNG).
45. **PROCLAMATION.** | [*eagle ornament*] | I, BRIGHAM YOUNG, Governor of the Territory of Utah, order and direct that a Special Elec- | tion be held on Saturday, the 15th day of November next, . . .

[Great Salt Lake City: Deseret News office, 1851]

broadside ; 17 × 19.5 cm. — Dated October 4, 1851, and signed in type by Young. Newsprint.

References: Auerbach 1:1503

The first territorial "elections" had been held and reported earlier in the year, but when Utah Territory's inaugural legislature met in September 1851, it did so without its full complement of representatives. Consequently, the governor ordered a special election for November 15, 1851, to fill vacancies in legislative representations from Great Salt Lake, Tooele, and Iron counties. The territorial marshal was ordered to post the notices at least twenty days before the elections were appointed. This broadside was probably intended for that purpose, so it is probable that only a score or fewer were struck. "Election to day," noted representative Hosea Stout in his diary, "& I was there." The results of the election for Salt Lake County were reported in the *Deseret News* in late November.

Despite the date of October 4 given at the close of the broadside, Horace Whitney billed Willard Richards for composition work the last day of September. The text was reprinted the following year in the legislature's annual transcript of its actions.[171]

CtY-BR UPB

WILLARD RICHARDS.
46. **A CARD.** | TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN. | [*beveled thick-thin*

[171] Whitney, "Account Book," 30 Sept. 1851; Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:409; *Deseret News,* 29 Nov. 1851; *Journals of the House,* 163.

A CARD.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

BY ORDINANCE of the General Assembly of the State of Deseret, passed January 15th, 1851, "The exclusive right of working a road or roads into or through the North Cottonwood Kanyon, and to control the same," also, in connexion with previous ordinance, "to build mills, and regulate the price of lumber, timber, &c." was granted to WILLARD RICHARDS; and those rights, having been confirmed by act of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, and not having been transferred to any person, remain with the original grantee.

FRIENDS in the vicinity of the Kanyon, lumber-men, and all who wish, can now have the opportunity of CUTTING and HAULING LOGS TO MILL in said Kanyon, and of receiving a just portion of LUMBER when the logs shall be sawn according as they shall agree with Mr. LYMAN HINMAN, living on the premises, who has exclusive charge and management of all my business pertaining to said Kanyon, until further notice. The chance for getting LOGS to the mill is the best known, but the time is short for 3000 logs wanted, as snow will soon fall, and the sawing should be done while the snow is leaving in the spring.

SHINGLES.—There is good Shingle timber—the best of Pine, in said Kanyon, and Shingle-makers can be accommodated on reasonable terms, to any amount. Prepare your timber before snow falls, and you can rive all the winter.

A BLACKSMITH SHOP AND TOOLS on the premises, to let to a smith who is acquainted with Mill-irons, and farm smithing generally. A good and obliging workman can find constant employ for himself and several hands, as there are many inhabitants, but no other shop near. *Enquire as above*, IMMEDIATELY.

I have heretofore accepted orders, drawn on myself, signed "A. L. LAMOREAUX, & Co." Supposing this peculiar signature to be only a freak of the writer's fancy, I took no further notice of the fact; but, recently, (as I am informed, though I have not seen them,) other papers than those addressed to myself, and bearing the *same signature*, of CO-PARTNERSHIP, have been afloat; but of this I have no farther knowledge, as no Co-partnership in business has ever existed, neither does now exist between A. L. Lamoreaux and myself. I have never authorized the signature of "A. L. La moreaux & Co," to any papers or instruments whatever.

Great Salt Lake City, Oct. 8, 1851. WILLARD RICHARDS.

rule] | BY ORDINANCE of the General Assembly of the State of Deseret, passed January 15th, 1851 . . .

Great Salt Lake City, Oct. 8, 1851. — Caption title.

broadside ; 30 × 16.2 cm. — Printed double-spaced on newsprint. Signed in type "WILLARD RICHARDS."

On the establishment of governance in the Salt Lake valley, all natural resources were declared public property and administered by grant through Deseret's legislative assembly. Although such an action seems coldly opportunistic and more than a little monopolistic to those with an attachment to a market economy, the Mormon community cultivated a strong sense of individual stewardship toward the general good. The denial of riparian rights prevented the wholesale denuding of scarce timber stands and the monopolizing of watercourses, both of which resources were critically necessary for community survival in the desert environment.

Exclusive grants were widely made and may be found throughout the legislative records of the time, until Governor Stephen Harding refused to sign such grants into law in the 1870s. This broadside declares and affirms Richards's granted right to the resources of North Cottonwood Canyon and refers interested timber purchasers to his resident agent, Lyman Hinman. It further offers leases to shingle lumber, raw logs, and a mill and smithy on site and denies a partnership with A. L. Lamoreaux & Co., a local merchant.

Richards was in a position to have his statement printed since he had charge of the type and press. With a date posted after the *Deseret News'* first volume closed, the few copies of this broadside were very likely struck on literally the last of the initial newsprint stock at the same time as or just before the second impression of the governor's *First Annual Message.*

UPB USlC

UTAH (TERR.). MILITIA.

47. General Orders, | No. 8.

[Great Salt Lake City: Deseret News office, 1851]. — Caption title. At head of title: "Head-Quarters Nauvoo Legion, | Adjutant General's office, | Great Salt Lake City, U. T. Oct. 11th, 1851."

[1]–4 p. (2 leaves) ; — [ ]^2 — White stationery?

Though the Mormons had a good deal of militia experience defending themselves against mobs in Missouri and Illinois, this militia organization

was primarily instituted for protection against marauding Indians. The broadside order concerns organization of the militia in Utah preparatory to creating a report for the U.S. adjutant general. It is signed in type by James Ferguson.

By this time the press was grasping for any paper suitable for printing. Blank stationery was an obvious solution to the paper shortage for short-run broadsides such as this. The imprint is described from an old photocopy in private hands; the original has not yet been relocated.

No copy located

DESERET NEWS.

48. Deseret News. Vol. 2.

1 vol. (26 nos. ; 52 leaves) ; 54 × 40 cm. — Issues omit pagination entirely. Printed folio on newsprint half-sheets.

Willard Richards's second printing press arrived sometime around October 15. Richards compiled a prospectus for a restructured volume 2 on the 20th and 21st. It may have been posted at the printing or post office, though it was probably not distributed further until the first number of the newspaper was issued. As promised, the second volume of the *Deseret News* was produced on the new Imperial press and appeared in a new format as an enlarged folio, as opposed to the quarto issue of the first volume. Only four numbers were printed before the end of 1851. Modern readers should remember that the date on an issue does not necessarily name the day it was actually released. It simply states the cutoff date for the latest news. For example, the first number of volume 2 is dated November 15 but was available four days later; but numbers 2 and 3 carry dates of November 29 and December 13, respectively, and Cain notes that each was "published" the same date.

The paper's enlarged format was not merely a cosmetic improvement; the editor made substantive changes to the contents as well. Like most newspapers, the *News* had previously carried advertising, but in the enlarged volume advertisements became a major feature. Richards added to the paper's expanded column space news of the legislature, of action before the courts, of city council business, and of the territory's executive branch. Moralistic and humorous stories (frequently copied from newspaper exchanges) continued and became more frequent. Sections of national and international news were extracted from other papers, and communications

to the editor relative to the conduct of the church abroad and in new settlement areas were favored features. For locals, contemporary events were better represented and reported, and the status of local manufacturing, which had become a priority in Utah, was covered frequently in both advertising and reporting. In the coming year the *Deseret News* would chronicle such important events as the murder trial of Howard Egan, reveal the business activity of Salt Lake City and eastern connections in its advertising, and provide overland trail information and letters from California emigrants. In short, the *Deseret News* became a community organ and not merely the church's voice to the outside world.

Perhaps most important for the church, the first issue of volume 2 resumed publication of the "History of Joseph Smith." This serialized history of Mormonism, extracted from primary sources, had commenced in March 1842 in the pages of the *Times and Seasons* by Joseph Smith himself. The Prophet initially dictated the history, but responsibility for the articles quickly passed to Willard Richards as secretary to the apostles when it became more common to extract the text from primary sources. Richards continued the "History of Joseph Smith" after the Prophet's death, until John Taylor as publisher and Richards as compiler ceased publication in the *Times and Seasons'* last issue, a week after the city had begun to be evacuated in early 1846. Like so many other Mormon institutions, the "History" waited in limbo during the exodus. In beginning the "History" afresh in the *Deseret News,* Richards resumed the series at precisely the point that the *Times and Seasons* had left off five years earlier—squarely in the middle of an entry for August 11, 1834. The series continued in every newspaper issue and survived even Richards (who died in 1854). Publication of the "History" series was completed by George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff in volume 7 of the paper. This seminal collection of primary source material was available only in the *Times and Seasons* and *Deseret News* until B. H. Roberts's edited publication was released more than six decades later.[172]

CSmH CtY-BR *DLC* ICN MH USlC UPB UU

[172] "Willard Richards Journal, Kept by Joseph Cain," Church Archives; *Times and Seasons* 3 (15 Mar. 1842): 726 ff.–6 (15 Feb. 1846): 1126, continued by *Deseret News,* 15 Nov. 1852–20 Jan. 1858; B. H. Roberts, ed., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1902–12). Holdings recorded in the National Union Catalogue for CSt, CU-B, ICRL, WHi have been confirmed as microfilm only. NBuG is a misattribution.

GEORGE D. WATT.

49. EXERCISES | IN | PHONOGRAPHY. | DESIGNED TO CONDUCT THE PUPIL TO A PRAC- | TICAL ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE ART. | [CALLED "THE PHONOGRAPHIC CLASS BOOK."] | [*short rule of two 2-pica rules*] | **BY G. D. WATT.** | [*short rule of two 2-pica rules*] | [*paragraph of seven lines*] | [*short rule of two 2-pica rules*]

Great Salt Lake City: | W. Richards, Printer, | [*short rule*] | 1851. — Cover title.

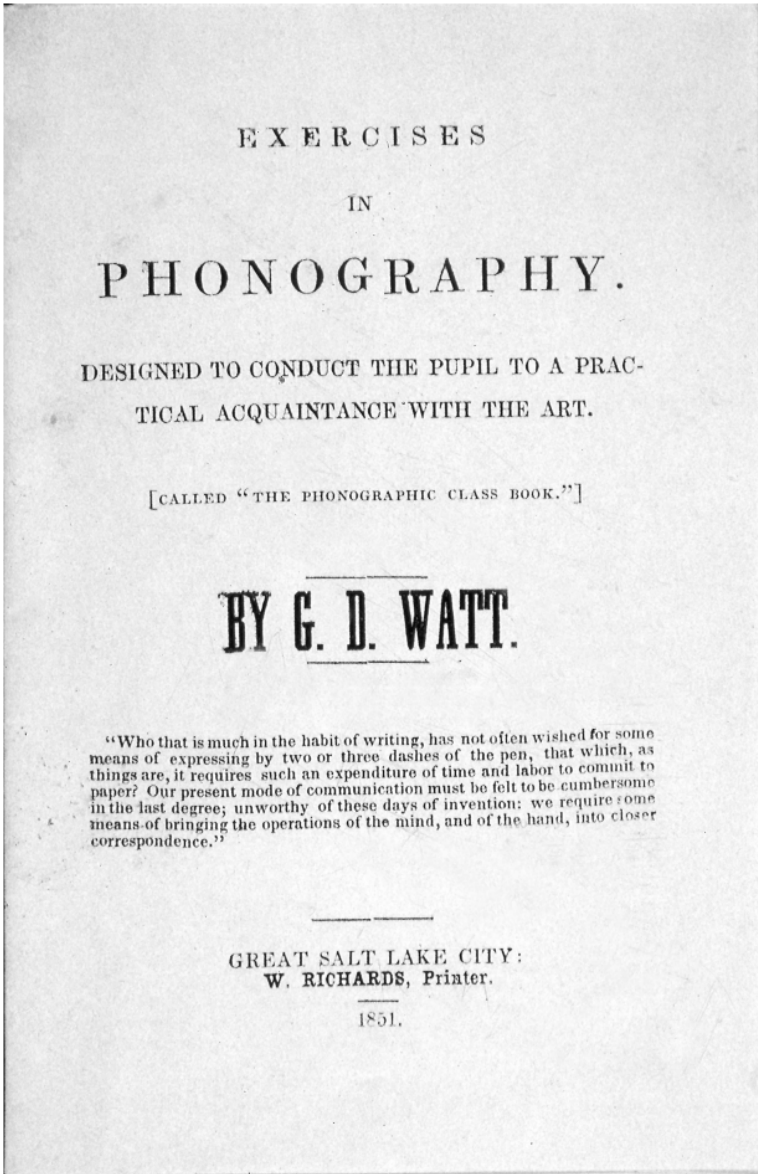
[1–3] 4–16 p. ; 16 × 10 cm. (untrimmed) — [ ]^{8} — Printed on a folio of unlined blue wove stationery embossed with the seal of Jessup & Brothers.

Contents: [1] title page; [2] blank; [3]–5 introductory matter; 7–16 explanatory text and exercises. Phonographic notations are a combination of hand-inked diacritic details and printed lines, and characters written into individual copies by hand, not printed.

References: none

George D. Watt had served as a professional secretary/reporter after pulling himself by dint of labor out of an English workhouse. In 1837 at the age of twenty-two he challenged another convert to a landmark footrace; his victory earned him the opportunity to become the first convert to the LDS church baptized in Britain. Several years later Watt emigrated to Nauvoo, where in 1845 he was appointed a church reporter and conducted at least one class in phonography. For this class Watt compiled and published a small broadside of technical rules, *Phonography: Rules for Writing*, which was struck on that city's press. He subsequently embarked on a five-year mission to his native Britain in 1846. There he labored while the church moved out across Iowa and the council of apostles in Winter Quarters was planning its move west.

In the council discussions during the winter of 1847–48 the members decided that for W. W. Phelps adequately to complete his church-sanctioned elementary primer, all or part of it should be in phonographic characters. A letter to Watt, still in Britain, instructed him to purchase and bring with him to the Salt Lake valley two hundred pounds of foundry phonotype in long primer, bourgeois, or brevier (i.e., ten-, nine-, or eight-point type). Watt left England in January 1851 and arrived in Salt Lake City on September 29 the same year, without the type. It took some weeks for him to settle into a house on the west side of the city and into employment at a desk in the Tithing Office. There Watt undoubtedly made the acquaintance of bookkeeper and erstwhile typesetter Horace Whitney. This relationship and Watt's need to supplement a meager secretarial income


EXERCISES

IN

PHONOGRAPHY.

DESIGNED TO CONDUCT THE PUPIL TO A PRACTICAL ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE ART.

[CALLED "THE PHONOGRAPHIC CLASS BOOK."]

BY G. D. WATT.

"Who that is much in the habit of writing, has not often wished for some means of expressing by two or three dashes of the pen, that which, as things are, it requires such an expenditure of time and labor to commit to paper? Our present mode of communication must be felt to be cumbersome in the last degree; unworthy of these days of invention: we require some means of bringing the operations of the mind, and of the hand, into closer correspondence."

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY:
W. RICHARDS, Printer.

1851.

were almost certainly coincident motivations behind his design once again to teach a course in phonography. The plan necessitated a textbook or workbook of some sort.

The eighth edition of Sir Isaac Pitman's own *Exercises in Phonography*

had been published in 1847 or 1848, and the edition had been through several reprintings before Watt's departure. The young secretary undoubtedly brought a copy of the treatise with him to the Salt Lake valley. Since the titles of Pitman's and Watt's publications are identical, it is therefore also likely that Watt abridged sections copied wholesale out of the already brief Pitman workbook for his own tiny student manual rather than generate new examples and exercises. Planning for the class probably began around the time that Willard Richards's second printing press arrived. Watt announced his intention to conduct a series of instructional lectures in Pitman shorthand near the beginning of December.

Watt's tiny booklet was produced with a new type font that had accompanied the Imperial press west but without the convenience of phonographic type, which never did arrive. Without the phonotype characters Watt had to improvise exemplary notations by using a combination of existing typographic characters and handwritten details. Such a small item would not have used much paper, but taking no chances with its supply of stock, the printing office opted to print the sheet (which would have numbered no more than a score of copies) on folios of common unlined stationery. It was done by mid-month. The *Deseret News* reported on December 13 that "[Watt] has been at considerable expense getting up a class book for the occasion, containing the principles of this beautiful art of writing." Since the class was probably conceived as a means for supporting himself, the investment in printing the workbook was entirely his own. Watt's evening classes were scheduled to begin in December, but the earliest mention of his half-dozen or so students is made in the first week of January.

Sections of the text were copied wholesale without credit to Watt several years later to form the basis of a similar book by John V. Long, also a Utah imprint.[173]

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[173] Crawley, *Descriptive Bibliography,* 1:n. 262; "Instructions for W. W. Phelps April 1847," General Minutes collection, Church Archives; Brigham Young to Geo. D. Watt, 16 May 1848, *Millennial Star* 11 (1 Jan. 1849): 8. Phelps's commission was officially restated in 1849 in the *Third General Epistle* in order "to print a small book for the benefits of the saints"; Brigham Young to Watt, 16 Apr. 1847, in Dora Dutson Flack and Ida Stringham Watt, *England's First Mormon Convert* (n.p., n.d.), 22; *Journal History,* 5 Jan. 1852; John V. Long, *Pitman's Phonographic Instructor; or, A Guide to a Practical Acquaintance with the Art of Phonetic Shorthand* (Great Salt Lake City: Printed at the Deseret News Office, 1856); Isaac Pitman, *Exercises in Phonography: Designed to Conduct the Pupil to a Practical Knowledge with the Art,* 8th ed. (London: F. Pitman, 1848). The New York Public Library holds a copy of the "thirty-second thousand," dated 1850.

SALT LAKE CITY (UTAH). PUBLIC WORKS.

50. CHRISTMAS FESTIVAL | by Truth we Conquer, | by Industry we Thrive. | Mr. [*dotted rule*] and Ladies are | . . .

G. S. L. City, Dec. 18, 1851. — Imprint from last line.

broadside card ; 6.8 × 9.7 cm. — Polished cardstock, printed in blue ink.

The constant influx of converts who had sacrificed virtually everything getting to the Salt Lake valley stretched the limits of Utah's tender economy. To alleviate potentially disastrous levels of unemployment, the church leadership sponsored a widespread relief project in construction and finishing work. Putting to use the professional skills of converts from England and from the East, the city's "Public Works" (headquartered on what is now Temple Square) served as the basis for industrial Utah. As a combination church relief program and municipal physical plant, Public Works employed skilled workers to produce a range of goods and services, from general construction for walls, mills, and dwellings to various finish work, furniture, and other goods. A high proportion of skilled early Mormon emigrants had some period of employment here.

Notice of a planning meeting for the Public Works party was printed in the *Deseret News.* Invitations to the event on Christmas Day at Carpenter's Hall (one of the shops on the Public Works block) were distributed in "embellished envelopes," stated a report of the proceedings. Thus this imprint may be the first piece of job printing executed by Willard Richards's reestablished printshop and would therefore come at the close of Utah's age of true pioneer printing and stand on the cusp of the territory's more businesslike printing industry.[174]

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[174] *Deseret News,* 16 Dec. 1851, 24 Jan. 1852.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Ephemeral Ephemera

THAT WE HAVE EXTANT EXAMPLES of Deseret's job printing at all is due primarily to the kindliness of fate and the Mormon penchant for keeping records and mementos. As one variety of social documentation, printed ephemera have genuine value today, but bits such as tickets, labels, invitations, and handbills were really intended only for the relevance of the moment. Rarely were they preserved intentionally. Deseret's known printed ephemera are included in the entries of the preceding chapter, but there are hints of other genuinely ephemeral ephemera from Utah's first few years.

GRAND CONCERT.

51. [Tickets].

The suggestive rubric of a "Grand Concert" really identifies variety shows, which were the city's major public entertainments. They were well attended not only by residents but also by overland emigrants seeking some diversion while in the city. Printed tickets would have made admission (and sales) easier to control. How many might have been held in 1849 isn't recorded, but the city's musicians were not about to miss out on an income if one could be had during the bigger 1850 season. In mid-July this first concert was advertised, and for the first time on record, admittance was to be made "by Tickets which can be had at the Tithing and Post Office."[175]

C.P.T.

52. [Tickets].

"In order to save time, and to avoid confusion at the door, we shall have tickets for sale," read a newspaper advertisement by concertmaster William Clayton only a week after the first concert (no. 51) had been given. Ticket

[175] *Deseret News,* 12 July 1850.

sales were again made in advance through the Tithing Office and post office.[176] The abbreviation "C.P.T." was not explained. Presumably, it stood for the band's name or title.

UTAH (TERR.). COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

53. [Report of the Committee on Military Affairs].

The text of this report, dated May 26, 1849, is printed in the *Constitution of the State of Deseret,* pp. 13–15. A motion at the end reads: "After hearing the Report read, it was unanimously adopted by the Council, and ordered to be printed." The motion obviously implies publication when possible, since Willard Richards's press did not arrive in the valley until August that year. Whether this meant publication in the *Constitution* or as a separate imprint is not specified, but usually a motion for printing meant a separately struck imprint. The report is primarily an officer roster for the various companies. A separate publication would have been useful but of very limited distribution.

Horace Whitney did not bill for composition, and no copy survives in the LDS Church Archives. The printing order may have been forgotten or the issue deemed moot by the time the press became available. Or, like much public printing ordered by western legislatures, the report may never have been printed.

CLAYTON'S BAND.

54. [Tickets].

In September 1850 the *Deseret News* carried an advertisement dated from the 12th of the month announcing a concert under the heading "Grand Concert in Aid of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund for the Poor." "Our friends, fellow citizens and emigrants," it read, "are respectfully informed that there will be a Grand Concert in the Bowery, on the evening of Saturday the 21st inst. in aid of the Perpetual Emigration Fund for the Poor." Admission tickets were advertised at the usual price of a quarter each.

The Perpetual Emigrating Fund was chartered by an act of Deseret's legislature on September 14, 1850. It functioned as a revolving fund financed

[176] *Deseret News,* 20 July 1850.

by the church to encourage emigration to the Great Basin, particularly for European converts. The PEF brought tens of thousands of individuals to Utah until being disincorporated in the antipolygamy "Raids" of the 1880s. For various reasons it eventually wrote off much of the debt it was owed; and, like everything else in pioneer Utah, it began humbly. This concert was essentially the initiation of a capital campaign.

Owing to the absence of some of the performers while responding to an Indian raid, the concert was not performed on the advertised date. An apology printed in the *News* rescheduled the event for October 5.[177]

PITT'S BAND.

55. [Tickets].

William Pitt advertised the twenty-five-cent tickets for the band concert, held in late 1850, in the poster printed for the occasion (see no. 27).

ROBERT CAMPBELL & COMPANY.

56. [Handbill].

Campbell & Co. advertised the commencement of its business as an auction and commission house in Great Salt Lake City in the spring of 1851, promising, "Due notice will be given by handbills or otherwise of all auctions or private sales." No sales were advertised in the pages of the *Deseret News,* so handbills could have circulated, but it remains unrecorded whether the company's business was such that any were actually issued.[178]

UTAH (TERR.). LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY. HOUSE.

57. [Names of the members, officers, and committees of the House of Representatives].

References: McMurtrie (Utah) 10

The order for fifty copies of the directory to be printed appears in the legislative journals for 1851–52, under the passage of an act dated September 25, 1851, three days after the session commenced. This action was

[177] *Deseret News,* 14, 21 Sept. 1850; Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier,* 2:380.
[178] *Deseret News,* 31 May 1851.

taken without regard to the unavailability of paper stock in the printory and probably as Brigham H. Young was scraping to finish the *Ordinances* (no. 42). But western territorial legislatures—particularly early ones—were notorious for commissioning printing regardless of the likelihood of getting it executed. McMurtrie was sufficiently convinced to include the ghost imprint in his list, but since no copy has come to light, it is at least possible that the printing for this list was never actually done.

APPENDIX

Printing on a Handpress

IF ELECTRONIC TECHNOLOGY HAS AFFECTED modern literate culture in any way, it has increased the world's dependence on print, not lessened it. We print (or reproduce) more of virtually everything every year than we did the year before. In a century and a half only the equipment and graphic layouts have changed—drastically, to be sure.

So how was it done in 1849?

In practice, handset compositors and printers regard a page in a book the same way computers do: any point on a sheet is occupied by either space or type; no part of the page is really "empty." Yet the compact convenience of computers and desktop publishing packages, with the modern luxuries of word wrap, automatic line justification, what-you-see-is-what-you-get displays, linked art files, scalable printer fonts, and a whole range of printers, make it easy to forget the sheer mass of equipment once needed to produce even the "straight matter" of a simple book page, let alone the complexities of a multicolumned newspaper or advertisement.

The Letterpress Process

Printing is a process of image transfer, which may be accomplished in one of several ways. *Lithographic* printing (today refined as offset printing) creates images by using a water-dampened etched stone or plate as a resist for oily ink, which clings to a waxy image on the surface and is then rolled across the paper. *Intaglio* uses a process in which ink is wiped onto an etched or engraved plate, filling recesses in its surface, and is wiped off the polished face. But a handpress used the oldest form of creating a printed impression. When the flat platen of a handpress or the cylindrical drum of a rotary printing press pushes a sheet of paper against a raised surface with ink on it, the process is considered relief or impression printing, both of which are synonyms for *letterpress.*

How the raised surface has been created is secondary; there are many different processes. The traditional method, and the one used in Utah, is foundry type. For three centuries each character on a printed page—space, letter, ligature, punctuation mark, figure, or number—was both cast and

set in place in a line as an individual piece of type. One may print directly from foundry type, but only one press could use a single setting of type. This was an inefficient use of equipment for mass production. The development of stereotype solved the problem. In stereotyping, multiple printing plates could be produced from a single setting of type by making a mask or mold of an imposed forme—a three-dimensional negative—and filling it with molten type metal to produce a single large plate. In this way the same forme could be run on several presses. Stereotyping was a huge boost to mass printing, but it still had to be reproduced from foundry type, and typesetting remained unchanged. It was done entirely by hand until Ottmar Mergenthaler's invention of the Linotype machine in 1886. This machine (and the later Intertype) cast a line of characters as a single text margin-width type slug, setting, justifying, and redistributing a magazine full of brass matrices from a keyboard (not the "qwerty" arrangement with which we are familiar). Corrections were made by recasting an entire line. Still later the Monotype caster used two machines, one of which punched a paper tape with codes that the caster then put in place, to do the same job. Illustrations during the period could be printed letterpress with a wood block cut by hand, a process later replaced by photographically exposing a thin metal plate, then etching it with acid before mounting it with tiny nails to a wood block for printing. Today letterpress printing is still used for fine books, but the printing surface is typically a polyplate, similar to a stereotype plate but made of plastic. When printing or stereotyping was completed from a foundry type forme, the forme was torn down and redistributed to the cases. Slugs of linotype or monotype were smelted and recast in bars for reuse, and etched plates on their blocks were simply discarded or the metal recycled.

Once offset printing became common in the mid-twentieth century, printers began making the zinc, magnesium, or aluminum printing plates (really just thin sheets) from photographic negatives. These were shot from letterpress-printed "reproduction proofs." In this process, the text was set (typically keyed and cast mechanically) and a crisp "repro" was pulled on a coated paper in a proofing press. The proofs were trimmed and imposed as formes, then photographed with cameras the size of a large closet to create the negative needed to expose the offset plate. In fact, until the widespread adoption of filmsetters (which could output film directly from electronic files), all printed matter began as handset or mechanically set letterpress type.

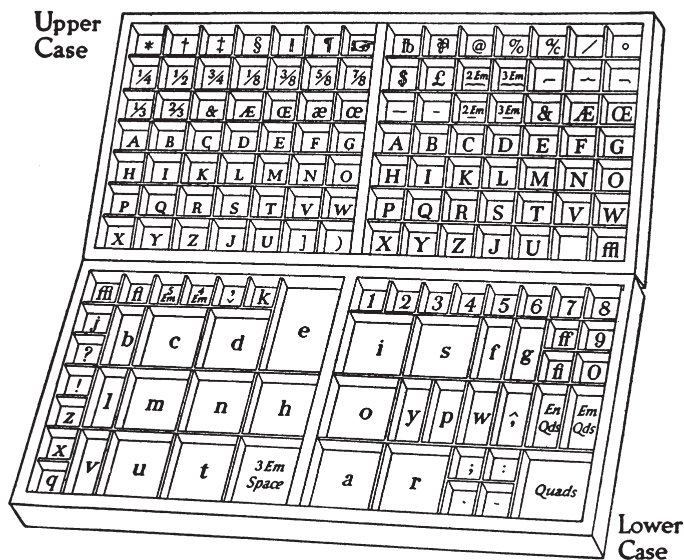
Hand-Setting Type

However it may be set, type is the key to letterpress printing. Virtually any other process or equipment can be improvised. For Brigham H. Young and Horace Whitney, "type" was exclusively foundry type. Although each piece of type weighs only tenths of an ounce, when the weight of that single metal sliver is multiplied by the number of characters on a page, the total adds up quickly (remember that spaces count as characters). If the book you have in your hand had been set and printed from foundry type, the lead needed to print this one page would weigh twelve to fourteen pounds. The roughly twenty-seven-pound iron chase for the *Deseret News*'s quarto forme on the Ramage Philadelphia press held four pages at a time.

The number and physical layout of typecases needed for a font varied widely, depending on the primary language of the editor, the volume of and characters in a particular font, and the type of production work usually done by the house.[179] The most common case arrangement used in the United States was an English book-and-news font. As the name implied, this "lay" was used to set running text. Even a small font was substantial enough to need many typecases to hold it. A full font of both roman and italic letters was divided between separate typecases by the general type of characters: roman and italic capitals, small capitals (few fonts had italic small caps), roman and italic small letters, and diacritic letters. For very large fonts further divisions might be made for numerals, punctuation, and figures or reference marks (dollar and percentage signs, asterisks, daggers, and the like), but this was typically only for specialty printing (such as for business or foreign language literature). Typesetting was most frequently done from two cases at a time, capital (or cap/small cap) and small letters. Only if an unusual character was needed would other cases be pulled from the cabinet.

Typecases were slid into large single or double cabinets for storage, a single cabinet holding twelve to sixteen cases, a double holding twice that much. Before typesetting could begin from a typical news-and-book font, two cases were pulled from the cabinet and positioned at a shallow angle as

[179] D. B. Updike, *Printing Types: Their History, Forms, and Use: A Study in Survivals,* 2 vols., 2d ed. (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1937), 1:15–24; *Specimen Book and Catalogue* (American Type Founders Co., 1923), 1077–79. Besides the typical news-and-book arrangement, job cases were available in Yankee (with the caps arranged in a double row across the top of the case), California (with caps on the right third of the case), and Wells lays. Depending on the requirements made of the press, cases were available for quads and spaces, rules, lead, and slugs. Much less common but still widely available were cases for Hebrew, Greek, and music type. Most lays (particularly the spacing and rule cases) could be ordered in two-thirds and quarter cases. A printer could also create his own case lay using undivided or "blank" cases.



a pair, one situated directly behind and above the other. The lower case sat directly in front of the typesetter and held the small letters and spaces most used in composing running text. The other case typically held capitals and small caps, figures, and numbers (a bold face constituted a different font and therefore required separate cases). This positioning accounts for the fact that we still call capitals "upper case" letters and small letters "lower case" ones.

In composition a right-handed typesetter held a composing "stick" in the left hand and moved his right hand from the stick to the proper spot over the cases to retrieve one letter, returned it to the stick to set it in place, and then moved it back to the cases for another character. The letters were placed in reading order, that is, from left to right, but upside-down, and were held in place with the left thumb. The process is more difficult than it sounds. In a newspaper's text matter a single capital M might measure only an eighth of an inch square, and since human fingers are so much larger—usually more than half an inch—working it into place near the shoulders of the stick could be tricky; obviously, typesetting became progressively more difficult as the font size grew smaller. A line of text was justified to the right margin by adding whole spaces to the end of a short line, or thin pieces of brass, copper, or paper in necessary places between words and letters.

If the page makeup instructions called for extra space between lines, thin pieces of "leading" the width of the column were placed atop a line of text before the next line was begun. These were usually bought in long rods and cut to fit the column width as needed. Once the stick was full (it might hold a dozen or more lines of type) and had been visually proofed in a quick review by the compositor, it was "dumped:" the type was moved carefully from the stick to a galley, a tray that held the composed and justified lines in a single long column.

Braced into galleys so that the type could stand without falling, the set type was stored sitting flat in racks until being proofed and corrected before page makeup. For proofreading, a galley was inked and a long sheet of paper was laid across it to receive a quick impression. From each galley this proofsheet was pulled and cross-read against the manuscript for mistakes. Typographical errors were carefully corrected by drawing out and replacing incorrect characters with the galley on the bank, a desk with a sharply angled top that kept the galleyed type leaning one direction.

Makeup

Once the galley proofs were read, corrected, and approved, pages were made up by dividing and combining the type in galleys to fit the page length needed. Leading was added to fill out the space required to position page numbers properly, any rules or ornaments ("dingbats") were added, and a piece of leading or "reglet" (thin wood bars, thicker than leading but also used to make up blank space) was added to all four sides of the page to hold everything together; if it was not going directly to press, the page of type was wrapped with string. The whole package would be quite heavy. An average octavo (6 × 9 inch) book page would weigh upward of twelve pounds; the type for a single newspaper page weighed substantially more, close to seventy-five pounds.

Before the invention of presses that could print from a web (or roll) of paper, books or pamphlets were printed on single separate sheets. Letterpress printing prints one side of the sheet, or a forme, at a time. Folded, these printed sheets became signatures (single sheets of paper with the pages arranged in such a way that when the sheet is printed on both sides, folded, and trimmed, the pages position to turn in correct order). The handpress has a bed on which the type is placed in press, but the type first has to be locked into an iron frame, the "chase," that can be lifted in and out of the press and stored easily without having to disassemble the forme.

To build the forme, the pressman first lays an empty chase on the imposing stone, which is typically a flat sheet of marble. The type in pages

was positioned roughly in it. Space needed between the pages and for margins was measured, and "press furniture" (squared wood and later metal blocks), leading, and reglet were added as necessary between the pages and the sides of the chase to fill out the space and hold the pages in their proper position. Finally, "quoins" were added and the forme was planed to level all the type to exactly the same height. The plane (a block of hardwood) was lightly tapped over the type's face with a mallet, after which the quoins were tightened to lock the forme in place. A quoin in the 1850s was typically two wedges, toothed along the upper part of the long side, which allowed a key, toothed like a gear shaft, to force them together. Once the forme is locked, it may be safely picked up from the imposing stone and stored (on edge) or moved to the press bed.

Printing

Although printing technology has changed radically in two centuries, printing on a handpress is a labor-intensive operation that has remained essentially unchanged since the European invention of the printing press and movable type in the 1450s. The presses themselves changed in two respects: by the adoption of iron over wood as a construction material and in the development of the lever action that replaced the screw as the mechanism to push the platen against the type in the bed. The way in which handpresses are operated has changed almost not at all.

Production printing on a handpress is most easily accomplished by two individuals. The pressman cranks the press bed from beneath the press platen into the open. He turns to the inkstone and picks up by the handles the two inkballs, rolling the leather facings together to freshen the ink. These wool-packed pads are used to dab ink onto the forme (though at about the time the press arrived in Utah, ink rollers were beginning to be used, which inked a forme more uniformly). While the pressman works the ink, his partner on the opposite side of the press—often a journeyman, a professional step above an apprentice (the printer's devil)—lifts the tympan and its pad of tough paper, then tips back the frisket with its masking sheet of thin paper. A sheet of the job paper is laid on the tympan and the frisket is closed over it, both to hold the paper in place and to protect the sheet from any stray ink in the areas to be left blank. As the pressman returns the inkballs to the inkstone, the journeyman closes the frisket and tympan. The pressman cranks the bed under the platen and pulls the bar once to make the impression, leaning back to add his weight to the pull.

The levers straighten with the action of the bar (or on an older handpress, the screw turns) to force the platen down, squeezing the paper onto the inked form through the tympan. Pressure on the bar is released (gently) to raise the platen, the press bed is cranked out again, and the process is repeated scores of times in an hour. After the side with the lowest-numbered page (the inner forme) is printed, the linseed oil-based ink must dry for a day before the other side of the sheet can be printed from the second, or outer, forme.

Once a forme is printed (or proofed), the type must be carefully cleaned of the oily ink before it is torn down. Then, on the imposing stone the quoins are unlocked, the furniture is put away, the lines of type are put back into the stick, and the leading is removed. The characters and spacing matter must be returned to the typecase compartments precisely. Distributing type after printing is therefore just as time-consuming as setting it.

No printed work is ever truly perfect, and in the case of hurried production, printing errors that were missed by the proofreader might be discovered in the course of printing. If the errors were minor, such as an inverted or transposed letter or damaged type, the forme was customarily corrected "in press." Usually without removing the chase from the press bed, the forme is unlocked, the error is corrected, the forme is relocked, and work continues. Any uncorrected sheets were typically counted into the edition without reprinting the affected forme. Because each sheet is printed twice (once on each side), this creates a curious situation, since it is fully possible for one side of a signature to have an error caught with only a few sheets printed, while the other side could have an error discovered halfway through the run, and either side could have other errors corrected not at all. A hand-printed book is expected to have varying stages of typographical errors scattered throughout. When the full complement of unfolded sheets goes to a bindery for folding and sewing, it is a certainty that the uncorrected first impressions of one signature will be bound with impressions from other signatures that might already have had two or three corrections made. Though bibliographers build careers on such minutiae and collectors debate "states" and "points" about specific editions, specific errors in the first signatures of one bound copy cannot be taken to mean that the book itself was one of the first books bound and offered for sale. When the sheets were folded and collated, as long as a book's text block was complete and the type readable, the exact order of printing among

signatures was immaterial. Typography and book design may constitute arts, but printing and binding were crafts frequently conducted as little more than practical expediencies for getting books to market.

W. W. Phelps's Printing Plant

The following list of equipment and supplies is extrapolated from examples of Deseret's extant printing and from the tools commonly needed by printers of the period. My sincere appreciation is extended to Steven O. Saxe of White Plains, New York, who took pains to identify Utah's first typefaces from among the many listed in contemporary typefounders' catalogues.

From Badlam's letter to Brigham Young, cited in Chapter 1, we know that Phelps may have had $1,000 at his disposal, though we don't know if the amount had to cover cartage as well. Prices given here are extrapolated from comparable sources and from the 1851 Boston Type & Stereotype Foundry catalogue. Although this entire list is a work of estimation, quantitative outright guesses are given in italics.

Press and Press Supplies

1 Philadelphia press, Crown size (22 × 16–inch platen) $150
4 to *6* iron chases, Crown size
24 to *36* quoins and quoin key (for locking type and furniture in chases)
plane (hardwood block for leveling type in the chase before finally locking the forme)
imposing stone (large marble slab on which to level type in planing)
inkstone (smallish marble slab for ink)
inkballs (wood-handled balls of tightly packed wool covered in leather for dabbing ink on the type, though a rolling pin-type inking roller could have been secured instead)

Type and Type Supplies
(produced by Boston Type & Stereotype Foundry)

Display Fonts.
Seven Line Pica Extra Condensed (c/lc) 36¢/lb.
Canon No. 1 (c/lc) 40¢/lb.
Double English No. 1 *or* Double Small Pica (c/lc) 44¢/lb.
Two-Line Brevier, Condensed No. 2 (c) $1.00/lb.
Two Line Small Pica Gothic Shaded (c) 75¢/lb.
[unknown brevier (8 point) bold font] (c/lc) 80¢/lb.

Text Fonts.

Unknown face in Long Primer [10 point; probably on a small pica body] (roman c/lc/sc, italic c/lc) 35¢/lb.

Unknown face in Bourgeois [9 point; probably on a long primer body] (roman c/lc/sc, italic c/lc) 38¢/lb.

Unknown face in Brevier [8 point; probably on a bourgeois body] (roman c/lc/sc, italic c/ilc) 43¢/lb.

Ornaments and Supplies.

6 various small pica [11-point] paired type ornaments 60¢/lb.

1 flying eagle ornament (32 × 132 points)

rule borders (probably in 2-foot lengths: thick-thin and single line rules, wavy line rule)

leading (thin lead bars used as spacing material) 28¢–75¢/lb.

46 (minimum) news-and-book typecases (roughly fifty pounds of type in each case; some were probably blank, slug and lead, or rule cases)

6 job [display] typecases (or 3 double cases)

Print Media

2 to *5* pounds of black printer's ink (lampblack and linseed oil, though ink could have been mixed in the city)

1 to *3* gallons solvent (likely turpentine)

17 "printers'" reams of Medium newsprint (a ream had five hundred 18 × 23–inch sheets, which were halved or quartered for most printing)

Items Possibly Made in Salt Lake City

wood press furniture (blocks of varying sizes used to fill large blank spaces in a press forme)

reglet (long wood sticks used for wider line spacing than leading)

bank (angled surface used to hold type when making up pages from galleys)

cabinets (for storing typecases)

proofreader/editor's desk

tables for ink and imposing stones

composing sticks

composing bank (to hold typecases in composition)

galleys (square-sided trays to hold set foundry type before being divided into pages or columns)

galley cabinet

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