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NATIONAL REGISTER

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
MULTIPLE PROPERTY DOCUMENTATION FORM

This form is for use in documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Type all entries.

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Utah War Fortifications

B. Associated Historic Contexts

The Utah War of 1857-1858

C. Geographical Data

The resources are located in various unincorporated areas of Morgan, Summit and Utah counties along wagon routes and trails to Salt Lake City that would have been used in 1857.

___ See continuation sheet

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Planning and Evaluation.

Signature of certifying official — Date: Sept 6, 88

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
State or Federal agency and bureau

I, hereby, certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

for Signature of the Keeper of the National Register — Date: 10/27/88

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Discuss each historic context listed in Section B.

The Utah War of 1857-1858

The Utah War of 1857-58 was a bloodless confrontation between the U.S. Army and the Mormons (members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), who had settled the Utah territory in 1847. The "war" was primarily the result of misunderstandings on the part of both the Mormons and the U.S. government. Some of the reports filed by non-Mormon appointees in the Utah Territorial government painted an exaggerated or wholly fabricated view of the Mormons' opposition to the federal government and the illegal actions of Brigham Young and other church/political leaders. In addition to the effects of those reports, anti-Mormon attitudes in the East were stirred up by the dispute over polygamy. The Mormons claimed the right to engage in plural marriage as part of their religion, while the federal government and the nation as a whole staunchly opposed the practice, identifying it and slavery as the "twin relics of barbarism." As a result of those reports and disputes, President James Buchanan sent 2500 troops to Utah in the summer of 1857 to quell what he perceived to be a rebellion.

News of the impending "invasion" by the U.S. Army elicited a strong determination to resist by the Mormons. Territorial governor and LDS church president Brigham Young responded:

> "Liars have reported that this people have committed treason, and upon their representations the President has ordered out troops to assist officering the territory. We have transgressed no law, neither do we intend to do so; but as for any nation coming to destroy this people, God Almighty being my helper, it shall not be."[1]

X See continuation sheet

Governor Young declared martial law in the territory, and the territorial militia, known as the Nauvoo Legion from the Mormons' earlier days in Nauvoo, Illinois, was mustered to help defend the Salt Lake Valley. The majority of the troops, some 1250 men, gathered at Echo Canyon to form the main line of defense at that strategic location. Stone breastworks were constructed on the tops of tall cliffs at the narrowest part of the canyon, and ditches, rifle pits and other fortifications were built below in the bottom of the canyon. In addition to the Echo Canyon fortifications, breastworks were constructed at Mormon Flat, located closer in along the principal route into the Salt Lake Valley, and in Provo Canyon, an alternate route into the valley. Smaller groups of soldiers were sent into Wyoming and Idaho to harass the army as it approached the Utah Territory.

Cache Cave, a natural cave near the Wyoming end of Echo Canyon, served as headquarters of the Mormon resistance for a time. A dispatch from Nauvoo Legion commander Daniel H. Wells gave the following instructions to his troops:

> Headquarters Eastern Expedition,
> Camp near Cache Cave, Oct. 4th, 1857.
>
> Proceed at once to annoy them [the U.S. Army] in every possible way. Use every exertion to stampede their animals and set fire to their trains. Burn the whole country before them, and on their flanks. Keep them from sleeping by night surprises; blockade the road by falling trees or destroying the river fords where you can. Watch for opportunities to set fire to the grass before them that can be burned. Keep your men concealed as much as possible, and guard against surprise....
>
> P.S. Take no life, but destroy their trains and stampede or drive away their animals at every opportunity.[2]

Mormon scouting parties and small bands of militia harassed Johnston's Army during the fall of 1857, confiscating supply wagons, driving off livestock, burning grasslands along the route, and so forth. The success of these tactics in combination with the defensive threat of Mormon fortifications and the lateness of the season forced the army to establish a winter camp outside the Utah Territory near Fort Bridger, Wyoming. This hiatus in the "invasion" allowed diplomatic efforts to proceed which eventually brought about the bloodless resolution of the Utah War the following summer.

During the winter and spring, however, the Mormons prepared for an invasion that seemed inevitable. They realized that their defensive measures would only delay the army, not defeat it.[3] Rather than subject themselves and their cities to the authority of the army, the Mormons prepared to abandon and destroy their homes, farms, and communities. Beginning in March 1858 thousands of Mormons left their homes in Salt Lake City and other northern Utah communities and moved south to take up residence with friends, family members, and fellow churchmen in towns in central and southern Utah. The town of Provo, approximately 50 miles south of Salt Lake City, became a central gathering place for the displaced Mormons. Grist mills were moved from Salt Lake City, the foundation of the newly begun temple was plowed over, and the territory's only newspaper moved south to Fillmore, where it was published from May to September of 1858. Guards were left behind in the northern cities to burn down the houses, lay waste fields, and cut down trees when the army finally entered the valley.[4] The Mormons were determined that the U.S. Army not enjoy any spoils of war if it indeed forced its way into the Salt Lake Valley.

When the U.S. army did march through an abandoned Salt Lake City on June 26, 1858, it was under peaceful terms, so no property was destroyed either by the Mormons or the U.S. troops. Negotiations for peace had been underway throughout the winter and spring while the army was camped near Fort Bridger. Chief among the negotiators for peace was Colonel Thomas L. Kane, a long-time friend of the Mormons and a respected figure among the federal hierarchy. Kane helped convince Brigham Young that the federal troops would not make war on the Mormons and that Young's replacement as governor, Alfred Cumming, was trustworthy. Kane also helped convince the federal administration that the Mormons were not in a stage of open rebellion as had been reported.

President Buchanan felt additional pressure to quietly resolve the Utah War as public opinion shifted in favor of the embattled Mormons and as charges of ineptness and corruption weakened his administration's position. A peaceful agreement was worked out wherein Brigham Young and the Mormons allowed the installation of new federal appointees in the territorial government and the federal government agreed to station its troops away from Salt Lake City in order to avoid creating an atmosphere of military occupation.

Camp Floyd, named in honor of Secretary of War John B. Floyd, was established in Cedar Valley, 40 miles southwest of Salt Lake City. It housed some 2500 military men and approximately 1000 civilians providing support services. It was reportedly the largest concentration of U.S. Army troops in the U.S. at the time. The troops remained there until the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. Camp Floyd was eventually dismantled. Historic archeological work is currently underway at that site, which was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1974.

The effectiveness of the fortifications as defensive structures was never tested, though it is doubtful that they were substantial enough to turn back a

2500-troop army. Contemporary descriptions of the fortifications by members of the army were derisive, as might be expected. Captain Jesse A. Gove, for example, described the Echo Canyon fortifications as being "of the most flimsy character" and the Mormon Flat Breastworks as "another piece of fool's labor in the shape of a fortification." He went on to say that "We could have whipped them out so easy that I regret we could not try them...."[5] The Mormons undoubtedly held a higher opinion of the structures.

Regardless of their actual defensive capabilities, the fortifications served effectively as a deterrent in the late fall of 1857. Johnston's Army was aware of the fortifications and attempted to bypass the Echo Canyon route in order to avoid them. Time spent in the unfruitful search for another route helped delay the army, contributing to the decision to establish a winter camp near Fort Bridger, Wyoming. Without the threat of defensive fortifications, the army may have marched on to Salt Lake City that fall, eliminating the opportunity for peace to be negotiated over the winter months.

The Utah War had varied consequences for both the Mormons and the federal government. It was seen as a mistake on the part of the Buchanan administration. The grounds for launching the expedition proved to be questionable, the exorbitant cost--over $15,000,000--brought charges of corruption and ineptness from political opponents, and the "benefit" of increased control over the Mormons was marginal, at least in the short run. The long-term effects were more favorable for the federal government. Non-Mormon appointees to positions in the territorial government impeded Mormon political dominance and, along with the military, helped establish a permanent federal presence in the territory. Federal officials put increased pressure on the church to abandon polygamy, which it finally did in 1890, opening the way for Utah statehood in 1896. The Utah War also demonstrated the federal government's commitment to maintaining control in its territories. The military "invasion" of Johnston's Army may have inhibited the growth of Brigham Young's theocratic ambitions by forcing him to step down as territorial governor. He retained considerable power, however, as president of the Mormon church, but no longer did he have complete control over political affairs in the territory.

The effect of the Utah War on the Mormons was also mixed. It escalated the conflict between them and the federal government, which they perceived as an interfering force in their "Kingdom of God" ideals for the Utah Territory. Many Mormons felt that the war was to be an apocalyptic event that would usher in the millenium of Christ's rule on earth. Instead it brought about greater federal control in Utah. Economically, however, the Mormons benefitted from the event. Those living near Camp Floyd found a ready market for their agricultural products and other locally produced materials. When the camp was hastily abandoned in 1861 at the outbreak of the Civil War, hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of

equipment and supplies were liquidated at nominal costs to the Mormons. The entire camp was dismantled, providing salvage building material that was used in innumerable buildings in surrounding Mormon communities.

Though nothing but archaeological remnants are left of the camp, the stone breastworks erected by the Mormons still stand as significant reminders of the Utah War.

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[1]Quoted in Wain Sutton, ed., Utah - A Centennial History, Vol. II (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1949), pp. 593-594.
[2]Ibid., p. 595.
[3]Everett L. Cooley, "The Utah War," (MA thesis, University of Utah, 1947), p. 83.
[4]Ibid., pp.82-85.
[5]Otis G. Hammond, ed., The Utah Expedition 1857-58 (Concord, N.H.: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1928), pp. 176-177.

F. Associated Property Types

I. Name of Property Type breastworks

II. Description

This multiple property nomination includes three defense breastworks built by the Mormons during the Utah War of 1857-58. The structures are the Echo Canyon Breastworks, the Mormon Flat Breastworks, and the Provo Canyon Guard Quarters (National Register 1986). They were all constructed in the fall of 1857 and used briefly at that time and for a short period in the spring of 1858.

The structures are very similar to one another in terms of their construction. The breastworks range from approximately one to three feet in height and are constructed of uncut stones stacked in random courses without mortar. They were built at strategic locations for impeding the progress of the army. The Echo Canyon Breastworks are set atop tall cliffs in that canyon, the Provo Canyon Guard Quarters are on a canyon-side knoll which provides a good view up the canyon, and the Mormon Flat Breastworks are at the mouth of Little Emigration Canyon along the principal route into the Salt Lake Valley.

The structures are all relatively well preserved, since there is little that weathering or vandalism could do to damage them. The only probable alterations are the reduction in wall heights as stones have fallen or been pushed down or the addition of stones to the tops of the walls by those wishing to reconstruct the walls. It is virtually impossible to tell what additions or alterations have been made, though it is very unlikely that new sections have been built or that original sections have been destroyed completely.

III. Significance

These stone breastworks are significant under National Register Criterion A as the only remaining structures built by the Mormons during the Utah War as a military defense against the threatened attack of the U.S. Army. The 2500-man Johnston's Army was sent to Utah by President James Buchanan to quell what he perceived to be a rebellion by the Mormons. Though the fortifications were never used in battle, their presence helped delay the army's advance, thereby allowing time for peace to be negotiated over the winter of 1858. Although the confrontation ended peaceably with no open warfare taking place, the event was of paramount significance in the political and economic history of the state. Politically, the Utah War marked a significant escalation of the conflict that persisted for over thirty years between the federal government and the Mormon church, and it illustrates the uneasy compromise that was forged between them as each sought to maintain peace with the other while retaining a significant degree of political power. Economically, the "invasion" proved to be a boon for the Mormon settlements. The army was a lucrative market for Mormon goods and services during its three-year stay, and, upon leaving the territory at the outset of the Civil War, it sold thousands of dollars of goods and equipment for nominal costs.

X See continuation sheet

___ See continuation sheet for additional property types

IV. Registration Requirements

The three fortifications documented here are believed to be the only ones still standing, so it is highly unlikely that additional structures will be registered in the future. In order to qualify for registration, properties should possess the following characteristics.

- They must have been constructed or at least used during the Utah War period (1857-58) for defensive purposes by the Mormons.
- They must be located along one of the wagon routes or trails to Salt Lake City that the army would have taken in 1857-58.
- The physical appearance of associated structures should be in keeping with the previously documented structures (i.e., dry-masonry stone breastworks of approximately 1-3 feet in height) or with other defensive structures described in historical accounts (rifle pits, log breastworks, dams).
- Associated sites must be clearly documented as having been occupied by Mormon militia, and they must have been closely associated with events of the war. Camp sites that were briefly occupied and were not associated with events central to the war would not be considered eligible.

G. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.

Work on the Multiple Property Submission of Utah War Fortifications began in 1985 with the identification and documentation of the Provo Canyon Guard Quarters, which was individually listed in the National Register in 1986. Research at that time in diaries, theses, and other writings pertaining to the Utah War described other similar fortifications. On-site visits were made to those locations to determine the integrity of the structures. Local historians and others who were acquainted with the structures assisted in locating the fortifications that remained. The combination of written historical accounts and on-site inspections produced what is felt to be a complete inventory of defensive structures built during the Utah War by the Mormon militia. All the extant structures were considered eligible for nomination because they all retained their integrity and there are so few of them.

There may be eligible sites associated with the Utah War, but to date only one possible site has been identified. That site, Cache Cave, reportedly served for a time as the headquarters of the Mormon miltia. The historical information on Cache Cave is somewhat sketchy, and access to the site is currently restricted, so it is not included in the multiple property submission at this time.

___ See continuation sheet

H. Major Bibliographical References

Brooks, Jaunita, ed. On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-1861. 2 vols. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, Utah State Historical Society, 1964.

Cooley, Everett L. "The Utah War," MA thesis, University of Utah, 1947.

Hammond, Otis G., ed. The Utah Expedition 1857-58. Concord, N.H.: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1928.

Stowers, Robert E., and Ellis, John M., editors. "Charles A. Scott's Diary," Utah Historical Quarterly 28(1960):2.

Sutton, Wain, ed. Utah - A Centennial History. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1949.

___ See continuation sheet

Primary location of additional documentation:

- _X_ State historic preservation office
- ___ Other State agency
- ___ Federal agency
- ___ Local government
- ___ University
- ___ Other

Specify repository: _____

I. Form Prepared By

name/title Roger Roper/Historian

organization Utah State Historical Society telephone (801) 533-6017

street & number 300 Rio Grande date May 1988

city or town Salt Lake City state Utah zip code 84101