

SETTLEMENT AND GROWTH OF THE GILA VALLEY
IN GRAHAM COUNTY AS A MORMON COLONY
1879 TO 1900

by

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Chapter I.

MOVEMENT OF THE MORMONS INTO ARIZONA

Brigham Young, the Mormon prophet, planned for his people a vast empire in the West. Soon after the arrival of the Mormons in Utah in 1847, he took definite action toward the realization of his proposed State of Deseret. It was to be composed of all the land from the Gila River in the south to about the present northern boundary of Idaho in the north, and between the Sierra Nevada Mountains in the west to the Rockies in the east.¹ On July 5, 1849, application was made to congress for admission of the state of Deseret to the Union. Congress did not consider the application for statehood of Deseret, but organized Utah territory in 1850. The church, however, proceeded in its plan to colonize this vast western domain. By 1860 the best land in Utah had been claimed and Brigham Young began the practice of calling groups of settlers to move into nearby lands.²

Two previously operating factors had determined that Arizona should receive early emphasis in the Mormon coloniza-

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1. Bancroft. Works. vol. 26, pp. 440-441.
 2. By 1880 according to the U. S. Census there were 3,205 Mormons in Idaho; 1,338 in Arizona; 804 in Nevada; 234 in Washington; 241 in Colorado; 1,331 in California; 451 in Wyoming; 554 in Montana. -Bancroft. Works. vol. 26, p. 693.

tion movement: first, the trip of the Mormon Battalion; and, second, the early missionary work of Jacob Hamblin and others in Northern Arizona.

In 1846 when the Mormons were en route to the West from Illinois, war began between the United States and Mexico. The Mormon leaders saw in the event a possible source of aid in their westward trip. They offered to haul freight, to build roads, or to fight for the United States. They accepted the government's offer and five hundred men enlisted to march to the aid of General Kearney in California. Their wages enabled families and friends to reach Utah. The Battalion crossed Southern Arizona. It followed almost exactly the present line of the Southern Pacific Railroad, from where the town of Douglas is now located, west to the California boundary at the junction of the Gila and Colorado Rivers.³ The members of the Battalion were much impressed with the San Pedro and Gila River valleys as places of future settlement.⁴

In 1858 a missionary party under the leadership of Jacob Hamblin was sent by the Mormon church leaders to the Hopi and Moqui Indians in Northern Arizona. The group was

3. Bancroft. Works. vol. 26, pp. 240-246; and McClintock. Mormon Settlements in Arizona, pp. 130-136.

4. This is evidenced by the fact that more than 33 of the 340 Battalion members returned later to settle in Arizona. -McClintock. Mormon Settlement in Arizona, p. 140.

not well received and had little success in converting
these tribes.⁵ Hamblin continued, however, to lead mission-
ary parties to the Indians of Northern Arizona from 1859 to
1877.

Missionary scouting was followed by settlers. Towns
were made first on the strip of Arizona north of the Colorado
between the years 1854 to 1872. In 1873 a company of Mormon
families was sent to make a colony in the land along the
Little Colorado River south of the Grand Canyon. Indian
troubles caused them to turn back.⁶

The permanent Mormon settlement of Arizona south of the
Colorado began in 1876 when at a conference in Salt Lake City
a group of fifty men, many with families, were called to
settle in Arizona. Little bands continued to ford the Colo-
rado River at Lee's Ferry throughout the years between 1876
and 1879. Several towns were built along the Little Colorado.
Small villages and ranches dotted the habitable areas north
of the Arizona mountain region.⁷ Mormon colonization of the
Salt River Valley at Mesa and Tempe began in 1875. In 1879
a colony came to the San Pedro Valley.

Living conditions along the Little Colorado and in

-
5. The Book of Mormon, scripture of the Mormons, declares the Indians to be of the blood of God's chosen Israel, and makes the Mormons responsible for their conversion.
 6. McClintock. Mormon Settlement in Arizona, p. 137.
 7. Apache County grew from 587 Mormon people in 1878 to 6,000 in 1887. -Bancroft. Works. vol. 26, p. 610.

other parts of Northern Arizona were not satisfactory. The winters were long and cold, the soil was poor, and the river washed out the dams and canals of the farmers. In addition to these troubles many of the people grew tired of living in the "United Order". This order held all land and produce in common. Stories of the warm fertile valleys to the south told by the Battalion aroused in the settlers a desire to move into Southern Arizona.

□ Ft. Thomas
□ Peter Moore's farm

Chart No I

The Gila Valley in 1879

□ Markin Farm

□ Oregon Ditch and Farm

□ Mrs. Patterson
Farm + Nevada Ditch

□ Rustlers Ranch

□ Connelly Ranch

Central Ditch

□ Safford

□ Mill Ditch Farm

□ Sunflower Ditch

□ Brewery
Ranch

□ Solomonville

Sanchez Ditch

San Jose
Montezuma
Canal

Chapter II.

FOUNDING AND SETTLEMENT OF MORMON COLONY IN GRAHAM COUNTY, 1879-1883

In the fall of 1878 the settlers in Northern Arizona were in a state of uncertainty and suspense. Unsatisfactory farming conditions, spoken of in the last chapter, caused the dissolution of many of the towns. Many people camped in little groups while scouting parties searched for favorable locations.

One small group gathered at Coolies Ranch on the north slope of the White Mountains. They were cutting posts for a rancher by the name of Coolie. J. K. Rogers and William Teeples, leaders of the group, made a scouting trip to the Gila Valley. Only Teeples was favorably impressed. Later in the winter Hyrum Weech joined the Coolie group. He was interested in Teeples' account of the Gila and the two promoted another exploration trip. The party left their Coolie camp, February 1, 1879.¹

After several days travel over rugged, wild country, the party looked from the barren Gila Mountain range twenty miles across the valley to the snow-covered Graham Mountains on the south. Grass and brush-covered mesas sloped from the

1. John W. Tanner, Ben Pierce, Weech, and Teeples were in the party. -H. Weech. Autobiography, pp. 21-23.

Rocky Mountains seven or eight miles to a strip of lower land bordering the river. The level valley was about thirty-five miles long and opened rapidly from box canyons at either end.

The land below the mesas was nearly level and was covered with a dense growth of mesquite. Here and there were open spaces of tall grass. The Gila River, a small stream forty to one hundred feet across, meandered through swamps and marshes. It was lined on either side with cottonwood and willow trees, and a thicket of brush and reeds.² Wild game abounded; rabbits and quail were everywhere; deer, antelope, bear, and turkey were plentiful in the foothills and mountains and frequented the lower lands. The Valley had the appearance of a hunter's paradise.

Only small beginnings of farming had been made in the Valley. A few farms were cleared near the river; white outlaws and cattle rustlers lived in little ranches in the adjoining hills and mountains.

The scouting party crossed the river near the west end of the Valley at Fort Thomas. This adobe fort quartered about one hundred negro troops and had been established in 1876 as an outpost against the Apache Indians.³ Around the fort had grown a small town of three stores, and two saloons. Several dwellings housed the few white people who took care

2. H. Weech. Autobiography, p. 23.

3. Arizonian, February 10, 1899.

⁴
of the town's business.

A short distance east of Fort Thomas, Peter Moore was raising potatoes, hay, and grain to help supply the post. He had a little clearing which he irrigated by a small ditch from the river.⁵

A freighting road cut deep in dust or mud entered Fort Thomas from Globe. It proceeded eastward throughout the Valley and on to Fort Bowie, the nearest Southern Pacific Railroad station. About twelve miles east of Fort Thomas the scouting party found the farm of a Mrs. Patterson. It was a one hundred and sixty acre tract partly farmed, and irrigated from the Nevada ditch.⁶ A few miles to the east the level valley reached its maximum width of about four miles. Here for a short distance the sea of mesquite was broken by large open spaces which were covered with grass. Four miles farther east was a group of half-cleared and poorly-tended farms.⁷ They were irrigated from the Central ditch. This ditch headed four miles east on the river just north of the

4. H. Weech. Autobiography, p. 23.

5. Peter Moore came to the Valley in 1875. -Arizonian, February 10, 1899.

6. The Nevada ditch had been built by John Mowlds, Frank Webb, and George Turner in 1876. It was called Nevada because the men came from there. -H. Weech. Autobiography, p. 23
Canal and ditch in this paper are both used to refer to excavations for conveying irrigation water from the river to the farms. The distinction in their usage is that canal is larger and constructed by a more formally organized company.

7. In 1874 J. E. Bailey, Hyrum Kennedy, Glasby, and Hughes built the Central Canal. It headed at the river below Safford and extended to the Conley ranch. In 1875 Ingalls extended a small branch to Ash Creek, now at Pima. -Arizonian, February 3, 1899.

8
little town of Safford.

In 1879 Safford had two general merchandise stores, one combined with a saloon. A Tucson firm was building a grist mill with a canal from the river for power. A few Mexican adobe houses were clustered in the mesquite around the store and grist mill.⁹

Just east of Safford and nearer the river was a farm irrigated by the Sunset canal. The canal was built in 1875 by three men, J. E. Bailey, Hyrum Kennedy, and W. A. Holmes.¹⁰ Four miles southeast was the old Pueblo Viejo brewery ranch. In the center of its cleared land was a rambling old adobe house surrounded by several adobe shacks.

The valley east of the Brewery ranch was more thickly settled. Mexicans had been farming little clearings for many years. In 1872 a Tucson firm had built the Montezuma canal which covered most of the tillable land south of the river.¹¹ Three miles east of the Brewery ranch was the village of Solomonville.¹² From Solomonville the freight road led east

-
8. Established about 1872. The town was named for the territorial governor, A. K. Safford, then touring the territory. -Payne. Farming and Irrigation in the Gila Valley.
 9. The white population was perhaps twelve, and the whole American and Mexican was not more than forty. -H. Weech. Autobiography, pp. 23-24.
 10. Arizonian, February 3, 1899.
 11. H. Weech. Autobiography, p. 24; Minute Book of Montezuma Canal Company.
 12. Solomonville consisted of the store and dwelling of Adolph Solomon and adobe huts which housed about 100 Mexicans. Solomon had come to the valley several years earlier. The Mexicans were working for him burning charcoal for the Lezinsky Mines at Clifton. His canal was an extension of the old Montezuma. -Payne. Farming and Irrigation in the Gila Valley; H. Weech. Autobiography, p. 24; Graham County News, June 22, 1882.

and out of the valley. The course of the river was more nearly northward. The lower lands narrowed fast to the river canyon five miles above.

At San Jose "Pueblo Viejo" was an old adobe fort. Around it, in the mesquite, were perhaps twenty-five small adobe huts. From the San Jose canal, a ditch built by the Mexicans, a grist mill was being operated northeast of San Jose.

Small clearings and huts fringed the river banks. Mexicans plowed the small farms with oxen and forked sticks. They irrigated their little patches from the Montezume canal.

The strip of level land between the foothills and the river on the north side was narrower than that on the south. Its width varied but was not in the widest place more than one mile. Except for a few clearings at the east end, made by Mexicans, there were only three farms on this side of the river. One called Rustlers Ranch was located north across the river from the Conley ranch.¹³ Only a small part of its one hundred and sixty acres were being irrigated from the river. A few miles below Rustlers Ranch and not more than a mile or so apart were two farms irrigated, one by the Oregon, and the other by the Markam ditch.¹⁴

13. The Conley ranch was located just north of the present town of Thatcher, and was one of the ranches under the Union ditch (see Chart I). Rustlers Ranch was so called because it was built by several cowboys who were thought to be rustlers. Their names were Powere Brothers and Snider. -Samuel Curtis, Personal Interview, October 15, 1933.

14. These ranches were north across the river from the present town of Pima. One a little above and the other a little below the present town of Bryce. The Oregon ditch was built in 1875 and 1876 by the Casner Brothers from Oregon. -Arizonian, February 10, 1899.

The farming of the Valley as a whole was very poorly done. Most farmers were cattlemen first and farmers incidentally. Mexicans did most of the farm work. Carelessness and lethargy was written everywhere. In the small stumped fields, corn, melons, cane, wheat, and barley thrived¹⁵ in spite of weeds and grass. The soil was a fertile sandy loam renewed each year from the river floods. The warm sunny climate with seven to eight months growing season made it seem a paradise to the wanderers from the north.

Members of the scouting party were well pleased with the Valley. They selected a location for their settlement near the open land three miles east of Mrs. Patterson's ranch. With a team and wagon which they borrowed from a rancher by the name of Humphrey, and aided by a pocket compass, they laid out sixteen quarter sections and put logs to mark the corners.

The day after the return of the scouting party to their camp at Coolie's Ranch the men reported their findings to Jessie N. Smith, president of Snowflake Stake, and asked¹⁶ permission to go to the Gila. The following Sunday President Smith organized the camp into a branch of the church¹⁷ with J. K. Rogers as president. On March twentieth the camp

15. Graham County News, September 23, 1882.

16. The Mormon Church is made up of larger territorial divisions called stakes. The stakes are each divided into wards and branches, the smallest local church units. Snowflake stake was composed of the settlements of north-eastern Arizona. Its headquarters were at the town of Snowflake.

17. William R. Teeple and Henry D. Dall were set apart as Rogers' counselors. H. Weech. Autobiography, p. 25.

disbanded and began its trip southward. There were twenty-¹⁸ five people in the group. The cattle and other stock were driven behind the wagons.

¹⁹ After a hard journey, the party, on April 8, 1879, found their claims at Smithville, as the town on the Gila was to be called, undisturbed. They made camp in the thick mesquite and set about arranging shelter, building a public corral, and digging a well. The covered wagon boxes served²⁰ as houses. Trails led from the well to each abode.

The town of Smithville was soon laid out into sixteen²¹ blocks of four lots each, one and three fourth acres in size. The men drew lots for building locations. Lot six was reserved for public buildings. On Sunday a prayer and fast meeting was held, and the land was dedicated to the gathering²² of the saints.

-
18. The party consisted of J. K. Rogers, Teeples, Urton Haws, William Thomspen, and their families; Weech, Dall, and Edgar Sessions. Sessions was unmarried but Weech's and Dall's families had been left in Utah. -Payne. Story of Pima; and, H. Weech. Autobiography, p. 25; and St. Joseph Stake History, Pima Ward.
 19. Mrs. Caroline Teeples tells of driving a team with a baby in her arms. At Black River a road had to be blasted up the hill and all teams doubled on each wagon to pull it up. -Mrs. Caroline Teeples. Interview, December 15, 1932.
 20. Water was hauled from the well on forked sticks called lizards, hence lizard trails.
 21. St. Joseph Stake History, Pima Ward.
 22. The Mormons claim that they are of the literal blood of scattered Israel and that their gathering in the West is in fulfillment of Bible scripture of the gathering of Israel.

The settlers were confronted at once with a serious food problem. Provisions were scarce. They had left Utah with few supplies and a very small amount of money, and had spent much time traveling about. Necessities were expensive in the Valley; flour eight dollars per hundred and other foods proportionate.²³ They bought, on credit, squatter claims to their land, and a ditch site from William Gillespie; but they could raise no crops until a canal was built from the river, and the land improved. This required considerable time and labor.²⁴ To sustain them until their land was improved they²⁵ rented Mrs. Patterson's farm, three miles west.

Here they raised a crop in the summer of 1879. Other settlers joined the town during 1879, and in December they began in earnest work on the Smithville canal. Hyrum Weech, William Teeples, and Alfred Baker, a recent arrival, with a bench and plumb bob made the survey. For the excavation work, scrapers were made of hollowed-out cottonwood logs, and a huge plow from the forks of a tree. Both scrapers and plow²⁶ were pointed with iron. By April 1880 water was in the canal. Small crops were grown during the summer of 1880.

Tents and wagon boxes were sufficient for shelter in the summer, but as fall drew on in 1879 work on log houses

23. Mrs. Caroline Teeples. Interview, October 23, 1933.

24. H. Weech. Autobiography, p. 32.

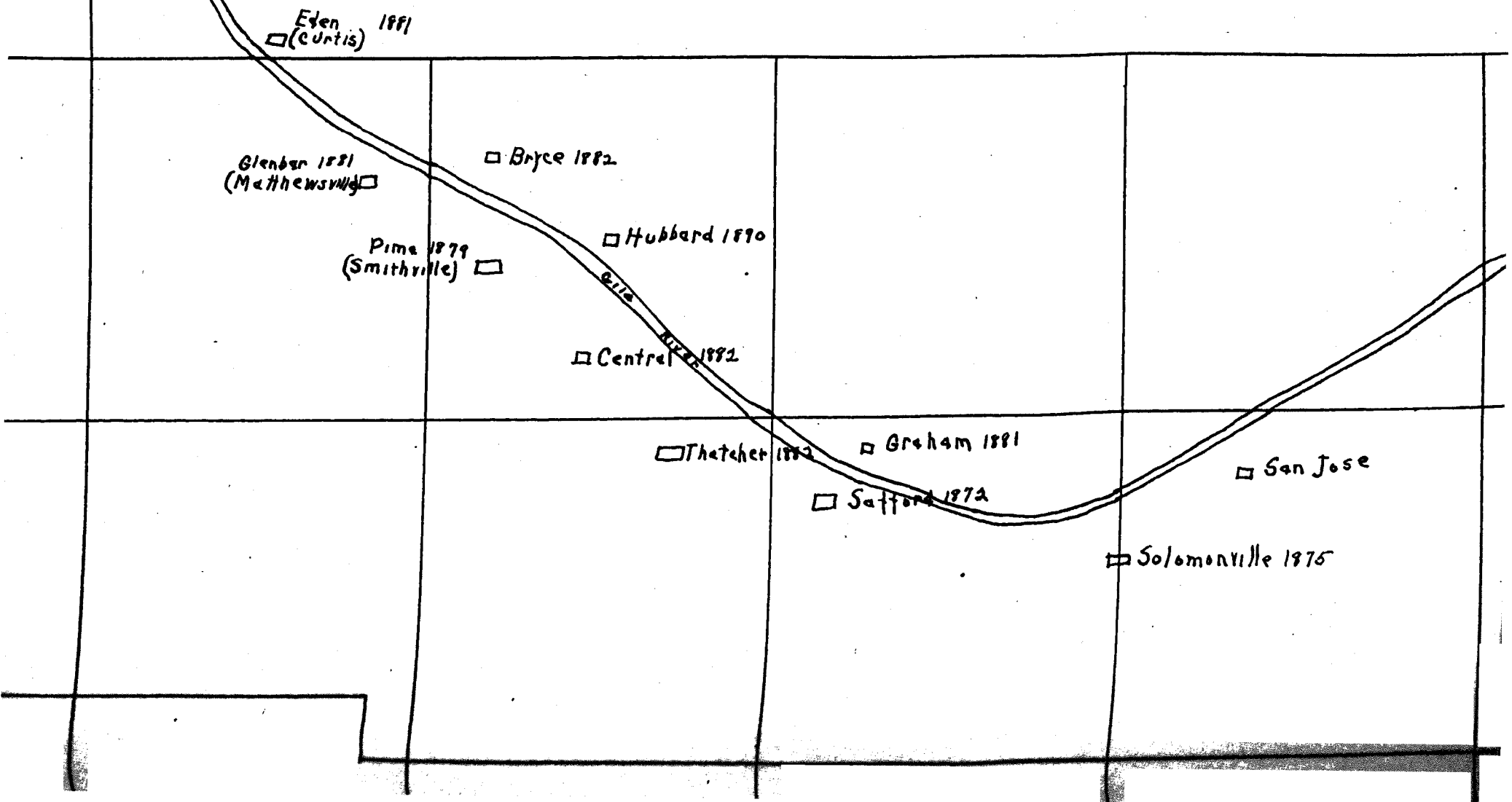
25. St. Joseph Stake History, Pima Ward.

26. The V drawn by eight oxen marked the course, cleared the brush, and made a large furrow. The scrapers deepened and finished the canal. -H. Weech. Autobiography, p. 32. St. Joseph Stake History, Pima Ward.

Fl. Thomas 1876

CHART NO III

TOWNS OF THE GILA VALLEY AND DATES OF SETTLEMENT



was begun. These houses were made of cottonwood logs. By early winter most of the first group of settlers had houses finished. Other settlers who continued to arrive lived²⁷ during the winter in tents or wagon boxes.

New land seldom produces abundantly, and the few crops raised could no more than sustain life. Each family's store of food had to be constantly shared with new arrivals who were destitute. Money was needed to pay for settler's claims, for machinery, for clothes, and other necessities. Men soon found a ready source of money in freighting. All supplies²⁸ had to be hauled by wagon to the mining camps and posts. Indian attacks made the work dangerous but profitable. Every family had a team of oxen, mules, or horses, and soon most of the people of the community were at least partly supported by freighting. The burning of charcoal likewise²⁹ offered profitable employment.

Settlers continued during 1880 to arrive from Utah and Northern Arizona. By fall there were thirty-six families, one hundred and forty-eight people, living in Smithville. The town claims were soon all taken.

Early in 1880 Joseph and David Matthews, brothers, and a Mr. Waddell came from Round Valley in Northern Arizona. Waddell and Joseph Matthews bought one-third interest in the

27. H. Weech. Autobiography, p. 29.

28. Globe, Clifton, and Morenci; the posts at Fort Thomas and Fort Bowie freighted through the valley from Bowie. Weech tells of freighting potatoes from Peter Moore's to Globe for money to return to Utah for his family in 1880. Ibid.

29. Charcoal was used at the mining camps in the smelting of ore. Mesquite wood made the best charcoal.

old Nevada ditch and one hundred and sixty acres from Mrs.
³⁰
Patterson. This was the beginning of Matthews ville, now
called Glenbar. Two more Matthews brothers, Solomon T. and
Charles, arrived in 1881 and bought another one-third of
the Nevada. A crop of corn was raised in the summer of 1881
and in December 1881, David Matthews built the first log
house in the settlement. In 1882 Smithville bought the re-
maining one-third of the Nevada ditch.

The town of Graham on the north side of the river and
about four miles east of Smithville was begun in 1881. In
November 1880 a scouting party from Brigham City on the Little
Colorado rode through the valley.
³¹
This party of men bought
the old Rustlers Ranch consisting of four partly-cleared and
partly-farmed quarter sections. The land was irrigated by a
³²
small canal from the river. George Lake remained to look
after the claims while the other men of the party returned
to Brigham City to bring their families. In January 1881
the company of settlers arrived in the Valley with cows,
³³
sheep, seed, and implements.

-
30. They lived in their wagon boxes during the first year.
The one-third of the ditch and the one hundred and sixty
acres sold at twelve hundred dollars. The settlers found
an old stockade already built. -St. Joseph State History,
Matthews Ward.
31. George Lake, Andrew Anderson, and George Skinner made up
the party.
32. Eighteen hundred dollars was paid for the ranch and canal.
It was paid in cattle at thirty-five dollars each. The
ditch was three miles long and forms the upper end of what
is now the Graham canal. A small adobe house stood on the
claim. -St. Joseph Stake History, Graham Ward.
33. The company was composed of six families: George Skinner,
Andrew Anderson, George Lake, Jorgen Jorgensen, Rueben
Fuller, Lyman Wilson. -Ibid., p. 8.

The town of Curtis, now called Eden, was begun in 1881 when Moses Curtis and William Hawkins came from Brigham City on the Little Colorado. They bought claims to two quarter sections for two hundred and fifty dollars. In 1881 Mr. Curtis farmed the Humphrey farm just across the river north from Smithville while his sons and Hawkins worked at building a canal from the river to cover their claims at Curtisville. In 1882 the canal was finished early enough for a small crop to be raised.³⁴ A large stockade of cottonwood poles covering several acres was built as protection against the Indians.³⁵ By fall, 1882, eight families were living there.

The town of Thatcher on the south side of the river about five miles east of Smithville had its first beginnings when John M. Moody in July 1881 bought the old Conley ranch. In 1882 four other families settled on land near Moody.³⁶

In the fall of 1882, Central, about midway between Thatcher and Smithville, had its inception. Six families from Forrest Dale³⁷ bought an interest in the Central ditch which irrigated Moody's ranch. They extended the ditch to Central a mile or so west.

Ebenezer Bryce and sons arrived in Smithville in 1882. Early in 1883 they bought squatters claims to land north,

34. Families lived in brush boweries and wagon boxes in 1881. Ibid., p. 8.

35. Mr. Payne says that only one meal a day was had by those building the canal. -Payne. Story of Eden.

36. David Cluff, David Zufelt, James Pace, and Hyrum Brinkerhoff. -Payne. Story of Thatcher.

37. Joseph and Orson Cluff, George Clemens, John D. Young, Whitbeck and A. Lampson, -S. W. Kimball. Notes.

just across the river. They began the Bryce settlement and
the Bryce ditch.³⁸

On January 13, 1883, Charles Tippetts from Utah bought the claim of John Penfold about one and one half miles south-east of Safford. This marked the beginning of the Layton settlement. Later in 1883 Tippetts was joined by several other families who bought land from a Safford man by the name of Tuttle.³⁹ The few small ditches from the river were consolidated and enlarged. The Montezuma canal was extended from Solomonville to Layton.

In the four years since the first families arrived in 1879, the Mormon population of the Valley had grown very rapidly. Smithville and Matthewsville together boasted a population of four hundred and fourteen; Thatcher and Central, one hundred and forty-five; Graham, forty-five; and Curtis, one hundred and seventeen. There were perhaps one hundred Mormon settlers in the Valley scattered around outside the towns. The total population had reached about eight hundred and twenty-five.⁴⁰

A remarkable spirit of cooperation marked the early Mormon settlement of the Valley. Smithville since 1880 had been a city of refuge for those who had failed to find satisfactory conditions in Northern Arizona and Southern Utah.

38. Bryce paid four head of horses for his claim. He raised a crop in 1883 with waste water from the old Oregon canal. The Bryce canal was not finished until 1884. -St. Joseph Stake History, Bryce Ward.

39. The families were those of Charles Warner, Charles Olsen, John and Adam Welker, and Mads Madsen. -St. Joseph Stake History, Layton Ward.

40. Deseret News, vol. 32, p. 574.

As long as the farming land of their original claims lasted it was divided with new settlers who would share in paying for it. Even after farm lands were all dispensed, town lots were given to new arrivals. Until after 1883, all Mormon immigrants to the Valley were welcomed at Smithville where they received food and shelter until they were located in adjacent settlements. The people in general shared and fared alike. In Graham for a short while a community order was followed. It was transferred from the United Order of Brigham City on the Little Colorado.

Most of the earliest settlers were relatively poor, and some very poor. A few of the later ones brought some property and money. The life was that of the frontier. Most of the houses were of Cottonwood logs, many without floors.⁴¹ Window curtains marked one as well-to-do.

Foods were the coarsest. Wild game, corn bread, beans and bacon formed the base of their diet. Sorghum molasses⁴² and some honey provided their sugar. Milk was scarce, and the only fruit was dried apples which were very expensive.

The church held first place in the lives of the people. The companies of immigrants traveling to the Valley observed

41. Building materials were very expensive. Rough pine lumber from Frye's mill in the Graham Mountains was one hundred dollars per thousand.

42. Mrs. Hattie Williams says they used their little milk for gravy one day, butter the next. The cornmeal was ground in a coffee mill, and wild greens were gathered for vegetables. -Mrs. Hattie Williams. Interview, October 15, 1932.

the Sabbath. They rested and attended meetings. Sunday and other church services were conducted regularly in the Gila settlements; first in private homes or under brush boweries. At times even before homes were completed the people of the community built a church.⁴³ In addition to its several regular Sunday services which filled the whole day, the church sponsored social and religious gatherings throughout the week. There was a Relief Society for women, Young People's Mutual Improvement Association for youth, Primary for the children,⁴⁴ and Priesthood for men. Each held its regular weekly meeting.⁴⁵

There were square dances and celebrations.⁴⁵ The functions furnished a delightful respite from long days of frontier drudgery.⁴⁶

Although few of the Mormon pioneer settlers had any school education, they early established schools in the Valley. Smithville had completed a small log schoolhouse by December 1879.⁴⁷ The other towns built schoolhouses within the first

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43. In Smithville Teeple and Weech left their houses unfinished to work on the church (1879).
44. Peter McBride tells of organizing and conducting a valley choir that traveled as far as Snowflake at conference time. -Peter McBride. Interview, December 1932.
45. In addition to these there were husking bees, candy pulls, wool pickings, and rabbit hunts. Cowboys from the surrounding ranches joined in the games, sports, feasts, and evening dances. -Mrs. Caroline Teeple. Interview, December 1933.
46. Many people from the Valley went by team to Snowflake, Stake Headquarters, to the regular quarterly conference. Each stake, or geographical division of the Mormon church, holds conference of its whole membership four times a year; then the church as a whole convenes at Salt Lake City twice a year.
47. This was less than a year after the town was founded. -Mrs. Caroline Teeple. Interview, December 1933.

48

year or two of their establishment. These were typical pioneer schools. Pupils sat on wooden blocks sawed from tree trunks, or benches fashioned from logs held up by wooden pegs. True to pioneer school type the terms were intermittent and irregular.

Indians and malaria joined with the common hardships of the frontier to make life in the Valley difficult. There were times when so many people in the communities were sick with malaria, that there were scarcely enough who were well to care for those who were ill. The cause of this malady was that people drank water from ditches and shallow wells. It was not until 1883 that the disease abated gradually.

Indians were a constant source of distress and suffering. After a series of Apache raids in 1875, the government sent troops, "rounded up" the Indians, and established posts to keep them on their respective reservations. Led by Victorio, Geronimo, Juh, the Apache kid, and others, hostile bands of Apache and Chiricahua Indians raided Southern Arizona and New Mexico on their trips to and from old Mexico. The Gila Valley was along the regular path of travel. The people lived in mortal dread expecting at any time, day or

48. Curtis had built a schoolhouse by the fall of 1882.

-Graham County News, September 23, 1882.

School was first held in Graham in the summer of 1884.

-St. Joseph Stake History, Graham Ward.

49. Robinson. Story of Arizona, p. 206.

night, to hear that the Indians were coming. Messengers on horseback carried the news through the Valley as raiding Indians advanced. From 1879 to 1881 the settlers of the other Mormon towns assembled in Smithville at the alarm.⁵⁰ Each community had its organized band of minute men who kept horses and guns ready. Some settlers were killed, but if unopposed the Indians usually took what stock or food they needed and went on their way.⁵¹ The people tried to feed and please the Indian bands, but Curtis and Matthews in 1882 each built a log stockade as a safer protection against them.

^{51a}
The usual hostile attitude of the Gentiles toward the Mormons was not to be found in Graham County. Latter-Day Saints⁵² were praised by newspapers and individuals as being thrifty, industrious, and law abiding.⁵³ This attitude, of course, had good foundations. The Mormon towns being nearer the reservations acted as buffers for the other county communities in Indian troubles. They also added strength against the border outlaws, rustlers, and renegades. The Mormons were

50. The settlers of Matthewsville and Curtis spent most of the winters of 1880 and 1881 in Smithville. -St. Joseph Stake History, Matthews Ward; and, E.E.Hancock. -Interview, December 1933.

51. Occasionally an only team or milk cow was the loss. Freighters often were robbed of teams and goods.

51a. Gentiles is used in this paper according to the common Mormon usage. It refers in general to all people, except Jews, outside the Latter-Day Saints Church.

52. Mormon is the nickname for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

53. Graham County News, November 4, 1882; and, Franklin. Interview, October 15, 1934.

farmers and cared little for business or political leadership. They did not interfere with the interests of the Gentiles of the county who were engaged mostly in cattle raising, mining, and business. In fact, their produce meant a ready supply of perishable fruits, vegetables, dairy and poultry products for the mining camps. It meant cheaper food for rancher and his stock. The Mormon trade meant money to non-Mormon merchants and dealers in produce.

Economically the growth of the Mormon settlements to 1883 was slow in proportion to population increase. The earliest settlers were in general those who, for one reason or another had failed to prosper in Utah. Many had followed the Utah frontier to the desert region in the south and into Arizona. It was natural that the more progressive had found favorable opportunities earlier. The colonists saw few of the financial advantages of a new country. Hyrum Weech and others made small business or industrial ventures, but because of lack of capital and business judgment they

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54. Many of the Arizona settlers had been called by church authorities to come to Arizona. Except for the leaders, people who were prospering were not in most cases called. Other settlers just drifted with the frontier. -W. T. Webb. Interview, July 2, 1936.
55. Mr. Webb says many were of the pioneering stock who were content with little. -Ibid.
There were a few exceptions in people who had arrived in Utah from the East or from Europe too late to acquire valuable land.

56
did not succeed.

Farm lands in the Valley were easily acquired. Only a few clearings along the river banks were privately owned. All other land was open to homesteading. The private farm property could be traded for, or could be bought at a low price, on liberal terms. In spite of this situation, Smithville settlers obtained little choice land. Its founders erred in choosing ground close along the river bank on which little vegetation grew. This soil was easily put under cultivation, but was of inferior quality. Many of the residents of Smithville made no effort to get farm property. They were content with a town house and lot, and made a living by freighting or by doing odd jobs.

In 1882 it was found that much of the land on which the people had settled belonged to the old railroad grant of the Texas Pacific Railroad Company. The townsite of Smithville was on this grant. The settling of the dispute between the railroad company and the farmers came after 1882 and will be discussed in a succeeding chapter.

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56. Weech tried his hand at the mercantile business, freighting, sawmill, and was head of the Smithville Irrigation and Manufacturing Company, but had little success. The Cluffs established a sugar mill, and a large farm at the foot of the mountain, but they failed to do much constructive farming. Sugar cane would not make worthwhile sugar. -Graham County News, September 16, 1882; December 20, 1882.
57. Webb. Interview, July 2, 1936.
58. The assessment rolls of Graham County, 1881 and 1882, and the recorder's ledgers show that many had only a town lot and a few personal belongings.
59. A plank in the Democratic County Platform of 1882 pledged the organization to restoration of the land to the people. Development was retarded as long as the title to the land was in question.

Some few Mormons were progressive farmers and came⁶⁰ into possession of good land. Their holdings were small and their capital very limited, but they made up for these handicaps in hard work. In spite of losses in time, crops, and farm animals to Indians and outlaws, and in spite of sickness, they prospered. A few of these Smithville farmers formed a cooperative development company called "The Smithville Irrigation and Manufacturing Company". They established a store in Smithville and appointed Hyrum Weech as manager. In 1882 the company bought two-twelfths interest in the Central canal and extended it five miles into the town of Smithville.⁶¹ Two smaller ditches were built to cover lands north between the town and the river.

Between 1879 and 1883 the Mormons had settled and cleared between eight thousand and nine thousand acres of⁶² land. They had built nearly forty miles of new canals,⁶³ and had enlarged fifteen to twenty miles of the old ditches.⁶⁴

60. There were thirty-seven Mormons on the tax rolls in 1881, with an average assessed valuation of four hundred dollars. In the county as a whole there were two hundred and twenty-nine with an average assessed valuation of one thousand three hundred and eighty-nine dollars.

61. St. Joseph Stake History, Pima Ward.

62. There were about two thousand acres in the neighborhood of Curtis. -St. Joseph State History, Eden Ward. There were about six or seven thousand acres in Smithville, Central, and Thatcher district; two thousand five hundred above Curtis north of the river; two hundred or more near Safford.

63. There were nine miles at Curtis. -St. Joseph Stake History, Eden Ward. Twelve miles at Bryce and Graham, five miles at Matthewsville, ten miles at Smithville, and five miles at Central and Thatcher.

64. The old ditches were widened from three or four feet to, in many cases, eight to ten feet and deepened proportionately.

They had about three thousand acres under cultivation. The first assessment rolls of 1881 showed thirty-seven Mormons listed, with a combined assessed value of fourteen thousand eight hundred and five dollars. This was four and six-tenths per cent. of the total county valuation. In 1883 there were one hundred and twelve names with a total value of fifty-two thousand eighty-one dollars. This was an increase of about two hundred per cent. and was nine per cent. of the total county valuation.⁶⁵ The value of the average individual assessment had risen from four hundred dollars to four hundred sixty-five dollars.

Law enforcement in Graham County during this period (1879-1883) was very lax. The lawless were almost in the majority. The sheriff's force could maintain only a semblance of order in the communities. The sheriff often headed volunteer posses of the more law-abiding citizens against some renegade or group of renegades who had robbed more seriously or killed some prominent white person. Much of the law was that of the border, personally made and personally enforced.⁶⁶

The church organization of the Mormons, as in Utah, provided for handling most of the minor social and legal

65. Figures taken from table of assessed valuation, table II, compiled from county assessment rolls of 1881-1883 (Summary table).

66. E. E. Hancock tells of finding three different men hanged to trees. -Hancock. Interview, 1932.

cases of its people. Group pressure and the bishop's court⁶⁷ administered and enforced justice. Few cases ever came to⁶⁸ law. In general the Mormon settlers of the Valley were on the side of those who sought peace and law for the protection⁶⁹ of their homes. Their organizations of minute men often aided the sheriff's posses in capturing criminals.

Politics of the time were openly corrupt. Methods of the professional politicians made free use of whisky, bribery, intimidation, and force. Votes of the Mexicans⁷⁰ and mine laborers were bought and sold regularly.

The Mormon settlers came into a political atmosphere in Arizona charged with party bitterness. Since its territorial organization in 1864 its administration had been Republican, as had the national administration. The early cattle and mining barons had, for personal advantages, been Republicans, or at least had stayed close to the Republican⁷¹ administration. It happened that before 1870 most of the settlers either were Republicans or took no active political interest in affairs. Changes, after 1870, began to occur. Overcrowding of the Texas range moved its frontier northward into Arizona and with it came many small⁷² cattle ranchers. These ranchers were Democrats. Gradually

67. The Bishop of the ward and his two councilors made up a court which tried minor offenses.

68. The Graham County News for October 14, 1882, says that Joseph Foster, Justice of the Peace of Smithville, never had any cases before him.

69. Franklin. Interview, October 15, 1934.

70. H. C. Layton. Interview, July 15, 1936.

71. W. B. Kelly. Interview, July 17, 1936.

72. W. T. Webb. Interview, July 17, 1936; W. B. Kelly, Interview, July 15, 1936.

the Democratic vote increased and the Republicans became fearful. The Mormon vote, as in Utah, was largely Democratic. This was probably due to a reaction against the Illinois Republicans who had in 1847 exiled them; and against the Republican administration which had given them no protection. The Mormon immigrants to Arizona in the year 1870 swelled the already mounting Democratic vote. It was natural that they should receive the full measure of Republican wrath and the hearty endorsement of the Democrats. The feeling was intense throughout the territory. In Apache County anti-Mormon political feeling resulted in open warfare. In the election of 1880 the votes of several Mormon precincts were "thrown out".⁷³

Gila Valley from 1879 to 1881, when the first Mormons came, was a part of Pima County. Southern Arizona early received more than its quota of Texas Democrats as shown in the election of 1880. The creation of Graham County in 1881 was a political move on the part of a few leading Democrats. Like Pima County, it remained a stronghold of the Democratic party.⁷⁴ The Mormons in Pima, and later Graham, County were welcomed by those in power. They had little political hostility at home. Those Mormons who did vote, practically all voted Democratic, but the active political interest was slight. They were content to let others take the lead and

73. Arizona Weekly Star, December 9, 1880.

74. George Stevens, Pete Bolan, and other Democrats of the eleventh legislature originated the bill creating the county of Graham.

did not greatly concern themselves as long as they were⁷⁵ left alone to farm. Few of them sought political offices, and they followed rather closely the direction of favored outside political leaders.

The election of 1880 saw the one hundred forty-eight settlers fairly well located. Weech was chosen as their representative to the nominating convention in Tucson.

J. B. Collins of Fort Thomas represented the valley non-Mormons. Weech, Rogers, and Collins attended the convention. Collins nominated Rogers as representative from the⁷⁶ Gila district to the legislature. Rogers was chosen as Democratic candidate and was elected. It was at this legislative⁷⁷ session in 1881 that Graham County was created.

The new county government was at once set up by the Governor. The county was, roughly speaking, composed of three divisions: the mining camps at Clifton and Morenci, and Duncan, a small farming community in the east end; the Gila Valley with Fort Thomas, in the center division; and the Sulphur Spring and Arivaipa country south and west of

75. W. T. Webb. Interview, July 17, 1936.

76. H. Weech. Autobiography, pp. 37-38.

77. Rogers seems to have taken a rather active part in the legislature. He introduced several measures and served as chairman of the legislative committee. -Legislative Journals, 1881.

He introduced a bill to license and control dancing and gaming houses in the territory. He opposed legislative grants to printing companies in the form of printing contracts. -Journals of the Eleventh Arizona Territorial Legislature, 1881, pp. 75, 86, 144, 145, 262, 600.

the Graham Mountains, in the western division. The mining camps and Duncan were largely led, politically, by the mining men, Church and McClains, who were Republicans.

The Valley farmers and ranchers were Democrats. Fort Thomas, Fort Grant and the cattle country, south of the Grahams, was led by ranchers Hooker, Cutter, and Dunlap - Republicans.⁷⁸

The mining camps and Arivaipa country, although its leaders were Republicans, had a considerable Democratic vote; and

Solomonville, the county seat in the Gila Valley, had a few Republicans. As the election of 1882 drew near, both parties made a solicitous bid for the Mormon vote.⁷⁹

William Hawkins and Hyrum Weech, Mormons, were nominated for sheriff and supervisor, respectively, by the Republicans.⁸⁰

The Democrats nominated J. D. Halliday, a Mormon, for surveyor. The campaign aroused much newspaper discussion about capturing

the Mormon vote.⁸¹ Gentiles seemed to hold the idea that the Mormon church was a closed political, as well as a social, organization, and that its members voted as a block. Neither the Mormons as communities nor as individuals seemed to have taken a very active interest in the campaign.

When the votes were counted it was found that Smithville has cast forty-six of the county's total of five hundred and

78. W. B. Kelly. Interview, July 17, 1936.

79. E. E. Hancock. Interview, November 1932.

80. A. M. Franklin. Interview, October 15, 1934.

81. Graham County News, October 7, 1882.

82. A. M. Franklin. Interview, October 15, 1934.

seventy-five votes. This was eight per cent. of the county's total vote. Of the entire Mormon population of four hundred and sixteen, it represented only a vote of eleven per cent. The vote was small when compared with a vote of twenty-seven per cent. in the whole county.⁸²

The Mormon vote for delegates to congress was ninety per cent. Democratic, as compared with sixty-seven per cent. in the county. Their vote on candidates for the territorial legislature was eighty-seven per cent. for the Democrats as compared with seventy per cent. among the non-Mormons of the county. The county Republicans, on candidates for local offices, won a sixty-eight per cent. Mormon vote by their nomination of two leading Mormons on their ticket. The vote in the remainder of the county on candidates for local offices was sixty per cent. Democratic.

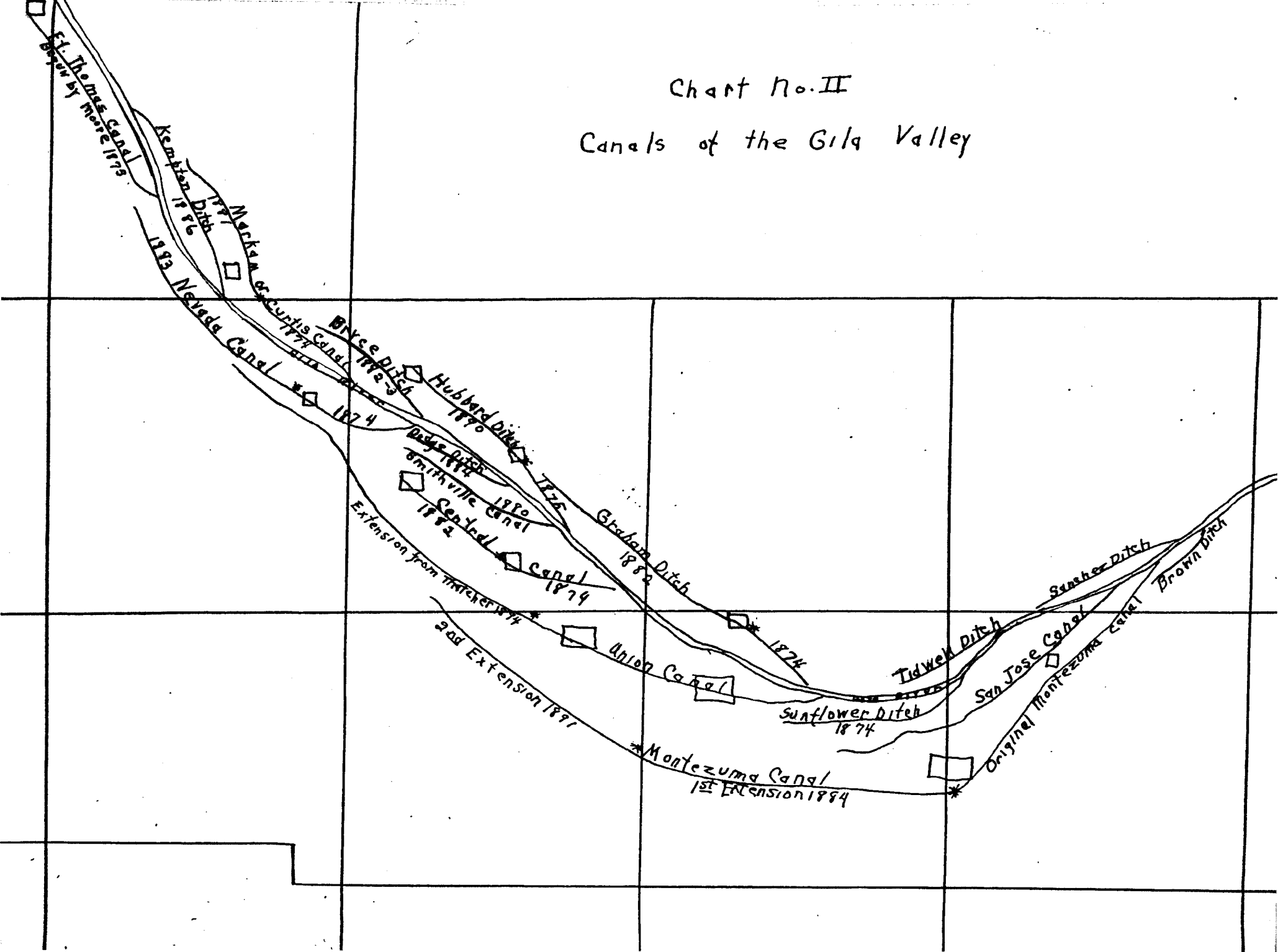
In contests in which one candidate was a Mormon and the other a non-Mormon, the Mormon vote was one hundred per cent. for their own church member. A ninety-seven per cent. majority was given candidates who were popular choice among the Mormons.⁸³

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82. The great difference, though partly due to lack of interest on the part of the Mormons, may be explained in the larger percentage of adult male population among the non-Mormons. The Mormons had large families, and many men had more than one family, while many non-Mormons had no families.
83. This percentage was figured by averaging the number of Mormon votes given to each candidate who received a majority of Mormon votes, and computing the percentage. Explanation of the basis and means of arriving at percentages computed will be found on pages 98a-b.

Several important conclusions may be drawn from these election returns. Political interest among the Mormons was less than among other people of the county. The Mormon vote was largely Democratic on candidates for territorial offices. Their vote on local candidates was largely Republican due to the fact that two Mormons were on the ticket. This strong local Republican vote and a vote of one hundred per cent. for Mormon candidates is conclusive proof that religion was the strongest force in their politics. Their group vote shows them almost a closed political unit.

Chart No. II

Canals of the Gila Valley



Chapter III.

PERIOD OF RAPID GROWTH, 1883-1886

The authorities of the church at Salt Lake City had taken no part in the Gila Valley settlement to 1882. Perhaps they knew little about it, and had been so busy locating other groups of settlers that they had not been able to visit this remote place. In 1882, however, circumstances in Utah brought about a visit of the church leaders. The valley became recognized as a favorable place for settlement, and a rapid Mormon growth began.

In 1862 the United State Congress passed an anti-polygamy law. Little action was taken to interfere with Mormon practice of polygamy in Utah until 1879, when the supreme court affirmed the constitutionality of the law of 1862. The court at the same time confirmed the sentence of the lower courts upon George Reynolds, a prominent Mormon leader. After 1880 many of the prominent men of Utah who were polygamists had to secrete themselves occasionally to escape prosecution.¹

1. Cannon. Life of Christopher Layton, p. 190.

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In 1882 the Edmunds Tucker law was passed by congress and a search for polygamists began in earnest. Men began to seek hiding places. They evaded the officers and secluded themselves in the mountains of Southern Utah. When, however, the strenuous hunt continued it was decided that the church should locate favorable places for polygamists, in Arizona or in Mexico. Many planned to move their families and homes. On December 13, 1881, a party of church leaders left Salt Lake City to make a reconnaissance of Southern Arizona and Northern Mexico.

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On March 25, 1882, the party entered Gila Valley. They visited and held meetings at all the Mormon settlements. The party was well impressed with the Valley and the apostles in charge proposed that a stake of the church be created in Southern Arizona, and that Layton, Martineau, and Kimball, members of their group, be set apart to preside over the new stake. Layton did not accede to the proposition, so it was dropped for the time being. The party then proceeded to Mexico.

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2. The Edmunds Tucker law proposed not only to stop the practice of polygamy by the Mormons in the territories, but sought to take Utah government out of the hands of the Mormons. It disfranchized all who practiced polygamy or professed allegiance to any organization whose teachings included polygamy.
 3. The party consisted of Erastus Snow and Moses Thatcher of the Twelve Apostles of the church, with Christopher Layton, D. P. Kimball, Jas. H. Martineau.
 4. The church leaders counselled the people against freighting for a living and strongly advised that they farm the land. -S. W. Kimball. Notes on Church History.
Smithville was created a ward of Snowflake stake. J. K. Rogers was made bishop, Hyrum Weech, and William Teeples, counsellors.

Upon the return of the party to Salt Lake City, church authorities decided definitely to establish a new stake in Southern Arizona. Christopher Layton was convinced that he should become its president.⁵ He, Martineau, and Kimball were "set apart" in Salt Lake City as the presidency of St. Joseph Stake early in February 1883.⁶ It was decided that headquarters of the Stake should be in St. David. St. David in the San Pedro valley was near the Gila and on the direct railroad and wagon route into Northern Mexico, where the church planned polygamists would seek refuge from the law. The stake headquarters could there offer rest and help.

On February 15, 1883, President Layton and one of his families left Ogden, Utah, by train, with furniture, stock, and machinery.⁷ On February 22, they arrived in St. David. On February 24, at a conference in St. David, Christopher Layton was "sustained" as president of St. Joseph Stake.⁸

Prosecution for polygamy and the consequent establishment of the St. Joseph Stake inaugurated a new era in the

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5. President Layton said: "Finally my wives and children agreed that, although they disliked very much to be without my presence, they would rather know that I was at liberty, than have me dodging the hands of the law. Under these conditions I accepted a call to preside over and make a home for the Saints in Southern Arizona." -Cannon. Life of Christopher Layton, pp. 190-191.
 6. President Layton chose the name St. Joseph in honor of Joseph Smith. It was the first stake to extend into a foreign country, and its responsibility was the conversion of Mexico. The new stake was to take in Southern Arizona and Northern Arizona. -S. W. Kimball. Notes.
 7. R. G. Layton. Interview, October 10, 1932.
 8. Cannon. Life of Christopher Layton, pp. 193-194.

growth and development of the Gila Valley. The church took active control, and through the leadership of President Layton a unified development of the Valley as a Mormon colony began. A letter from the first presidency of the church at Salt Lake City gave general instructions for the reorganization and management of affairs. People were no longer to settle promiscuously. President Layton was to select townsites to which those scattered in the vicinity should move. The townsites were to be chosen with the ideals of health and protection from the Indians. The selections were to be approved by the church authorities at Salt Lake City. They were to be on higher ground, farther from the river. Towns were to be laid out with broad streets, and separate land set aside for church and for school buildings.⁹

The whole colony was to be a cooperative concern. The "United Order" or community order was to be as nearly followed as possible without "adopting a strict regime or placing men in bondage."¹⁰

In May 1883, President Layton made a trip through the Gila Valley and organized four wards of the stake. Smithville was renamed Pima and made a ward with J. K. Rogers as bishop; Graham was made a ward with J. Jorgensen bishop; Curtis was renamed Eden, with Mose Curtis bishop. Thatcher

9. Emphasis was laid on having school and church property and buildings separate.

10. This letter was dated Salt Lake City, February 20, 1883. It was followed as time passed by letters of instruction and advice. -St. Joseph Stake History.

ward was created with John M. Moody bishop.¹¹ President Layton recognized that the Gila Valley, not the San Pedro, was more productive and promising. He early decided that it should become the Stake headquarters, and moved his family to Safford in 1884.

Throughout Utah and the church the Gila Valley was soon favorably known and immigration increased. The Mormon population grew from four hundred and sixteen in 1882, to eight hundred and thirty-six by the end of 1883. By 1886¹² it had grown to one thousand six hundred and forty-seven. Eden, Central, and Thatcher grew very rapidly. By 1884 Eden had a population of one hundred and fourteen, and Thatcher one hundred and nineteen. By 1886 their respective populations were one hundred and seventy, and one hundred and ninety-six. Fastest of all was the growth of the little settlement southwest of Safford. In March 1884 it was organized¹³ as a branch of the church, and called Layton in honor of the¹⁴ Stake president. In 1885 Layton, with a population of one hundred and seventy-eight, was made a ward. In 1886 its pop-¹⁵ulation had grown to two hundred and thirteen.

11. Central was made a ward in 1884. It then had a population of one hundred and thirteen. -Ibid.

12. Ibid. and Cannon. Life of Christopher Layton, p. 193.

13. Communities within organized stakes which are too small for a ward organization are often made branches and carry on ward activities directly under stake supervision.

14. Cannon. Life of Christopher Layton, p. 199.

15. See table I, p. 96.

With the coming of President Layton and other settlers who had energy, foresight, money, and farming equipment, a more rapid economic development of the Valley was inaugurated. Christopher Layton in 1884 bought the grist mill and a large tract of land at Safford.¹⁶ He also established a stage and freight line operating through the valley between Bowie and Globe. The services of these transportation lines were regular and fast. He secured government mail and freight contracts. These and many other ventures proved very successful financially to him, and provided well-paid employment¹⁷ for his sons, relatives, and other Mormons.

At a stake conference June 27, 1885, President Layton importuned the people to build a new canal. He proposed that it be taken from his mill ditch at Safford,¹⁸ that it be built to cover most of the tillable land between Safford and Pima. He pledged ten thousand dollars and an eighty-acre townsite toward the building of the canal. President Layton urged that the people act quickly in filing on the land and water before speculators should anticipate their movements. A committee was chosen at the conference to frame the articles of¹⁹ incorporation.

16. It was purchased from the Tucson builders for \$10,000.

-Cannon. Life of Christopher Layton, p. 200.

17. Cannon. Life of Christopher Layton, p. 213.

18. He said that when there was a shortage of water he would close the mill and let all the water pass into the canal.

-S. W. Kimball. Notes on Stake History.

19. Reddin W. Allred, W. D. Johnson, J. H. Martineau, were on the committee of incorporation. -St. Joseph Stake History.

A special conference convened at Pima on July 7, 1885, and decided definitely that the canal should be built. It was to be twelve to fifteen miles long, eighteen to twenty feet wide, and six feet deep. At a conference September 3rd, preparations were completed to begin construction. W. D. Johnson was appointed to take charge of the work. J. H. Martineau was made engineer. He was to start immediately a survey of the canal. Contracts for excavation were to be let at ten cents per yard, and shares of stock were to be paid for by farmers in cash or in labor.²⁰

The survey was completed on October 15th, and construction began. The project received the enthusiastic support of the people. By the end of 1886 it was finished. The canal headed several miles above Safford and covered the land in the lower part of the town. From Safford it extended almost due west to the foothills one mile west of Thatcher; thence it followed the hills to a place directly south of the town of Central. The new canal superseded most of the previously build smaller ditches, and brought under cultivation about ten thousand acres of the choicest land in the Valley.²¹

President Layton was first to acquire land under the canal. In 1885 before work on the Union had begun, he purchased six hundred acres, three miles west of Safford, from

20. S. W. Kimball. Notes on Stake History.

21. See Chart II, facing p. 31.

a Tucson land company. In addition to the amount paid the Tucson firm, he paid small amounts to squatters for their claims to the same property. Soon after this purchase, he²² bought from Peter Anderson three hundred and twenty acres adjoining his six hundred acres on the east. Other Mormons rapidly followed his example, and soon they owned practically all the land covered by the new canal. In April 1885 the case of the old Texas Pacific Land Grant was decided, and the land reverted to the government. The Mormon settlers hastened to file on the land.²³ With the rapid influx of immigrants from Utah, small shacks and clearings soon broke the diminishing mesquite thicket.

During the three years (1883-1886) the value of Mormon property in Graham County grew from \$52,081.00 to \$135,910.00, and from nine per cent. to ten per cent. of the whole county valuation. The number of Mormon names appearing on the assessment rolls increased from one hundred and twelve to two hundred and twenty-four. The average value of the individual Mormon property was augmented considerably in these years. The assessment rolls show a gain from four hundred dollars in 1883 to six hundred and seven dollars in 1886.²⁴ This was due to the arrival in the county of more prosperous immigrants.

22. H. L. Payne. Christopher Layton, p. 7.

23. W. W. Crockett filed for the town of Pima. -S. W. Kimball, Notes on Stake History.

24. This was small in comparison with the value of the average non-Mormon property holding of two thousand dollars. The large mining properties in Clifton and Morenci greatly increased this average non-Mormon holding.

In general the settlers who came after 1882 were different from those who came earlier. No longer were they drifters who had failed to prosper in Utah. Most of them were fleeing from polygamy prosecution, and were, in most cases, men of energy and business foresight. They had accumulated some property and money. The newer settlers were less cooperative, having migrated as individual families and not as communities. Their lives were not so completely dominated by religion. They were more tolerant and associated more freely with the non-Mormons.

With the change in the type of immigrant, the frontier character of the valley passed. Log houses were replaced by brick ones. Homes and farms were kept in better repair. Changes from the frontier type of life made cooperation less of a necessity, and people grew more independent. Associating with Gentiles caused the Mormons to be less secretive and exclusive. Social life outside the church organization developed. As a result of the above differences, a perceptible class consciousness developed between the older settlers and the later more prosperous ones.

As the Mormons settled in communities, recreational and religious activities increased. Ward choirs, Young Men's and Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Associations, Relief Societies, Primary, Sunday School, Religion Class, and other church organizations filled not only Sunday, but week-days and nights with activity. Each organization contributed to the social life of the ward with its dances, dramas, and gatherings.

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Pima Dramatic Club toured the Valley and surrounding towns. The quarterly conferences, held in 1884 and 1885 alternately at St. David, Pima, and Central, were two days well filled with religious and social functions. People drove by team from all parts of the Valley. They were given lodging by local residents. Holidays were times of general celebration. Usually the whole Valley celebrated at one town. A parade and orations occupied the morning. The afternoon was filled with games and sports. A dance at night completed the day. Such occasions were attended by nearly all the Mormons of the Valley and a few non-Mormons.

The Apache and Chiricahua Indians continued from 1883 to 1886 to make regular raids. Many people were killed by them throughout Southern Arizona. ²⁶ The Mormons of the Valley lost much stock and lived in a constant state of fear. On December 1, 1885, two Wright brothers were killed. They were members of a posse from Layton who were tracking a band of Indians that had stolen some livestock. ²⁷ In May 1886 Frank Thurston was killed by a band of Indians at his lime kiln just southwest of Pima. People were relieved when, on September 8, 1886, Geronimo surrendered to General Crook. ²⁸ Indian troubles were then at an end.

25. St. Joseph Stake History.

26. On one raid in May 1884, seventy-five people were killed in southeastern Arizona. On May 8, 1886, eight were killed near St. David. Every few days a report came of from two to twelve killed by Indians. -S. W. Kimball. Notes on Stake History.

27. St. Joseph Stake History.

28. S. W. Kimball. -Notes on Stake History.

As Mormon polygamists from Utah began in rather large numbers to take refuge from prosecution and imprisonment in Arizona, the unfavorable republican administration started to take action against them. The thirteenth legislature of 1883 passed an act disfranchizing polygamists and permitting any person to challenge the vote of a member of a sect professing belief in, or countenancing polygamy.²⁹ Republican reports and pleas against the Mormons brought action also from Washington, D. C., and in the fall of 1884 federal authorities began the prosecution of polygamists in Arizona. This information soon spread throughout the territory, and church communities organized to protect members from the law. Many of the Gila Valley men concealed themselves. Some went to Mexico for short periods of time; others made plans to remain there permanently. Because the attitude of local non-Mormons was so favorable toward the Mormons, prosecutions never were so severe in Graham County as in other places. Some of those practicing polygamy remained in the Valley unmolested.³⁰ In 1885 President Cleveland appointed Arizona's first democratic governor, Zulick. He was favorable to the Mormons and gradually prosecutions diminished. In 1887 the disfranchisement law was repealed.

29. The law was not generally enforced, never in Graham County elections. Officials in Mormon communities were most often Mormons and took no notice of the law.
-McClintock. Arizona, the youngest state, vol. 2, p. 457.

30. Cannon. Life of Christopher Layton, pp. 201-208.

President Layton's control of the Valley as a church colony was successful. He was a man of ability, sought and promoted the welfare of the people as a whole. Most church members honored and respected him, and followed his counsel. As could be expected, some feeling against him developed among the early Smithville leaders who felt that the church, in sending Layton, had ignored them, and had slighted their pioneering efforts and ability. The settlers of Smithville refused to move to a new and higher townsite selected by Layton. Because of their refusal, they continued after the other towns to suffer from malaria. In addition to this trouble, their land claims conflicted with the old Texas Pacific Railroad grant,³¹ told in chapter two.

President Layton in 1885 laid out the present townsite of Thatcher on land he had purchased in 1885. He divided it into lots which he sold to new arrivals in the Valley. His purpose he states was to enable the "saints", as the Mormons³² term themselves, to settle close together. He planned that Thatcher being centrally located should be headquarters of the stake. His own three-room brick house was the second on the townsite. As immigrants migrated into the Valley in 1885 and 1886, the lots sold rapidly, and by the end of the

31. Deseret News, vol. 32, p. 574. A letter from D. P. Kimball on the Gila.

32. The land on which he located the townsite was that bought from Peter Anderson in 1885. The lots were sold at cost. One block was given for church buildings and one for school.

latter year Thatcher had a population of one hundred and ninety-six. In the same year, Stake headquarters were moved from St. David to Thatcher, and the Stake and "General Church" authorities authorized the building of a new Stake meeting house.³³

With headquarters in Gila Valley, President Layton proceeded to perfect the detailed organization of wards and of the Stake. Active leaders were selected for each ward, for its "priesthood",³⁴ and many auxiliary organizations. Stake "High Council" and "Stake Boards"³⁵ coordinated ward activities and offered encouragement to local leaders of each organization. Monthly "Union Meetings" brought all Stake and ward workers together for study and instruction. The Stake presidency maintained close supervision of the entire Stake and ward organization and functions. Thus the small Mormon communities were welded together into a church colony.

The disfranchisement law of 1883 and the unfavorable

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33. Five hundred dollars was set aside from tithes to begin its erection. -S. W. Kimball. Notes on Stake History.
34. The organization of the "Latter-Day Saints" church provides that each worthy male member over twelve years of age shall bear some order of the church priesthood. The various orders are progressive in their responsibility and authority. Boys and men are promoted as they are considered fit. Each order has its particular ward, Stake, and "general church" organization.
35. Each Mormon stake has a deliberative body of its more capable members to advise and assist the stake presidency. This body is called the Stake High Council. Each auxiliary organization of the church, as named on pages and , has a stake supervisory body termed the "Stake Board". The leaders of all stake and wards meet together in a regular monthly "Union Meeting."

Republican attitude tended further to consolidate the Mormon Democratic majority. It is thought that church leaders from Utah came to Arizona, and a political bargain was effected whereby, for the Mormon vote, the Democrats were to bring³⁶ about a repeal of the territorial disfranchisement law.

Pressure on administrative officials at Washington from Republicans of the territory brought about the prosecution for³⁷ polygamy and disfranchisement under the Edmunds Tucker law. The Republicans of Graham County, however, took no part in the proceedings against the Mormons, and in 1884 sought their support by again nominating William Hawkins for office in the county.

The election created much interest among the Mormons of Graham County. Their vote reached eleven per cent. of the total county vote, three per cent. above that of 1882. The percentage of the Mormon population who voted was fifteen. This was four per cent. above 1882, but much below the twenty-six per cent. of the county.

The Mormon vote for territorial delegates gave evidence of the political trade with the Democrats. Oury received ninety-eight per cent. of the Mormon vote for delegate, while he received only sixty-four per cent. of the whole county vote. The Mormon vote for candidates for the territorial legislature

36. R. G. Layton. Interview, December 27, 1933.

37. See page 32.

was ninety-seven per cent. Democratic; ten per cent. above their vote of 1882 and twenty-eight per cent. above the county vote.

Even the Mormon vote on candidates for local county offices showed a strong Democratic majority. It was seventy per cent. as compared with forty-two per cent. in 1882.

The strength of religion as a factor in voting was much less potent in 1884 than in 1882. In three contests in which a Mormon opposed a non-Mormon candidate, the total vote for the Mormon was seventy per cent. Two Mormon Democratic candidates received a one-hundred per cent. vote, while the Mormon Republican received only thirty-one per cent.

The Mormons voted less as a group in 1884 than in 1882 (eighty-eight to ninety-one per cent.). Their vote was greater as a group in territorial, and less as a group on local candidates, than in 1882. The vote was ninety-seven per cent. Democratic on candidates for territorial offices.

There were several notable things about the election. The percentage of the Mormon vote increased over 1882 more than one-third. This was due to an increased Mormon voting percentage from eleven to fifteen per cent., and a decrease in the voting percentage in the county as a whole from forty-two to twenty-six per cent. The Mormon Democratic vote made large gains due to Republican opposition and to the Democratic trade spoken of previously. Their vote on candidates

for territorial offices was almost one hundred per cent. Democratic. The Democratic majority was nearly as great on candidates for local offices. Party seems to have become in 1884 a political factor as potent as church. This was shown in election contests where Mormons opposed non-Mormons.

About 1884 a general movement of church authorities was begun to take the church out of politics. The leaders believed that much of the anti-Mormon feeling in Utah and else-³⁸ where resulted from the church political unity and activity.

They decided that the church should no longer take part in politics and that its membership should divide in party affairs. Some time during 1885 a special conference of all Arizona stakes was called to meet at Pine Top, Arizona.

Several of the church apostles were in attendance. They urged the Mormon voters to split in party politics. Following the conference, the apostles separated and each apostle toured a different stake, holding meetings in every ward. He³⁹ urged the voters to divide politically. Many members followed the advice, and are still Republicans today; consequently, the election returns after 1884 showed a greater Republican vote.

38. It was at this time that B. H. Roberts and Moses Thatcher of the Twelve Apostles of the church were disciplined for their political activity.

39. Heber Layton says that the appeal was directed mostly to the young people who had no party prejudice.
-H. C. Layton. Interview, July 15, 1936; E. E. Hancock. Interview, December 1932.

Chapter IV.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MORMON COLONY FROM 1886 TO 1900

The period from 1883 to 1886 was one of expansion. The years which followed up to 1900 were characterized principally as years of internal development.

Prosecution for polygamy in Utah gradually declined after 1886 and ceased by 1890. Cessation of prosecution, however, did not stop migration to the Gila Valley. Active proselyting by the Mormon church in the eastern United States and in Europe brought thousands of converts to Utah. The Gila Valley continued to be advertized throughout the church. Many recent converts as well as many older Utah settlers were attracted by the warm climate, long growing season, and fertile land so easily obtained. With the help of established church members the immigrants obtained land and built homes. The Mormon population grew from fourteen hundred to fifteen hundred between 1886 and 1890. After 1890 the growth was accelerated and in 1900 the population had reached three thousand one hundred and seventy. This was a remarkable increase considering that in 1880 the population was only one hundred and forty-eight.

Between 1886 and 1900 the Mormons developed most of the level land near the river. The earlier settlements all grew

uniformly. In 1888 Matthews ward was created at the old Matthews ville settlement west of Pima. At its organization¹ it had a population of one hundred and eighteen. In 1890 a ward was organized at the Bryce settlement across the river north of Pima. It had a population at that time of fifty-nine. Hubbard ward on the north side of the river, about midway between Graham and Bryce, was created in 1897. It then had a population of sixty-eight. In 1895 and in 1900 the Mormons began two little settlements outside their colony. A group of Utah immigrants led by Thomas J. Nations in 1895 founded the town of Franklin on the Gila River about three miles east of Duncan. It grew rapidly and in 1897 was made a ward of the St. Joseph Stake with a population of one hundred and thirty-nine.² In 1900 two Lee brothers, William Franklin and John A., bought the old Goodspeed ranch. This ranch was located in a little valley extending south from Safford to Mt. Graham. Several families joined the Lees and the Lebanon and Artesia communities had their beginning.

For two or three years following 1886 the Mormons of the Valley were occupied reclaiming the land under the Union Canal.³ This was a period of rapid economic growth. The

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1. The population growth from 1890 to 1900 was spasmodic. It began with fifty in 1890 and increased to three hundred and fifteen in 1892. It fell in 1896 to seventy-one and rose again in 1898 to two hundred and ninety-six.
 2. The town was named for Franklin D. Richards of the twelve apostles of the church. -St. Joseph Stake History, Franklin Ward.
 3. There were in 1894 about one hundred and fifty families under the Union canal in Thatcher, Safford, and between. -Graham County Bulletin, June 22, 1894.

combined assessed valuation increased from \$135,910.00 in 1886 to \$312,655.00 in 1890. This was an increase from eleven to twenty-one per cent. of the total county valuation.⁴

Shortly after 1890 settlement of the land under the Union canal was completed. Increasing population then made it necessary that more farm land be obtained. In 1891 the Montezuma Canal was again extended.⁵ Between 1891 and 1894 the Curtis canal at Eden,⁶ the Graham canal, and the Oregon canal at Hubbard were enlarged and extended to their present limits.⁷ With the occupation of the land under these canal extensions the bounds of the cultivated area of the Valley had reached almost their present confines. The Mormons had, in twelve years, built sixty miles of canals and brought under cultivation more than twenty thousand acres of new land. This addition brought the tillable land of the Valley to about thirty-five thousand acres.⁸

For several years previous to this time a serious water problem had been developing. As early as the summer of 1886

4. Graham County Assessment Rolls, 1890-1900.

5. The first extension was told on p. 16.

6. Graham County Bulletin, December 14, 1894. The article states that the Curtis Canal extension had just been completed and irrigated fifteen hundred acres of land under it. It also stated that the Kempton Canal was in good shape and irrigated well the fifteen to sixteen hundred acres of land under it.

7. See map of canals, Chart II, facing p. 31.

8. S. W. Kimball. Notes on Stake History. This statement was made by President Layton at Stake Conference in 1894.

-Graham County Bulletin, September 27, 1895.

a severe shortage of water for irrigation caused the farmers much concern and some damage. In the years following, as more land was continually put in cultivation there occurred regularly a summer deficiency of water. No distribution of water had been made to the various canals. Each canal in the order in which it headed on the river took what water it needed as long as the stream lasted. Hence the canals farthest down the river were first to feel the shortage. In 1894 Smithville and Central canal companies brought legal action to try and force a distribution of water. They sought to restrain the Montezuma and San Jose canals from taking water from the river against the rights of the plaintiffs. The courts decided in favor of the defendants. The water problem remained a controversial question.⁹

As an outgrowth of the above trouble plans were made to build a reservoir and a high line canal large enough to cover all the tillable land of the Valley. In this proposed "Enterprise Canal" were to be incorporated all the canals of the Valley.¹⁰ It was to be taken from the river at the "Narrows", nine miles above Solomonville, and was to end at Pima. The plan was that the canal should cover not only the lower lands but much of the foothill country. The dam in the river at

9. Graham County Bulletin, June 22, 1894.

10. I have found no record of who the originator of the plan was. The articles of incorporation were filed for by N. P. Beebee; John Blake at Safford; John Taylor of Pima; Joseph Cluff of Central; Richard Layton, Thatcher; O. C. May and T. Obrien, above Safford. -Graham County Bulletin, July 13, 1894.

the "Narrows" was to provide for storage and division of the water.¹¹ It is not known just who originated the idea for the Enterprise Canal, but the Mormon church, stake organization, and members, took up the plan and gave it support. This was shown by the Mormons whose names were included in the incorporators¹² and by the place given canal promotion in stake conferences.

Work on the canal started in August 1895, but most of the people of the Valley had little interest in the undertaking. Operations were soon stopped by opposition from the stockholders of the older canals who feared their water rights would have to be compromised. Newspaper articles appeared during 1895 and 1896 promoting the canal, and occasionally reporting some work done. It was not until 1897, however, that construction was resumed in earnest.

Though the Gila Valley was only thirty-five miles from the Southern Pacific Railroad, no railway connection with the Valley was built until nearly twenty years after the Southern Pacific Railroad was finished. During the later 1880's, the mining towns near the Gila continued to grow rapidly. In 1886 a branch railroad was built to Clifton. This put an end to the Mormon business of freighting to this camp. Globe freighting business through the Valley continued to increase.

11. It was to contain four thousand shares of water at twenty-five dollars a share. -Graham County Bulletin, July 13, 1894.

12. Ibid. Mormons: N. P. Beebee, John Taylor, Joseph Cluff, Richard Layton; non-Mormons: John Blake, O. C. May, and T. O'Brien.

Many of the Mormon settlers persisted in freighting against the advice of their leaders. About 1890 the Phelps Dodge Company purchased property in Globe. They immediately promoted the building of a railroad from the Southern Pacific. Tucson men wished to have the road built from Tucson over the Pinals.¹³ The route from Fort Bowie through the Gila Valley to Globe was shorter and much less expensive. A few business men of the Valley became interested in promoting this route.¹⁴ President Layton, in spite of his stage and freight lines, became one of the first protagonists. He pledged the railroad promoters that the Mormon people would give a right-of-way through their property.¹⁵ In spite of the fact that many Mormons were still making a living by freighting, President Layton was able to convince most people of the ultimate good of the railroad.

In 1893 the Valley people gave most of the right-of-way¹⁶ and on February 8, 1894, work began at Bowie.¹⁷ By January 1895, the railroad had reached Pima.¹⁸ By summer it had reached Fort Thomas. Here construction was halted for a year before permission to pass over the Indian reservation could be obtained.¹⁹ The railroad proved a spur to the development of

13. Graham County Bulletin, June 3, 1892.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Sloan. History of Arizona, p. 72.

17. Graham County Bulletin, January 1, 1893.

18. Cannon. Life of Christopher Layton, p. 217. President Layton says that many newcomers were aided by work.

19. Sloan. History of Arizona, p. 73.

farming. People turned from freighting to improvement of
20
farm property.

As President Layton planned that Thatcher should be the headquarters of the stake, so he planned that it should also be the business center of the Valley. He and Reuben Allred founded the Layton-Allred Commercial Company. In 1895 President Layton established an ice plant and creamery at Thatcher.²¹ He encouraged the people to enter business. The Lines brothers at Pima and the Big Six at Thatcher, established and owned by Mormons, became stores of considerable size and handled most of the business of the two towns. I. F. Campbell and P. J. Jacobson, Mormons, established stores in Safford. Campbell also set up a flour mill. Several Mormon²² farmers organized the Safford Milling Company. John Birdno, Mormon, bought the Graham Guardian, county newspaper, about 1897.

Under President Layton's promotion, Thatcher grew rapidly. By 1897 it had a population of seven hundred and sixteen, and was ahead of Pima by twenty-six people. Thatcher, however, failed to keep pace with Safford, and gradually the latter gained the ascendancy. At the same time Mormon business ventures fell behind those of non-Mormons. Only the Big Six and the Lines brothers prospered. By 1897 Safford had

20. Deseret News, vol. 49, p. 388.

21. Graham County Bulletin, May 31, 1895.

22. N. P. Beebe and George Skinner were on the board of directors. -Graham County Guardian, October 15, 1897.

23

become the business center of the Valley.

Though the Mormons generally were unsuccessful in business pursuits, they became leaders in the development of Graham County agriculture. In 1897 the Union Canal Company extended its canal along the foothills to Pima. Nearly four thousand acres of farming land was thus added to the Valley. In 1896 George Skinner, a Mormon, was appointed representative to the National Irrigation Congress at Washington, D. C. In 1899 he was succeeded by Andrew Kimball, a Mormon.

After much effort on the part of promoters, construction on the Enterprise Canal was again resumed in 1897. Early in 1898 the company was reorganized. W. B. Fonda, T. T. Hunter, and Frank Dysart, all non-Mormons, were on the new board. Subscriptions were raised for the work. In May 1898 upon recommendation of the board of directors Andrew Kimball was chosen by the people as director of construction of the canal. He was to have power to appoint new directors and to reorganize the board. President Kimball assumed chairmanship. He appointed as members the bishops of Layton, Thatcher, and Pima wards, namely: J. R. Walker, I. E. D. Zundell, and John Taylor. He named one non-Mormon, J. F. Judy.

23. Graham County Guardian, December 31, 1897.

24. Valley Bulletin, July 1889. In an irrigation meeting in 1889 accounts show Mormons taking a leading part.

25. Graham County Guardian, March 12, 1897.

26. Arizonian, April 14, 1898.

Under President Kimball's vigorous leadership, construction progressed rapidly. Mass meetings throughout the Valley brought enthusiasm and cooperation in the work. By June 1898, fifteen miles of canal had been "laid out". On July 15th, the survey was completed. Plans called for a thirty-mile canal with its terminus at Pima. The project was to cover sixty thousand acres of land and to cost one hundred thousand dollars.²⁷ Throughout the fall and winter of 1898-1899 more than one hundred men and teams were employed. A small town grew up at the head of the canal, and a branch of the Mormon church was established. President Kimball worked on week days and preached on Sundays.

Only the Mormon towns of the Valley actively supported the canal. The people of Safford and above did little to help, and began to oppose its construction. The upper canals²⁸ feared their priority rights would be injured. On March 24, 1899, it was announced that the head and one mile of the canal were completed. During the summer construction stopped due to the urgency of farm work. In the meantime opposition to the canal grew stronger. The upper canals refused to consolidate with the Enterprise. Work was not resumed in the fall of 1899 as planned. Although the newspaper of the county continued to promote, and many people favored, the completion of the project, there was never sufficient support

27. Graham County Guardian, July 15, 1898.

28. Ibid., December 23, 1898.

to finish it.

With the failure of the Enterprise Canal, no more efforts were made by the Valley Mormons, until after 1900, to bring new land under cultivation, except in the little artesian water belt southwest of Safford. In September 1897 N. P. Beebe and S. A. Merrill found artesian water in this district.²⁹

Disputes and litigation over water rights continued, up to 1900, to hinder the Valley farmers. In 1898 the Central and Smithville canals again sued the upper canals in an effort to effect an allocation of water.³⁰ The suit was again decided in favor of the defendants. In 1900 hope for allocation again faded when the court, in a suit of the Montezuma canal against the canals above it, ruled that one thousand inches should be let by for the Montezuma, but failed to make any further division.³¹

In 1899 trouble between the farmers of the Valley and the mining companies of Clifton and Morenci developed over the dumping of tailings into the Gila River at the mining towns.³² The farmers claimed that the tailings killed the fish of the river and poisoned their crops.³³ In June 1899 a committee of three was appointed by the county board of supervisors to investigate the tailings question.³⁴ The committee reported that

29. Ibid., September 10, 1897.

30. Ibid., April 20, 1900.

31. Ibid., June 22, 1900.

32. Tailings is the waste rock washed by water from the ore.

33. Early settlers say that catfish two to three feet long and many other kinds were plentiful in the river.

34. President Kimball, Edward R. Stafford from the Valley, and Jas. Calquhoun of Clifton were members of the committee.
-Graham County Guardian, June 16, 1899.

no damage was being done to the crops. The farmers were not satisfied, however, and felt the Valley members of the committee had not protected their interests. They continued during the next two years to agitate the question and denounce the mines. This trouble added to the already growing schism between the valley and the east end of the county.

Failure of the Enterprise Canal, and completion of the railroad turned the farmers toward conservation of water and improvement of cultivated property. Rapid growth of nearby mining towns continued to raise the price of farm products. The value of farm land increased from twenty-five to fifty dollars per acre in 1890 to fifty to one hundred dollars per acre in 1900.³⁵

Farming prosperity of the 1890's was reflected in increased business prosperity. Building trades were stimulated as people built new homes and farm buildings, or repaired and modernized old ones. Brick houses took the place of the remaining old log and lumber houses. In 1898 a telephone line³⁶ was extended throughout the Valley. In 1900 a power plant to furnish the Valley with electricity was seriously considered.³⁷ In the same year the Bank of Safford was established. Safford grew rapidly and Mormons began to take a larger part³⁸ in Safford business developments.

35. Graham County Guardian, May 19, 1899.

36. Ibid., September 9, 1898.

37. Ibid., March 23, 1900.

38. Several Mormon names appear on petitions for incorporation and on lists of business houses. -Graham County Guardian, March 24 to May 19, 1899.

Thatcher citizens endeavored to continue the development of the commercial enterprises started by President Layton. The creamery was organized as a cooperative concern and began business in 1900. A new flour mill was built by the firm of Layton and Allred.

The end of the century saw the Mormons in control of most of the Gila Valley farm land. They owned a large part of the Valley business establishments, though in Safford, the business center, their operations were small by comparison. Their combined wealth as shown by the assessed valuations of 1900 was \$394,946.00. In spite of their rapid growth their wealth, as shown by the assessment rolls, was only eleven per cent. of the total county valuation, due to the very rapid development of the Clifton and Morenci mines.

President Layton continued to preside over the St. Joseph Stake until 1897. Evidences of his able leadership still remain. The townsites were well chosen and improved. The streets were lined with poplar and cottonwood trees. The land was watered by well-made canals instead of winding ditches. Each ward had a chapel with ample room for devotional and recreational activities.

Internal stake organization and activities continued to develop and expand with the result that the Valley grew to be a typical Mormon colony. Community life became incidental to that of the stake. The stake was very closely connected with the "General church" organization at Salt Lake City.

The stake presidency maintained even closer supervision of ward activities than before, by visits to individual wards, and by the increased attendance of all the members at conferences, priesthood, and Union meetings held at Thatcher. The stake became more responsive to "General Church" movements through regular visits of stake leaders in Salt Lake City, and by the regular presences of apostles or the "First Presidency of the Church" at stake conferences.

In accordance with the church policy of establishing schools among its people, President Layton on June 8, 1888, received instructions from the "Church Presidency" to prepare for a stake academy. It was not, however, until June 1, 1891, that preparations for the school were completed.³⁹ It opened in the Central ward "meeting house" in the fall of 1891 with an enrollment of forty-five. This enrollment grew to eighty before the school closed in the late spring.⁴⁰ Included in the academy were all grades from the primary through high school. After the first two months in the Central building, the school moved to Thatcher.⁴¹

During the summer of 1892 an academy building was constructed in Thatcher. School opened in the fall with seventy-

39. Joseph Dunyan of Provo, Utah, was "hired as professor". He was given two local women as assistants, Hulda Blair, and Eva Rogers. -H. L. Payne. History of Gila College.

40. Graham County Guardian, January 23, 1891.

41. It was held in an old adobe church. -Ibid. The establishment of the academy at Thatcher caused some dissatisfaction toward the church. Some of the people at Pima thought the school should be located at Pima since Thatcher was made headquarters of the stake.

four enrolled. George Cluff of Utah was chosen principal.⁴² Mr. Cluff was again principal in 1893 and 1894. The school had an enrollment of one hundred and nine in 1893, eighty-five in 1894.⁴³ It was supported partly from "General Church" aid; partly from assessments levied on each ward; and partly from student tuition.⁴⁴ Tuition was often paid in produce which applied as partial payment to teachers. The curriculum was that common to the times: arithmetic, reading, writing, history, geography, physiology, bookkeeping, orthography, and theology.

In 1894 a new Sabbath School Normal Class was organized.⁴⁵ Thomas Williams succeeded Cluff as principal in 1895. The school was divided into three departments: primary, intermediate, and second intermediate. About mid-term, because of sickness, authorities closed the academy for three weeks. Lack of interest and financial strain postponed the reopening for nearly three years.⁴⁶

The retirement of Christopher Layton from the presidency of the Stake in 1897, and his replacement by Andrew Kimball, came as a result of Mr. Layton's poor health. He was stricken ill in 1895 and made little improvement during 1896.

42. George and John Birdno were chosen as his assistants.

-Graham County Guardian, March 24, 1899.

43. Cluff began at a salary of seventy dollars per month. -Ibid.

44. Hay, grain, molasses, fruit, etc., were brought in. -Ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. Graham County Guardian, March 24, 1899.

Late in 1897 his condition grew critical and his family requested of the church presidency at Salt Lake City that he be released from office. Andrew Kimball was "sustained" as president of the St. Joseph Stake on January 29, 1898.⁴⁷

President Kimball was a man of energy and enthusiasm. He gave renewed life to organizations and activities which had lagged during President Layton's illness. He was determined that the academy should be made to succeed. He reorganized the board early in 1898, and by constant effort revived interest in the school. In September 1898 the academy opened with Emil Maeser as principal.⁴⁸ The September enrollment of one hundred and thirty did not decline throughout the year. During the summer of 1899 President Kimball and Professor Maeser toured St. Joseph Stake, St. Johns Stake, Snowflake Stake, Maricopa Stake and the Mexico colonies, soliciting students. School opened in September with one hundred and fifty in attendance. Fifty more entered as the year progressed.⁴⁹ It was a banner year for the "L. D. S." Academy and assured its longevity.⁵⁰

As the years between 1890 and 1900 passed, tolerance and good feeling between Mormon and non-Mormons of the Valley continued to increase. President Layton's open-mindedness

47. S. W. Kimball. Notes on Stake History.

48. W. D. Johnson, C. M. Layton, Hyrum Weech, J. G. Allred, J. T. Owens, and S. J. Sims were made members of the board. -Ibid.

49. The teachers under him were his wife, Lillian Maeser, John F. Nash, Mary McRae, and Lettie Boise. -Graham County Guardian, March 24, 1899.

50. -Ibid., September 8, 1899.

and foresight commanded respect for the "Latter-Day Saints",⁵¹ and his attitude moved his people to be more tolerant. Business men outside of the church continued to bid successfully for the Mormons' patronage. They occasionally attended Mormon church services. Practically all the Valley, regardless of church affiliation, attended Mormon celebrations and public entertainments. The academy solicited students. Theology was not required, and non-Mormons were welcomed. Quite a few came. The school occasionally furnished the entertain-⁵²ments for social affairs of non-Mormon groups. Professor Maeser, principal of the school, was elected president of the County Farmers Institute which sponsored a regular county fair and other services to farmers.

Though the adult Mormons associated quite freely with gentiles in business, and occasionally in social affairs, they were very zealous in protecting the social life of their youth from "outside" influence. Regardless of their extreme care a combination of circumstances tended to break down the strict social barrier which they had built up around their young people. The schools took children out of the homes and made them less subject to the parental prejudices. Improved transportation increased contacts between Mormon and

51. Graham County Bulletin, August 21, 1896. Deseret News, vol. 49, p. 301.

52. Graham County Guardian, September 28, 1900.

non-Mormon. These contacts produced a more tolerant attitude. Abhorrence of marriage outside the church, abstinence from tobacco and liquor, and strict morality, made parents wary lest their young people be corrupted. Safford and Solomonville, the gentile towns, to many Mormons were the modern "Tyre and Sidon". When a few Mormon boys began to smoke, and occasionally to drink at public functions, and when young men and women secretly attended public round dances at Safford or Solomonville, the whole community mourned. The culprits were publicly denounced and ostracized if they continued. In 1887 all the social affairs within the wards, stakes, and the school, were made invitational.⁵³ Liquor and rowdiness were prohibited. Young people who took part in round dancing, or used liquor were removed from all church offices. President Maeser obtained personal promises⁵⁴ from academy students to refrain from these vices. During this whole period from 1886 to 1900 wayward youth, round dancing, tobacco, and liquor were the chief topics of consideration at church conference, "priesthood meetings", and⁵⁵ academy "devotional" exercises.

In 1887 the territorial Democratic party made certain the continued support of the Mormons of the territory by fulfilling its promise made to the "Latter-Day Saints"

53. S. W. Kimball. Notes on Stake History.

54. Deseret News, vol. 49, p. 388.

55. S. W. Kimball. Notes on Stake History.

56

church in 1886. Fulfillment of the promise was possible only because both the territorial legislature and governor were Democratic. The Mormon votes had been a factor in the election of a majority of Democrats to the legislature. Governor Zulick, the first Democratic governor of Arizona Territory, had been appointed by President Cleveland in 1885. He and George Stevens, councilman from Graham County, were the leaders most responsible for the repeal of the disfranchisement law. Both men received the loyal support of the Mormons of Graham County. Governor Zulick was later bitterly opposed by the Arizona Weekly Star, Democratic organ of the territory, and a large element of the party. He had a great deal of trouble with the legislature. The "Latter-Day Saints" of Graham County never wavered in their loyalty to the governor.

57

The Graham County Democratic convention held in the summer of 1888 was again controlled by the so-called "Stevens-Zulick crowd". Judge Fitzgerald controlled the Clifton votes; President Layton the votes of Thatcher; and Gilbert Webb of Pima, staunch supporter of Stevens, controlled the majority of the Mormon votes. As a result a full Stevens ticket was chosen. Gilbert Webb was named for treasurer, and President

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56. The disfranchisement law of 1883 was entirely omitted from the revised statutes of 1887.
57. As told in Chapter III, page 44, the democrats had in 1886 promised to bring about a repeal of the territorial laws disfranchizing the Mormons in return for the political support of the "Latter-Day Saints".
58. Arizona Weekly Star, November 15, 1888. Ming, sheriff; Joseph Layton and A. Abrahams, supervisors; Fitzgerald, probate judge; Micheleno, recorder; Gilbert Webb, treasurer; Brown, surveyor.

Layton's brother, Joseph, for supervisor.

Many Democrats of the county felt that Stevens and his followers had manipulated the convention to their own advantage. Considerable dissatisfaction resulted. P. J. Bolan led a party bolt and nominated a People's ticket, or anti-Stevens ticket.⁵⁹ It was a coalition of Democratic and Republicans. W. W. (Uncle Billy) Damron, a popular Mormon Democrat, supported the People's ticket and was nominated for treasurer against Gilbert Webb. Keen interest was shown in the campaign.⁶⁰ President Layton took an active part. When the results were tabulated, the proportion of Mormon votes in the county had increased to twenty-eight per cent. The per cent. of the Mormon population who voted rose from eleven in 1884 to seventeen per cent. in 1888. The comparative voting for the county as a whole was twenty-five per cent.⁶¹

The Mormon vote for Mark Smith, Democrat for delegate to congress, was one hundred per cent. (two hundred and nine to one). This compared with eighty-three per cent. for Smith in the total county vote, and to ninety per cent. Mormon vote for the Democratic candidate for delegate in 1884. For candidate for the territorial legislature the Mormon vote in the county was ninety-per cent. Democratic. This compared with a vote of sixty-nine per cent. in the remainder of the county

59. Sheriff, Wheelan; Council, Bert Dunlap, supervisors, Bailey and Culter; probate judge, Blake; recorder, Soto; treasurer, W. W. Damron.

60. Graham County Bulletin, October 31, 1890.

61. Pima seems to have taken most interest. Its vote was twenty per cent. of its ward population.

and a Mormon vote in 1884 of eighty-seven per cent. Though the local county Democratic ticket or "Stevens-Zulick crowd", as they were termed, lost the election except for sheriff, they won sixty-five per cent. of the Mormon vote. This compared with a seventy per cent. vote for local county Democratic candidates in 1884.

As a group the Mormons voted eighty-eight per cent. for their most popular candidates, ninety-one per cent. on territorial candidates, and eighty-one per cent. on local candidates. This compared with a ninety-one per cent. vote in 1884 and a vote in the county of sixty-seven per cent.

Of two Mormons for treasurer the Democrat received a seventy-eight per cent vote. A Mormon Republican for supervisor polled a sixty-five per cent. vote over a non-Mormon Democrat for the same office.

Several conclusions may be drawn from the election. The Mormon one hundred per cent. vote for Smith and their vote of ninety per cent. for Democratic candidate for the territorial legislature give evidence of the political trade spoken of earlier.⁶² The Mormon sixty-five per cent. vote for the Stevens Democratic ticket in Graham County, in spite of having been defeated in the county, shows that party and the influence of local church leadership were strong factors⁶³ in Mormon politics.

62. Refer to Chapter III, page 44.

63. It will be remembered that President Layton and Gilbert Webb, prominent in Pima, were leaders in the county Democratic convention of 1888.

Bitterness of the campaign was kept alive for some time after the election by the two county newspapers: the Clarion at Clifton, and the Valley Bulletin at Solomonville. The Clarion had for years been given the county printing contract at very high figures, probably through the political influence of Judge Fitzgerald. The new county administration in spite of a lower bid from the Clarion awarded the contract to the Bulletin because it assertedly felt the county's best interests would be served. It avowed that the Bulletin's bid was fair, being nearly half that of the Clarion's previous contract price.⁶⁴ The two papers for 1889 are filled with charges and counter charges. A grand jury indicted the supervisors, but they were not brought to trial.

In January 1889 a special election was held to name a supervisor.⁶⁵ Stevens was a candidate and again a bitter fight occurred. Stevens was this time elected by his large Mormon majority.⁶⁶ During this term of office Stevens absconded with several thousand dollars of county money.

The election of 1888 was a complete victory for the territorial Democrats. The Mormon vote throughout the territory was one of the principal determining factors. The Republicans were bitter against the Mormons. Governor Wolfey

64. Valley Bulletin, April 12, 1889.

65. I am unable to find out why a new supervisor was chosen.

66. The final county vote was Stevens, three hundred and ninety-seven, to Thurmond, three hundred and twenty-one. The Mormon majority for him was one hundred and seventy-two.

in his report to Congress, 1889, described the Mormons as an "unwelcome and dangerous element". He stated that the peace of the territory was being put in jeopardy by the rapid influx of Mormons. "They were," he said, "unscrupulous and dangerous in politics. The church had a policy of sending colonists from Utah to surrounding territories in sufficient numbers to form balance of power. The Mormon vote was then traded to the party which offered the church members the most favors." Governor Wolfey called on congress for an act dis-
67
franchizing the Mormons.

So bitter was the anti-Mormon feeling among Republican leaders that their platform of 1890 denounced the Mormons in strong terms, demanding that congress pass a law disfranchizing them. It declared the Mormon church to be an exclusive, secret organization whose active "tyrannical leadership" traded the votes of its membership to those who might be used for the church purposes. It further declared that the "evil of the lives of the increasing Mormons was a blot
68
upon the good name and fair fame of the territory."

Governor Murry, Republican governor of Arizona, in his report to congress, 1890, asked congress to restrain, in the territory of Arizona, the influence and power of the rapidly
69
growing Mormon population.

67. Report of the Governor of Arizona, 1886-1895, 1889, p. 5.

68. Graham County Bulletin, September 5, 1890.

69. Governor Murry admitted that many of the Mormons were industrious and law abiding, and not detrimental to the best interests of the territory, but stated that the territory was in danger of being mormonized. -Report of the Governor of Arizona, 1885-1895. 1890, p. 31.

The campaign of 1890 in Graham County opened with the county Democratic central committee meeting at Solomonville about September 1, 1890. Of thirteen members, five were Mormons. President Layton again represented Thatcher, and⁷⁰ Gilbert Webb, Pima. The apportionment to the convention gave⁷¹ the Mormon towns eight votes of the total of twenty-four. The convention met September 27th. Eight Mormons were in attendance, including Gilbert Webb of Pima. According to the description of the convention given by the Bulletin, Judge Fitzgerald controlled the Solomonville and San Jose votes; Ben Crawford the Clifton and Morenci votes; and Gilbert Webb the Pima votes. These three men, as they and Stevens had done in 1888, manipulated the convention's busi-⁷² ness and dictated the ticket which included three Mormons. President Layton was elected as a delegate to the state⁷³ party convention.

Again, as in 1888, the large faction of Democrats, dissatisfied with the convention results, issued a call by petition to the people of the county "to meet at Solomonville and nominate a slate of candidates in the interest of the people

70. Dr. Groesbeck represented Safford; Moses Curtis, Eden; and Jas. Cluff, Central. -Graham County Bulletin, June 20, 1890.

71. Ibid., September 5, 1890.

72. Ibid., November 4, 1890. Thurmond, Democratic council; Parker, legislature; Bolan, probate judge; Olney, sheriff; Dawdle, recorder; Patterson, district attorney; W. D. Johnson, treasurer; Jones, surveyor; Wills and Morris, supervisors.

73. Ibid., August 22, 1890.

regardless of party." Several Mormon names appear on the signed⁷⁴ petition. Delegates to the convention of the People's party of the county met. Among the forty-eight delegates were eight Mormons. Two Mormons were on the slate of candidates: W. W. Damron and Seth Jones.

Gilbert Webb of Pima and President Layton in 1890 again took active part in the campaign for the Democratic ticket. The cry of the Democrats was for party loyalty against party deserters and Republicans. The cry of the Independents was that they represented the true Democratic element of the county while the Democratic slate was the choice of only a small minority of fallen party leaders. The Bulletin supported the People's ticket and warned the Mormons against blindly following their church leaders in political matters.⁷⁵ This, the paper stated, would confirm Republican charges.

The election poll show three of the Democrats against five Independents elected. The total Mormon vote was eighteen per cent. of their county population. This was one per cent. above their percentage of 1888.⁷⁶ The per cent. of votes in the rest of the county was sixteen, a reduction of nine per cent. from 1888. This reduction was probably due to the large influx of miners into Clifton and Morenci during

75. Graham County Bulletin, October 31, 1890.

76. Pima and Thatcher were high with a vote of twenty per cent. of the ward population. Curtis had fourteen per cent. and Central, ten. No returns from Graham.

77

the two intervening years. Mark Smith, Democrat for delegate, received a ninety-six per cent. Mormon vote, a reduction of four per cent. from 1888. The county vote for Smith was only sixty-two per cent. The Mormon vote in the county for candidates for territorial legislature was eighty-six per cent. Democratic as compared with a vote of fifty-seven per cent. in the county as a whole, and a ninety per cent. Mormon vote in 1888. The vote of the Mormons of the county on candidates for local county offices was sixty per cent. The vote in the county was fifty-six per cent. and the Mormon vote for 1888, sixty-five per cent.

The vote of the county Mormons as a group was seventy-⁷⁸ six per cent. This compared with the sixty-two per cent. vote in the county as a whole and a Mormon vote in 1888 of eighty-two per cent. On two Mormon candidates for treasurer, the Democrats received only fifty-three per cent. of the Mormon votes. In 1888 in a similar contest the Democrats received seventy-eight per cent. of the total votes.

The percentage of Mormon votes in the county in 1890 had grown since 1880. Interest in the election, as measured by percentage of the total population who voted, since 1880, again increased. This time it was greater than the interest shown in the remainder of the county.

77. Pima's vote of ninety-eight to twenty-five was strongest Democratic, Curtis came next with fourteen to seven, Thatcher again practically split her vote with a slight Democratic margin, thirty-two to twenty-nine. Central gave seven to four.

78. The vote was on candidate for territorial office, eighty-four per cent, and on candidates for local offices, seventy-two per cent.

There was a decrease in the Democratic vote among the Graham County Mormons since 1888. The decrease amounted to four per cent. in the delegate vote and the candidate for territorial legislature, but five per cent. on candidates for local county offices. As a group the Mormon vote was more divided. Party and religion as factors in Mormon voting were in 1890 slightly less potent than in 1888.

In 1891 an election was held for the adoption of a
79
proposed state constitution. The Republicans sought to pre-
80
vent Mormons from voting by a test oath. The territorial vote was favorable, but the congressional vote prevented statehood. The vote in Graham County was overwhelmingly in favor of the constitution (six hundred and ninety-three to one hundred and twenty-five), or eighty-five per cent. The Mormon vote in the election was forty per cent. of the total county vote, and ninety-six per cent. in favor of the
81
constitution.

The rapid growth of Safford and the Mormon communities in the lower part of the Valley resulted in a shift in the center of population. With this shift came a demand that the county seat be returned from Solomonville to Safford. Agitation for the removal first began in 1891. Several newspaper articles gave heated and caustic arguments for

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79. The county election of representative to the constitutional convention in May 1891 was a contest between the east end, most Democratic, and west end, Republican. The Mormon vote largely with the east end elected Crawford and Patterson. -Graham County Bulletin, May 15, 1891.
80. Ibid., October 23, 1891 to April 17, 1892.
81. Minutes of Board of Supervisors, Graham County, vol. 2, p. 206.

82

and against the proposition.

The Democratic county convention opened the 1892 election campaign about the first of August. Gilbert Webb again was one of the six Mormons on the central committee. Of a total of fifty-five convention delegates, twenty represented Mormon towns. The convention at the outset made a strong bid for the Mormon vote. Its platform condemned in strong language the Republicans of the territory for their efforts to disfranchise the Mormons. This condemnation was followed by high praise of the Mormons, consequently the ticket put up was strongly Mormon, seven of the eleven candidates.

The Republican county convention met September 23, 1892. Ten of its thirty-five delegates were "Latter-Day Saints". The county organization again, as in 1890, sought to aid its

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82. A Safford resident threatened to force the issue at the next election. Dr. Groesbeck of Safford in letters to the editor said he would work for the county seat removal, and a road from Safford to Bowie not by way of Solomonville. His reasons were the mud, alkali, dust, and adobes of Solomonville. -Graham County Bulletin, October 9 and December 25, 1891.
83. Crawford and other "east enders" seem to have tried again to control the convention. When they failed to elect their temporary chairman, they withdrew from the convention. -Ibid., September 23, 1891.
84. Ibid., August 5, 1892.
85. The Mormons were praised as enterprising, conservative, and law-abiding. -Ibid., September 23, 1892.
86. Skinner, territorial assembly; Dowdle, recorder; Damron, probate judge; Joseph Layton, treasurer; William G. Boyle and A. T. Bennett, supervisors; Thomas E. Williams, surveyor. -Ibid.
87. N. P. Beebe, Safford; H. C. Layton, Miles Peay, Frank Tyler, P. C; Merrill, Thatcher; Hyrum Weech, John Nuttall, Joseph Nash, George Cluff, Pima. -Ibid.

popularity by terming itself "Independent". Five of the
88
eleven candidates chosen were Mormons.

The territorial Republican party in 1892 made an about-face on the Mormon question. Instead of opposing the Mormons it endeavored to placate them, and to win their support. George Cluff, principal of the "L. D. S." academy, was nominated as territorial councilman-at-large, as a sop for Mor-
89
mon votes.

Cluff delivered some very dramatic Republican pleas in the campaign. The Democrats made much of the Republican "change-of-front" and indicative insincerity. President Layton seems to have taken no active part in the campaign.

The Mormon vote was twenty per cent. of the total ward population, two per cent. larger than in 1890. The total county vote in relation to its population was again reduced from the previous election. It was only fourteen per cent.
90
as compared with sixteen for 1890.

The Mormon vote as a group was sixty-nine per cent., eight per cent. smaller in 1892 than in 1890. It was divided alike in both local and territorial affairs. The county as a whole was fifty-eight per cent. as compared with sixty-two per cent. for 1890.

88. Brewer for legislature, Merrill for treasurer, East for recorder, and Weech for supervisor, Thomas Williams for surveyor. -Ibid., September 30, 1892.

89. Ibid., September 10, 1892.

90. This was due again to a further growth of the mining population at Clifton and Morenci.

A significant change in the "Latter-Day Saints" party allegiance had occurred since 1890. The vote for Smith for congressional delegate was still eighty-eight per cent. The Democratic vote for the other territorial candidate was only sixty-eight per cent. as compared with seventy-five per cent. in 1890.⁹¹ Religion seems to have been about equally strong as a political factor. In the three contests between a Mormon and non-Mormon, the vote was sixty-four per cent. for the Mormon candidates.⁹² In the supervisors contest the Mormon vote for the two Republicans, one a Mormon and the other a non-Mormon, the vote was ninety to forty-four per cent. in favor of the Mormon. Comparing the party vote of 1892 with that of 1884, the last strictly Democratic and Republican contest in the county, the Democratic vote of 1892 was greatly reduced: 1884 - ninety-eight per cent. in territorial, seventy per cent. in local; 1892 - sixty-eight per cent. in territorial,⁹³ sixty-four per cent. in local.

The year 1892 seems to have marked the beginning of a political consciousness on the part of the Valley residents. Valley politicians dominated the conventions. Twelve of the twenty-five nominated candidates were Mormons. Seven of the

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91. Thatcher had seventy-five per cent. Democratic vote, Pima about seventy per cent., and Curtis fifty per cent.
92. In the two contests the Mormons were Democratic.
93. In the report of the Governor to congress in 1893, he stated of the Graham County Mormon vote that in previous elections it had been given almost one hundred per cent. to the territorial Democratic candidates. In 1892 the vote was split, about one-third to one-half going to Republicans. -Report of the Governor, 1893, p. 55.

were elected to office. For the first time since 1882 a Mormon represented Graham County in the territorial assembly.

George Skinner, a Mormon farmer, allied himself with Governor L. C. Hughes's political reform forces. He introduced the printing bills to make bidding compulsory in awarding legislature printing contracts. The legislature had heretofore granted huge gifts to favored printing companies⁹⁴ in the form of contracts. Skinner also introduced a bill for the punishment of drunken officers. He voted for the Hughes Woman Suffrage bill. The Graham County Bulletin⁹⁵ labeled him "a true democrat and reformist".

The election campaign of 1894 opened in Graham County with the Democratic convention early in September. Their party slate of candidates contained five Mormons of the⁹⁶ total of eleven. The convention, as in 1892, was in control of the Valley Democrats. No candidates were chosen from the Clifton-Morenci district, so its members "bolted" the convention.⁹⁷

The antagonism created by the convention was augmented by the fact that since 1890 the mining interests of Clifton had been dissatisfied with assessed valuations on their property set by a Valley-controlled board of supervisors.

94. Graham County Guardian, March 24, 1893. Journal of the Eighteenth Territorial Legislature of Arizona, 1893, p.305.

95. Graham County Bulletin, January 27, 1893.

96. William Whipple for council; George Skinner, assembly; W. W. Damron, treasurer; John Dawdle, sheriff; John Birdno, recorder. -Ibid., September 14, 1894.

97. -Ibid., September 28, 1894.

These factors resulted in the Clifton and Morenci Democrats supporting the Republican party.

The Republicans were much encouraged by the Democratic
98
dissent. For the first time in the history of the county they nominated a full slate of candidates. Of those nomina-
99
ted, three were Mormons. There were no Mormons on either the central committee or as delegates to the territorial convention, and of the sixty delegates to the county conven-
100
tion, only twenty were Mormons. The campaign of 1894 was heated. Some disappointed local politicians took advantage of the National Populist party and named a county Populist ticket.

In spite of a large increase in the population of the Clifton and Morenci mining camps, 1888 to 1890, the per cent. of Mormon vote of the county total was thirty-five, only three below their vote of 1892. The total Mormon vote equalled twenty per cent. of their population, while the comparative county per cent. decreased from sixteen to fifteen. Clifton and Morenci returned large Republican majorities. The revolt-
101
ing democratic leaders of the Valley were able to swing the Mexicans over to the Republican ticket. Solomonville joined Clifton and Morenci in going largely Republican. The result

98. Ibid., July 13, 1894.

99. Joseph Fish, legislature; George Cluff, probate judge; Thomas Williams, legislature. -Ibid., September 7, 1894.

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid., November 9, 1894.

was the election of a full county Republican ticket.

The Mormon vote was Democratic, but only by a small majority; sixty per cent. on territorial candidates and fifty-five per cent. on candidates for local county offices. Its Democratic strength was not enough to outweigh the Republican majorities in the rest of the county. "Latter-Day Saints" vote was twenty-seven per cent. Republican on both local and territorial candidates, as compared with a vote of forty-eight per cent. on territorial candidates, and forty-seven per cent. on local candidates in the county as a whole. The Populist vote was not strong in the county, eight per cent. on territorial candidates and fifteen per cent. on local candidates. The Mormon Populist vote was larger, thirteen per cent. on territorial candidates, and eighteen per cent. on local candidates. ¹⁰² Again, as in 1892, the Mormon vote was divided. It was, as a group, only sixty-five per cent., four per cent. below the results of 1892. The whole county vote was fifty-five per cent.

The election returns gave ample opportunity for the measurement of religion as a political factor among the Mormons. In election contests in which a Mormon opposed a non-Mormon, the Mormon candidate received seventy-five per cent. of the combined vote. In four of these contests the Mormon was also a Democrat and received party as well as church

102. Pima and Thatcher returned the largest block of Populist votes.

support. In a contest between Mormon and non-Mormon in which the Mormon was a Republican, the vote was one hundred and forty-six to one hundred and thirty-nine in favor of the non-Mormon. The particular church candidate had been a very active Republican and personally rather unpopular among his fellow churchmen. In the election of assemblymen, the votes for the two Democrats, one a Mormon, was two hundred and forty-six to eighty-one in favor of the Mormon. These facts indicate that church membership as a factor in "Latter-Day Saints" politics was weaker than in any previous election, but was yet of major importance.

It is rather notable that in spite of a very rapid growth in the Clifton mining district between 1892 and 1894, the proportion of Mormon votes in the county decreased only three per cent. The percentage of the Mormon population who voted remained the same as in 1892, while the vote in the remainder of the county decreased two per cent. Even more than in 1892 the Democratic and Republican county parties were in the hands of the Mormons. This is shown by increased Mormon candidates and increased Mormon officers elected. Despite a general county Republican victory, the Mormons remained substantially Democratic. Their majorities were reduced, however, and less pronounced on candidates for local office.

Two Mormons represented Graham County in the territorial assembly of 1895. George Skinner, again a member, was strongly supported by Joseph Fish. They both allied themselves

definitely with the farming interests. Both voted for woman
suffrage, tax on sleeping car companies, and the bullion
tax bill. Skinner in 1896 was appointed by Governor Hughes
as a member of the tax equalization board.

Between 1894 and 1896 a taxation quarrel arose between
the mining and cattle interests as opposed to the farming in-
terests of Graham County. The election of supervisors in
1894 was a victory for cattle and mining men. The board in-
cluded a mining man, a cattleman, and a representative of
the Valley farmers. In September 1895 the board of super-
visors raised the assessments on farming and city property.
The Mormon farmers of the Valley were much concerned, and
all during 1896 they cried against the injustice of excessive
farm taxes imposed by a government controlled by stock and
mining interests. The Graham County Guardian took up the
farmers' fight against the Bulletin of Solomonville and the
Clarion of Clifton. As election time neared in 1896, mass
meetings were held throughout the Valley towns to determine

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103. Skinner styled himself, watchdog of the treasury, and
seems to have done a great deal of "muck-raking". He
went in with the hearty approval of the county Bulletin.
-Graham County Bulletin, February 22, 1895.
104. Journals of the Eighteenth Arizona Territorial Legisla-
ture, 1895, pp. 207, 310, 361, 438.
105. Henry Hill of Clifton.
106. F. W. Hayes of Fort Grant.
107. A. H. Bennett of Safford, a Mormon.
108. Graham County Bulletin, September 13, 1895.
109. Establishment of the Graham County Guardian at Safford is
told on p. 81.

110

a course of action. At least one farmer suggested that removal of the county seat to Safford and woman suffrage might be necessary to oust the politicians who were continuing in office "by their buying of votes with their good promises and bad whisky".¹¹¹ The Equal Rights Association, organized among the Mormons, was a move in this direction. The result was that when the Democratic convention met, the Valley Democrats chiefly backed by Mormon strength, more than ever dominated party action.

In 1896 the question of the removal of the county seat from Solomonville to Safford came to the fore again. The controversy became more heated than in 1891. Several factors united to increase the feeling on the matter. The alignment of Solomonville and the Clifton-Morenci district against the Valley in the democratic convention, and the general election of 1894 increased ill feelings between the two sections of the county. Wiley E. Jones, as he threatened to do in the election of 1894,¹¹² established the Graham County Guardian at Safford in 1895. He seems to have allied himself with Valley interests and won their support. John Birdno, a Mormon, was made editor.

The County seat question came up early in 1896. The

110. Ibid., May 1, July 31, 1896.

111. Ibid., July 31, 1896.

112. Wiley E. Jones was left out by the Democratic politicians in the convention in 1894. He made a campaign as an Independent and won with a large majority in the general election. During the campaign he was opposed by the Bulletin, democratic organ, and threatened to establish an opposing paper. He established the Graham County Guardian in 1895.

Bulletin published a series of articles defending Solomonville's position as county seat. The principal arguments were its central location and the costs of removal. The Guardian answered with several articles. It attacked Solomonville because of its dust, mud, alkali, and adobes. It claimed that the growth of the Valley was gradually shifting the center of county population west, and that its size, location, and soil made Safford the logical center of the county. The Guardian charged the Bulletin with saying "that only Birdno and the damn Mormons wanted the county seat changed." It claimed Thatcher would support Safford. The Bulletin countercharged the Guardian with trying to bring the Mormon question into the county seat removal controversy and of endeavoring to prejudice the Mormons against the Bulletin and Solomonville. Several mass meetings were held in Safford during the summer of 1896 to prepare for a vote on the issue at the 1896 election.

Agitation died down in the early fall after an investigation into the law on the subject of removal. The matter, it was decided, should be dropped for two years. It was found that the law did not allow a vote on removal to Safford, but left the naming of the location of the seat to each voter on

113. Graham County Guardian, June 19, 1896, June 26, 1896.

114. Ibid., August 4, 1896.

115. Ibid., October 2, 1896.

116. It claimed to have no fear of the Guardian's success.
-Graham County Bulletin, September 4, 1896.

his ballot. The Valley people were afraid a move might be made to take the county seat to Clifton.¹¹⁷

Between 1894 and 1896 there was, in Utah, a final effort to divorce church leadership from the Democratic party. At that time most of the "general church" authorities became Republicans. There also came a severe schism in the church¹¹⁸ over party politics. Consequently as the campaign of 1896 approached, it was quite generally believed among the gentiles of the Valley that the Mormons of the county would vote Republican. There was some surprise when President Layton and many of the Mormon Democrats endorsed Bryan and free¹¹⁹ silver.

Interest must have been aroused early in the 1896 campaign, for activity began sooner than usual. The Democratic county committee meeting was called for May 20th. Twelve of the twenty-eight members were Mormons. The apportionment to the county convention gave the Mormon towns twenty-six of the¹²⁰ fifty-seven delegates. Of the eleven delegates elected to the territorial convention, three were Mormons; and of the new¹²¹ central committee of the sixteen elected, five were Mormons. The slate of ten candidates included four Mormons. Clifton and Morenci again had no candidate on the ticket. All were

117. Graham County Guardian, September 25, 1896.

118. Graham County Bulletin, November 1, 1895.

119. Graham County Guardian, September 1, 1896.

120. Ibid., August 14, 1896.

121. George Skinner, D. H. Matthews, Joseph Cluff. -Graham County Bulletin, September 1, 1896.

from the Valley except H. C. Day of Duncan. The convention
122
123
endorsed Bryan, Sewall, free silver, and the income tax.

The Republican central committee of the county met in
April 1896. Seven Mormons were present. H. C. Layton, Presi-
dent Layton's son, was chosen as a delegate to the territorial
124
convention. Apportionment to the county convention gave the
Mormon towns a representation of only five of the forty-
three delegates. The preponderance of the representation
was given to Clifton, Morenci, Fort Grant, and Solomonville
125
districts.

A Populist ticket was again nominated in 1896. As in
1894 a few modest and unsuccessful office aspirants took ad-
vantage of the National Populist movement and put themselves
up as candidates. Their convention was held early in Septem-
ber. Six precincts were represented by the seventeen dele-
gates. Of them six were Mormons. Two Mormons were named on
the Populist ticket. One failed to campaign after being
nominated.

Four politicians, who were not nominated on either the
Republican, Democratic, or Populist tickets, came out as in-
126
dependents. Three of these were Mormons.

122. George Skinner and J. K. Rogers, assembly; W. W. Damron,
probate judge; David Mathews, supervisor. -Graham
County Guardian, September 11, 1896.

123. Ibid., September 25, 1896.

124. Graham County Bulletin, April 17, 1896.

125. These districts were given thirty-five delegates.
-Graham County Bulletin, September 18, 1896.

126. Ibid., October 9, 1896.

There was much political activity during 1896. Newspapers had a great deal to say about the Mormon vote and controlling it; and about a coalition of Populists with one, then the other of the two major parties.

When the election results were tabulated the Mormon vote was seen to equal thirty-eight per cent. of the total for the county. This was three per cent. above its percentage in 1894. The percentage of the Mormons voting at the election was seventeen, three per cent. below 1894, and four per cent. above the county. The vote for Mark Smith, Democrat for delegate, was the smallest ever given him by the Mormons of the county (eighty-four per cent.). This was fourteen per cent. above the county vote for Smith. The Democratic candidates for the territorial legislature received eighty per cent. of the Mormon votes. This was twenty per cent. above their vote of 1894, and twenty-three per cent. above the fifty-seven per cent. vote of the county as a whole. The Mormon Populist vote for these territorial legislative candidates was six per cent. as compared with a fourteen per cent. vote of the county as a whole.

The Mormon vote on local candidates was seventy per cent. Democratic, eighteen per cent. Republican, and twelve per cent. Populist and Independent combined. This was a

127. The Mormon vote was spoken of as if the people voted entirely as a group. Many seemed to feel that to control the Mormon vote was equivalent to election.
-Graham County Guardian, August 11 to October 16, 1896.

fifteen per cent increase in the Democratic vote, a nine per cent. reduction in Republican vote, and a six per cent. reduction in Populist vote, over the 1894 election. The vote in the county as a whole in local candidates was sixty-two per cent. Democratic, twenty-seven per cent. Republican, and eleven per cent. Populist and Independent combined. The Mormons voted considerably more as a group in 1896 than in 1894; seventy-six per cent. on all candidates as compared with sixty-five per cent. in 1894; eighty-one per cent. on territorial candidates as compared with sixty-seven per cent. in 1894; seventy-four per cent. on local candidates as compared to fifty-six per cent. in 1894.

In the election results there was sufficient evidence to measure the strength of the church in politics. In the two contests in which a Mormon opposed a gentile, the Mormon vote was ninety-two per cent. for their fellow church member. In the contest for assemblymen and supervisors, two Mormons opposed each other. The Mormon vote for the two Democrats was seventy-five per cent. of the combined vote on the four candidates.

The election results indicate the continuation of several trends. The percentage of Mormon vote in the county continued to increase. The per cent. of Mormons who voted remained as in 1892 and 1894, while the balance of the county decreased two per cent. again. The Mormon Democratic vote for Mark Smith, Democrat for delegate, decreased as in the election

preceding, but their Democratic vote for candidates for the territorial legislature and for local county offices increased over 1894. This increase was undoubtedly due to the "split" in the county between farming, mining, and cattle interests on the question of taxation, and the county seat removal. The Mormon voting as a group increased over 1894, due again to the taxation and county seat questions. Party seems to have been stronger as a political factor, while church influence seems to have been about the same.

The taxation problem after 1896 continued to give the Valley farmers considerable concern. On January 1, 1897, a mass meeting was called in Pima for the purpose of working out instructions for the county territorial representatives. It was desired that certain laws should be enacted and cer-
128
tain others repealed to relieve the taxpayer. Discussion and debate continued in the county during 1897 about relative taxation of farms, cattle, and mining property.

The supervisors' election of 1896 had favored the mining
129
and cattle interests. In July 1897, in spite of a vigorous protest by Matthews, the Mormon supervisor, the taxes on
130
farm property were raised. Again in September, over Matthews'

128. G. W. Williams, L. J. Sims, Hyrum Weech were the committee of citizens of Pima who called the meeting.

-Graham County Guardian, January 1, 1897.

129. Hagan of Clifton was a mining man, and Day of Duncan a cattleman.

130. Graham County Guardian, July 16, 1897.

protest, the supervisors lowered the assessed valuation of the Arizona Copper Company in Clifton about twenty-two thousand dollars. The tax dispute grew more bitter in 1898.¹³¹ On March 18th, the Guardian made the statement that the Eureka Cattle Company of Willcox had just sold all of its cattle (eight or ten thousand head). The assessment rolls, the paper claimed, had only shown the company to own seven hundred head. Such business of the supervisors was the cause, it stated, of high farmers' taxes.¹³² There then followed a caustic dispute in a series of articles between the Guardian championing the farmers, and the Bulletin of Solomonville, and the Range News of Willcox defending the cattle and mining interests of the county.¹³³ The Guardian claimed that the cattle-men and mining companies were not paying their share of the taxes, while the other two papers countered, saying that the farming districts of the county received more from the county in taxes for schools than they paid.¹³⁴ The debate continued all during the year.

The question of the removal of the county seat was again revived in 1897 by George Skinner's bill in the legislature.

131. Graham County Guardian, September 3, 1897.

132. Ibid., March 18, 1898.

133. Ibid., April 22, 1898.

134. In January 1898, the Guardian published an article opposing the possible compromise in the county tax suit with the Hampson Cattle Company begun in 1895. The assessment of 1895 had raised the number of cattle from five to fifteen thousand. The courts of the state had upheld the assessment. The case had then gone to the United States Supreme Court.

The bill proposed a change in the law regarding the locating of county seats. It provided that voting should be for, or against, removal to a particular town designated on the ballot. The introduction of the bill elicited another series of articles from the Guardian in favor, and the Bulletin opposed.¹³⁵ With the failure of the bill to pass the seat removal subsided again.

Rogers and Skinner, both Mormons, represented Graham County in the assembly in 1897. Their interests, as other Mormons before them, were definitely in favor of the small farmer as against the larger interests of the territory. Skinner introduced the bill for semi-annual payment of taxes, one for woman suffrage, one to punish officers for drunkenness, and one for rental of school lands at not more than two and one-half per cent. of assessed value.¹³⁶ Rogers introduced bills to 1) reduce from five hundred to two hundred and fifty the number of residents for incorporation of a town; 2) to refer woman suffrage to the voters; 3) for local option.¹³⁷ Both Rogers and Skinner opposed the bill of councilman D. H. Ming of Arivaipa which sought to create Chiricahua County from parts of Graham and Cochise counties. The bill was a

135. Graham County Guardian, March 5, 1897; Graham County Bulletin, March 12, 1897.

136. Graham County Bulletin, April 9, 1897. This bill distinctly favored farmers renting school land.

137. Skinner was in 1897 removed from the territorial board of equalization by Governor McCord. A county republican, Cutler, replaced him. The Valley papers claimed it was because of his thrift and outspoken opposition to grinding monopolies. -Graham County Bulletin, August 12, 1897.

move on the part of the cattle section of the two counties. It failed to pass the legislature. Ming was scored by the Valley Mormons.

The Democratic county convention met in the fore part of September 1898. Thirty-six of the eighty-four delegates¹³⁸ were apportioned to the Mormon communities. Five of the¹³⁹ sixteen delegates to the territorial convention were Mormons. The convention made an effort to breach the party division between the east end and the Valley. The ticket was evidently a conciliation slate. All sections of the county were rather evenly represented. There was an almost complete absence of Independents and third party candidates. Only three¹⁴⁰ Mormons had places on the ticket.

The Republican convention also met early in September 1898. Of its thirty-six delegates, nine were from Mormon¹⁴¹ towns. Of the ticket of seven nominated, three were Mormons.¹⁴²

The election seemed rather quiet on the surface. The result was a characteristic county Democratic landslide. The full Democratic slate was elected. The county vote was considerably larger than in 1896 (one thousand five hundred and three to one thousand two hundred and seventy-one). The Mor-

138. Graham County Guardian, August 26, 1898.

139. Ibid., September 16, 1898.

140. W. W. Pace for assembly; W. W. Damron, treasurer; W. M. Moody, probate judge. -Graham County Guardian, September 16, 1898; November 18, 1898.

141. Arizonian, September 1, 1898.

142. J. F. Nash, probate judge; Curtis and Williams for assembly.

mon vote was only slightly larger (four hundred and fifty-¹⁴³four to four hundred and forty-five). It was only thirty per cent. of the county vote as compared with thirty-eight per cent. in the previous election. The percentage of Mormon vote was seventeen, one per cent. under their vote of 1896, and six per cent. above that of the county vote. The Mormon vote for Wilson, Democrat for congressional delegate, was seventy-four per cent. as compared with seventy-four per cent. for Smith in 1896, and a sixty-two per cent. vote in the county as a whole. The Mormon vote for representatives to the territorial legislature was seventy per cent. as compared with eighty per cent. in 1896, and a county vote of sixty-seven per cent.

The Mormon vote on candidate for local county offices was seventy-two per cent. Democratic, twenty-four per cent. Republican, and four per cent. for all others; as compared with seventy per cent., eighteen per cent., and twelve per cent. for 1896; and a county vote of sixty-one per cent. Democratic, thirty-eight per cent. Republican, seventeen per cent. for all others. The Mormon vote as a group was sixty-six per cent. as compared with seventy-six per cent. in 1896, and a county group vote of sixty per cent.

The larger Mormon vote for Independent candidates as compared with the Independent vote for the county was due

143. The increase came principally in the Clifton-Morenci district. The mines were growing rapidly.

to the Mormon deflection from major party candidates from the east end of the county. Clark and Hagan, the Democratic and Republican candidates for sheriff, were both from Clifton. Hagan, the supervisor, responsible for the raise in farm assessments in 1897-98, received almost no Mormon vote. The weakening of church membership as a voting influence among the Mormons continued as it had since about 1890.

The supervisors' race resulted in a change of administration again. Two of the three members were representatives of the Valley farmers. Of two Democrats for assemblymen, the Mormon received fifty-four per cent. of the combined vote. The non-Mormon Democrat, however, received nearly double the vote given two Republican Mormon candidates for the same office.

Early in 1899 the board of supervisors reversed the action of the board of supervisors of 1897. They raised the assessments of the mining and cattle interests, and lowered farm assessments. There followed throughout the year the same heated controversy between the Guardian, championing the farmers, and the Bulletin, championing the mining and cattle interests.

144. The Arizona Copper Company assessment was raised sixty thousand dollars, and the Detroit Copper Company one hundred and forty-four thousand dollars. The latter company contested the raise and appealed to the courts. -Graham County Guardian, September 11, 1899.

The election of 1900 began with the meeting of the Democratic central committee in Safford, August 4th. The Valley Mormons, led by Wiley Jones and John Birdno, after a great deal of bickering evidently got control of the meeting, and Safford was chosen as the next meeting place. The county convention met in Pima,¹⁴⁵ for its first time, and W. T. Webb was chosen chairman. Thirty-five of the eighty-two delegates were from the Mormon towns. Of seventeen delegates¹⁴⁶ elected to the territorial convention, seven were Mormons.¹⁴⁷ Four Mormons were nominated on the slate of eleven. The noticeable thing about the whole Democratic campaign was the complete control of the party by the Valley Democratic¹⁴⁸ leaders, two of which were Mormons.

The Republican convention met September 9, 1900. The Mormons must have had considerable representation as five of¹⁴⁹ the eleven candidates chosen were Mormons.

The election returns showed the county vote to be one thousand five hundred and fifty-four, only a small margin

145. Solomonville when she saw Safford was to be chosen as the location for the convention, traded her support to Pima on the convention town for Pima's promise to support her candidate for chairman. -Graham County Guardian, August 3, 1899.

146. Ibid., September 7, 1899.

147. President Kimball, assembly; William A. Moody, probate judge; P. C. Merrill, assessor; and Harper, supervisor. -Ibid., November 23, 1900.

148. Wiley Jones and the Mormons W. L. Webb and John Birdno dominated party affairs. This was W. L. Webb's first successful political debut in leadership.

149. Brewer, council; Merrill, assembly; James Layton, treasurer; J. H. Mack, supervisor, J. F. Nash, surveyor.

above the returns of 1898. The Mormon vote was twenty-nine per cent. of the total county vote, one per cent. lower than in 1898. The percentage of the Mormon population voting was only twelve. This was five per cent. below the 1898 returns, and only one per cent. above that of the county as a whole. The Mormon vote for Smith was seventy-nine per cent. as compared with their seventy-four per cent. vote for Wilson in 1898, and eighty-four per cent. vote for Smith in 1896. The county vote for Smith was only fifty-nine per cent. in 1900.

The Mormon vote for candidate for territorial legislature was sixty-five per cent. Democratic as compared with a seventy per cent. vote in 1898, and a county vote of sixty-one per cent. in 1900.

The Mormon vote for local county offices was sixty per cent. Democratic as compared with seventy-two per cent. in 1898, and a county vote of fifty-four per cent. in 1900. The Mormon vote as a group was seventy-one per cent. as compared with sixty-six per cent. in 1898 and fifty-nine per cent. for the county.

There is some basis for measuring the strength of religion as a political factor in the election of 1900. The Mormon vote for four Mormons who opposed non-Mormons was sixty-four per cent. of the total combined vote. In the contest for assemblyman where President Kimball and a non-Mormon were both Democratic candidates, President Kimball received

seventy per cent. of the combined vote. The combined vote for the two Republican candidates for assemblyman, one a Mormon and the other a non-Mormon, was eighty-five per cent. for the Mormon. Of the combined vote for the Mormon Republican and the non-Mormon Democrat, the Mormon received sixty per cent. of the Mormon vote.

The election results indicate a number of important facts. The relative voting strength of the Mormons in the county declined due to a greatly reduced percentage of votes among them. Active Mormon political leadership in both parties gave greater influence in spite of a lower proportionate vote. Mormon Democratic and Republican voting strength was nearer equal than ever before, though the Democratic was still greater. The Mormons voted more nearly as a group than in 1898 due to a greater number of Mormon candidates in the field. Church membership as a factor in voting seems to have been about as forceful as party.

TABLE NO. I: Population of St. Joseph Stake, Graham County, by Wards, 1880-1900.

Ward	1880	1882	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900
Smithville or Pima after 1883	148	416	430	538	584	581	521	455	437	493	567	561	588		659	690	721	733	782
Central			17	185	144	111	115	119	120	145	168	194	199		196	212	197	197	191
Matthews							118	105	108	111	127	129	148		142	157	196	175	159
Curtis			114	143	170	174	180	150	158	122	170	147	160		202	216	259	278	256
Thatcher			119	65	196	209	266	304	305	347	429	454	520		639	716	825	852	961
Graham			57	73	81	67	78	100	86	53	60	78	99		102	91	118	115	89
Layton				178	213	229	211	245	289	229	336	377	370		371	376	364	342	343
Bryce									59	59	76	109	114		77	90	96	112	132
Franklin																139	144	143	134
Hubbard																		68	80
Enterprise Branch																			43
Members outside regular wards or branches			89																
Total	148	416	836	1182	1388	1371	1489	1478	1538	1559	1933	2049	2198	2325	2397	2687	2920	3015	3170
Growth per year	148	134	210	346	206	-17	118	-11	60	21	374	116	149	127	72	290	233	95	155
Size of average family				5.4			5.9	5.4			5.4	5.6	5.6	5.8		6.3		6	6

TABLE NO. II: Table of Assessed Valuations, Mormon and County, 1881-1900.

	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1890	1900
Total county value	318,076	429,115	575,767	1,159,518	1,139,267	1,242,000	1,486,169	2,625,665
Assessed valuation, Mormons	14,805	33,386	52,081	96,258	95,364	135,910	312,655	394,946
Percentage of Mormon valuation in county	4.6	7.8	9.	8.9	8.3	11.	21.	11.
Number of names on assessment rolls	229	307	352	512	494	621	804	1,727
Number of Mormon names on assessment rolls	37	74	112	171	178	224	293	515
Valuation of average assessment in county	1,389	1,072	1,637	2,264	2,306	2,000	1,861	1,520
Value of average Mormon assessment	400	451	465	568	536	607	1,067	767

TABLE NO. III: Graham County Election Results, Mormon and County Totals, 1882-1900.

Election year	1882	1884	1886	1888	1890	1892	1894	1896	1898	1900
1. Percentage of total county vote, Mormon	8	11		28	29	38	35	38	30	29
2. Percentage of Mormon population voting	11	13		17	18	20	20	17	17	12
3. Percentage of total county population voting	34	38		25	16	14	15	13	11	11
4. Percentage of Mormon vote for delegate to congress, Democratic	90	98		100	96	88	66	84	74	79
5. Percentage of total county vote for delegate to congress, Democratic	70	64		83	62	71	47	70	62	59
6. Percentage of Mormon vote for candidates to territorial legislature, Democratic	87	97		90	86	68	63	80	70	65
7. Percentage of total county vote for candidates for territorial legislature, Democratic	70	68		69	60	52	44	57	67	61
8. Percentage of Mormon vote for candidates for county offices, Democratic	42	72		65	60	64	55	70	72	60
9. Percentage of total county vote for candidates for county offices, Democratic	60	74		47	56	55	38	62	61	54
10. Approximate percentage of Mormon vote for Mormon candidates										
11. Mormon vote as a group for their popular choice candidates, percentage	91	88		90	76	69	65	76	67	71
12. County vote as a group for leading candidates, percentage	61	67		69	62	58	55	60	60	59

With the exception of Safford the towns of Graham were until 1900 wholly Mormon or non-Mormon. This fact made it possible to isolate voting results of the two groups and arrive at the approximate percentages of the table on page 98. The total Mormon vote of the county used in computing the percentages was arrived at by estimating the Mormon vote of Safford. Graham and Layton, Latter-Day Saints wards, were included in the Safford voting precinct. By taking the total of their ward population and estimating the same voting results as in the all-Mormon towns of the county, it was possible to compute total figures for the Mormons of the county.

For No. 1, the total Mormon vote of the county was divided by the total number of votes cast in the county.

For No. 2, the total Mormon vote was divided by the total Latter-Day Saints ward population.

For No. 3, the total county vote was divided by the total county population. Not having county population figures for each year, it was necessary to compute an approximate population by figuring an average yearly increase within the census period.

For No. 4, figures were obtained by dividing the number of votes cast in the all-Mormon precincts of the county for democratic candidate for delegate, by the total vote for delegate in those precincts.

For No. 5 the same computation as in No. 4 was made, except that returns from all precincts of the county were used.

Numbers 6 and 7 were arrived at as were numbers 4 and 5, except that the vote for all candidates for the legislature were used in place of votes for delegate.

Numbers 8 and 9 were figured as were numbers 4 and 5 respectively, but the combined vote for all candidates for county office was used in place of the vote for delegate.

No. 11 was arrived at by using the returns from the all-Mormon precincts. The candidate for each office who polled a majority vote regardless of party, was taken, and his percentage of the total vote for that office computed. The average for all candidates taken is the figure used in the table.

No. 12 was computed as was No. 11, except that figures for the whole county supplanted those for the all-Mormon precincts.

CONCLUSION

The tables on the preceding pages give a basis for summing up the settlement and growth of the Graham County Mormon colony from 1880-1900.

The population growth was quite slow during the earliest period, 1879-1882, when frontier followers from Utah and Northern Arizona began moving into the Valley. Between 1882 and 1886, during the time of prosecution for polygamy in Utah, the growth was much faster. After 1887 prosecution ceased, and migration to the Gila Valley decreased considerably up to 1891. From 1891-1900, as the free land in Utah dwindled, immigration to the Valley again grew.

The Mormon population of the county began in 1881 at thirteen per cent. of the total county population. By 1888 it had increased to thirty-five per cent. From then until 1900, with the rapid growth of the county mining towns, the percentage of Mormon population decreased.

The earliest Mormons came with very little property or money. Characteristic of people who follow the frontier, they lacked initiative and business foresight. In 1881 their combined assessed valuation was only four and six tenths per cent. of the total county valuation.

The county assessment rolls show that the growth of the Mormon colony economically was very slow up to 1883. It was at that time only nine per cent. of the total county valua-

tion. Prosecutions for polygamy in Utah after 1882 sent into the Valley more progressive settlers. President Layton took charge of the Valley development as a Mormon colony. Capital and foresight of incoming settlers increased the economic development and the wealth of the people as individuals, and as a group. In 1890 their combined assessed valuation was, in spite of the rapid growth of the Clifton-Morenci mines, twenty-one per cent. of the total county assessed valuation.

The Mormons were primarily farmers and by 1900 had acquired most of the farming land of the Valley. Through President Layton's example and encouragement, many of them entered business, but their ventures were, in general, not successful. By 1900 the leading business men of the Valley were non-Mormons.

The social life of the settlers, from their entrance into the Valley in 1879 up to 1883, was that typical of frontier communities. They were able to provide only the barest necessities of living. Sickness, Indians, and outlaws increased the severity of their existence. Forced by circumstances and aided by religious unity, the residents of the pioneer communities were very cooperative in business and social affairs. In their relations with those outside the church they were exclusive and intolerant.

After 1883, with the change in the type of immigrant the frontier life changed. The development of the church stake organization expanded social and church activities and made

of the small communities a progressive single, church colony. This colony was very responsive to the "general church" authorities at Salt Lake City. Society became less exclusive and more tolerant of gentile associations.

The earliest settlers were little interested in politics except when politics touched their farming or religious interests directly. This is shown by their small percentage of votes in 1882. The settlers who came after 1882 took more active political interest. They had no very capable political leaders before 1892. In 1888, though the Mormon population of the county had reached thirty-five per cent. of the total county population, their vote was only twenty-eight per cent. of the total county vote. Between 1882 and 1892, although the Mormons constituted a large part of the county population, not one of their number was elected to the territorial legislature; and few were elected, or even nominated, to county offices. After 1892 more active political leadership developed among the "Latter-Day Saints", and their influence in county politics became greater. From then until 1900 the Mormons had always one, and sometimes two, in the territorial legislature. They also had more candidates in each party, and more county officials from their church membership.

The Mormon vote was, from the beginning, Democratic on candidates for territorial offices. On local county candidates they divided because the Republicans nominated Mormons

on their ticket. Due to a trade with the territorial Democratic organization about 1885, and because of opposition from the Republican party their vote for territorial candidates remained, even up to 1900, largely Democratic. It was almost solidly so from 1884 to 1890, but declined some between 1890 and 1900. The vote for local offices shows only a small Democratic majority through the period.

General church authorities attempted to influence Mormon voting in the county only when they considered the church interests directly affected. Local church leaders influenced politics considerably as individuals, but attempted no political organization or activities within the church. The members of the church voted in the earliest years almost as a group and one hundred per cent. for Mormon candidates. As time passed their vote became more divided, and their political support of fellow church members less pronounced.

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This is a notebook in which are written in longhand the Minnutes of the Montezuma Canal Company. The company was made up of Tucson business men. The canal was built in the Gila Valley of Graham County in 1872. The Minutes Book is to be found in the archives in the basement of the Pima County court house in Tucson, Arizona.

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Manuscripts

Kimball, S. W. Notes on Stake History.

These notes are in manuscript form. They were compiled by Mr. Kimball from church records kept by the clerk of the St. Joseph Stake, 1883-1900. The notes are not paged or divided into chapters. They and the original records from which they were taken are in possession of Mr. Kimball, clerk of St. Joseph Stake, L.D.S., Safford, Arizona.

Payne, H. L. Monographs: Stories of Early Pioneering in Graham County:- Christopher Layton, Story of Pima, Story of Thatcher, Story of Eden, Story of Lebanon, Story of Graham.

These were written in longhand. The stories were not divided into chapters or the pages numbered.

Snow, Leroy C. St. Joseph Stake History.

This manuscript was compiled by Mr. Snow of the L.D.S. Church Historian's office in Salt Lake City, Utah. The materials were taken from various church records and from church publications. The manuscript in typed form is not paged. There are several divisions, one for the stake as a whole and one for each ward of the stake. It is on file in the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City, Utah.

Newspapers

Arizonian, Safford, Arizona.

This was a republican newspaper published at Safford, Arizona, 1898 and 1899. Copies for these years are kept in the library of the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona.

Arizona Daily Star, Tucson, Arizona.

The author consulted the files from 1879-1900, inclusive.

Arizona Weekly Star, Tucson, Arizona.

The author consulted the files from 1879-1900, inclusive.

Clifton Clarion.

Published at Clifton, Arizona, from 1883 until after 1900.

Incomplete files are in the library of the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona.

Deseret News, Salt Lake City, Utah.

This paper, published in Salt Lake City, Utah, daily, was previously a weekly newspaper. It is published under the direction of the L.D.S. Church. Its files are in the office of the Deseret News, Salt Lake City.

Graham County Bulletin (Valley Bulletin).

Was the successor to the Graham County News. It was first published at Solomonville, Arizona, in 1882. Incomplete files are in the library of the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona.

Graham County Guardian.

Published weekly at Safford, Arizona, since 1895. Incomplete files are in the library of the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona.

Range News, Willcox, Arizona.

Published for a few years previous to 1900. It was a cattleman's organ and politically republican. A few copies are found in the library of the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona.

Interviews

Curtis, Samuel.

Mr. Curtis is an early Mormon pioneer to the Gila Valley. He migrated from Utah in 1879. The author interviewed him at some length at his home in Thatcher, Arizona, October 15, 1933.

Fra nclin, A. M.

A non-Mormon business man of Safford, Arizona, 1878-1888. Now a well-known resident of Tucson, Arizona. Interview held at the Pioneer Hotel, Tucson, Arizona, October 15, 1934.

Hancock, E. E.

Mr. Hancock is an early Mormon pioneer to the Gila Valley. Interview held at his home in Eden, Arizona, December 10, 1933.

Holliday, Mrs. J. D.

Mormon settler of Pima (Smithville), 1879. Interview held at her home in Pima, July 2, 1936.

Kelly, W. B.

Early non-Mormon business man of Graham County. Publisher after his father of the Graham County Bulletin. Publisher now of the Graham County Guardian, and state senator from Graham County. Interview held at Safford, July 17, 1936.

Layton, H. C.

Son of President Layton. Interviews at his home in Thatcher, Arizona, July 1936.

Layton, R. G.

Eldest son of President Layton. Interviews held at his home in Thatcher, Arizona, in December 1933.

McBride, P. H.

Mormon pioneer from Northern Arizona, 1879. For years Stake choir leader in the L.D.S. Church. Interview at his home in Glenbar, Arizona, October 10, 1933.

Teeples, Mrs. Caroline.

Wife of William Teeples, leader of the first Mormon settlement to the Gila Valley in 1879. Interview held at her home in Pima, Arizona, October 14, 1933.

Webb, W. L.

Followed his father, Gilbert Webb, shortly before 1900, as democratic political leader of the Mormons in Graham County. Interview held at his cattle ranch near Fort Grant, Arizona, July 20, 1936.

Williams, Mrs. Hattie.

Mother of the author and Mormon pioneer to the Gila Valley in 1879. Resident of Thatcher, Arizona.