"This Will Someday Be the Head and Not the Tail of The Church": A History of Short Creek from 1912 to the Present.

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In a 1974 sermon, Leroy Johnson, whom the Short Creek community reverses as a modern day prophet, recounted a story he heard as a young man. The great Mormon prophet-colonizer Brigham Young was returning from Pipe Springs in a buggy with George Q. Cannon and a driver who reportedly told Johnson the story. Young asked that they stop on Cedar Ridge so that he could survey the land. After a moment's reflection he told his party "This will someday be the head and not the tail of the Church. This will be the granaries of the Saints. This land will produce in abundance sufficient wheat to feed the people."¹

I am unable to verify that President Young ever made such a remark, but Johnson's use of it aptly describes the special mission that Short Creek people came to feel their community filled.

Short Creek has today disappeared from your maps but thrives as Hildale, Utah, and Colorado City, Arizona. In this paper I will continue to refer to the area by its historic name, Short Creek.

As I began to prepare for these meetings I quickly realized I had volunteered for a topic I could not cover in such a short period of time. The abbreviated version will not come so close to "the present" but will reach into the administration of Leroy Johnson who died in 1986. It will include a discussion of early history, how Short Creek came to affiliate with the Fundamentalist Mormon community, their efforts to establish a modern version of the United Order, criminal prosecutions of its members and other disruptions of life by civil authorities, and of the fracture of the community in the early 1950s over a succession issue.
The term "Fundamentalist Mormon, by the way, is not one of their own making. Through their early history they usually referred to themselves as the Priesthood or as people involved with "The Work". The term Fundamentalist came from LDS Apostle Marl E. Peterson, an outspoken foe of their efforts. As the term came to be adopted in the media Fundamentalists readily accepted it as their own. Within the last year or so the religious community at Short Creek has incorporated a legal entity called the Corporation of the President of Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saint.²

EARLY HISTORY

Early Mormon ranchers tried to settle in the Short Creek area in the 1860s but were defeated by difficulties with Native Americans, lack of water, and other hardships. The area was unpopulated through the early part of this century. Jacob Lauritzen took up the challenge again in 1912 completed the first water ditch, a three mile undertaking from a near-by canyon. He brought in his family to live in a large tent, brought necessary farm machinery, chickens, and enough ingenuity to save the hens from wild animals.

Soon he was joined by Lorin Covington, Frank Colvin, Frank Johnson, and others. A school was started in a tent with Charles Hafen of Santa Clara as the first teacher. In 1914 the Mohave County Commission awarded $50 for the construction of a wooden school house. Frank and Lizzie Colvin built the first permanent home that same year. A post office soon followed. Ranchers improved their herds by bringing in more sheep and cattle, and laying a ten inch wooden pipe to replace the old flumes to improve
the water supply. Added water brought even more sheep and cattle. Soon they had "stomped out" the little creek bed at Short Creek, bringing more water problems. In the early 1920s the first crude road to Hurricane was built.

By 1926, the year Leroy Johnson moved to Short Creek from Kanab, there were about 100 people in the area. In September 1931 there were 24 children enrolled in the eight grade school.³

THE BALDWIN RADIO PLANT

In 1924 Isaac Carling left Short Creek for Salt Lake City where he went to work in the Baldwin Radio Plant. Nathaniel Baldwin was an important Utah inventor and industrialist, but more importantly for Short Creek he was a financial patron of the Fundamentalist Mormon community. Baldwin's list of employees and corporate officers, in the words of one historian, "reads like a Who's Who of the early Fundamentalist movement in Utah." Among them were Lorin C. Woolley, John Y. Barlow, Israel Barlow, Leslie Broadbent, Joseph W. Musser, and Lyman Jessop. He also had business ties with defrocked LDS Apostles John W. Taylor and Matthias Cowley who never embraced the Fundamentalist community⁴, but it is likely of some significance that they too had the Baldwin connection. Baldwin built a row of twelve bungalow-type houses near his own residence, locally referred to as "polygamy alley", where some employees lived.⁵

Carling and others from Short Creek who followed him developed ties to this underground community and embraced their beliefs. Continued polygamy likely was no great revelation to them as plural families had continued to exist in the Arizona Strip for years.
Many were refugees from revolution in Mexico which pushed out those in the LDS colonies just south of the border.\textsuperscript{6}

Carling also had a group of cousins from Lee's Ferry, Arizona, who were sympathetic with post-manifesto polygamy. Leroy, Price and Elmer Johnson were the sons of Warren Johnson's two wives and who had taken over the ferry from John D. Lee with his arrest.\textsuperscript{7} Price was a well spoken former missionary who had served in the Eastern States Mission under B. H. Roberts in 1909-11 and again in 1926.\textsuperscript{8} In 1924 Price Johnson took a plural wife. He would later claim John W. Woolley married him to his second wife in Centerville, Utah.\textsuperscript{9} In 1927 Lyman, Richard and Vergel Jessop\textsuperscript{10} visited Lee's Ferry where they met several of the Johnsons and other families living there. That July five Lee's Ferry Mormons were excommunicated over polygamy, Price Johnson among them. When Price Johnson moved to Short Creek later in the 1920s he brought his contacts with the Jessops who were part of the northern Utah Fundamentalist group.

Leroy Johnson recalled that his group of religious traditionalists were courted by other Fundamentalist Mormon groups but felt they were not true. Then Isaac Carling took Leroy and Price Johnson on a three day drive to Salt Lake City to attend meetings with the Priesthood Group — usually held in sympathizers' homes. There they met Joseph Musser, John Y. Barlow, and others. Leroy Johnson recalled that his conversion was immediate.\textsuperscript{11} By 1932 Carling had urged these men to consider Short Creek as a gathering place, a safe haven away from mounting church and legal pressures in the more populous Salt Lake Valley.
At this time Short Creek was almost entirely LDS. The local congregation was a dependant ward attached to the Rockville Ward of the Zion Park Stake. The community’s support for post-manifesto polygamy did not go unnoticed by Church officials. Under Church President Heber J. Grant and his new counselor J. Reuben Clark there had developed a stiffening attitude toward polygamous holdouts, including a pledge to assist with criminal prosecutions\textsuperscript{12} and the use of a kind of ecclesiastical loyalty oath to identify their sympathizers.\textsuperscript{13}

On August 30, 1934, the first four members of the Short Creek Ward were excommunicated for polygamy related offenses. Isaac Carling, a High Priest at the time, was turned out for preaching polygamy. Warren E. Johnson, Viola Spencer Johnson, and Hellen Lucy Hull, a plural wife of Price Johnson, all were found to have practiced polygamy.\textsuperscript{14} In September 1935 two more Church Courts excommunicated another 18 individuals for refusing to sign the loyalty oath.\textsuperscript{15} Among these were Leroy Johnson and his wife. He recalled the events in a 1969 sermon:

The (Zion Park Stake) high council came out to Short Creek in 1935 and called us on the carpet and told us our die was cast and that we were only to accept or reject their edict, there would be no argument. I held up my hand and they gave me a chance to speak. I said "President (Claude Hirschi), do you mean to say by this, that whatever takes place here today, you and your counselors will be responsible for?" He said, "Yes, sir." I said, "That will be all." And I sat down.
After the council had spoken and said what they had to say, they sent the ward clerk around with a little paper to sign. I looked it over and passed it on to my wife. She said, "Are you going to sign it?" I said, "I have signed all I am going to." So, she passed it on, and it went through the house. I think there were only four or five people that signed the paper. At the close of the meeting, the president got up and said, "We will send you our decision in a few days." So, a few days later, I got my notice of excommunication, also, my wife...16

A FUNDAMENTALIST COLONY

By early 1935 polygamists in northern Utah were feeling increased legal pressures. In March the Utah legislature raised the old misdemeanor unlawful cohabitation statute to a felony, carrying a five year prison sentence. The act was effective in mid-May.17

In this increasingly hostile environment the Fundamentalists were ready to consider the invitation to settle in Short Creek. In May three men -- Ianthus Barlow (brother of John Y.), Lyman Jessop and Carl Jentzch -- were called on a "mission" to inspect Short Creek as a colony. In late May John Y. Barlow came to the area and organized a fundamentalist congregation. Fundamentalists began to attend the LDS ward and conflicts followed. By July Church stake officers were in Short Creek to police the situation.

Joseph Musser was an excommunicated stake officer and a son of Assistant Church Historian and polygamist Amost Milton Musser. He was also a member of the Priesthood Council formed in 1929 by Lorin
C. Woolley and a dedicated journal keeper. His June 13, 1935, entry records a council discussion about Short Creek after John Y. Barlow and others had visited it. (Barlow had succeeded to leadership of the council with the March 1935 death of J. Leslie Broadbent.) Musser recorded:

John Y. Barlow arrived home from the South with Roy Johnson on 7th. He felt impressed all was not right here (in Salt Lake City) and also wanted to get part of his family to Short Creek.

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Ianthus (Barlow, brother of John Y.) said he was convinced of the propriety of the mission. He was in love with Short Creek and expected to make his home there whether the brethren took it up as a project or not. He felt the Lord had his eye and hand upon that choice section. Had been given a testimony to this effect.

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President Barlow bore a strong testimony to the hand of the Lord in the work South. Felt that was a place prepared by the Lord, not only as a place of refuge for some of our brethren whose liberties are in jeopardy, but a means for livelihood (sic) for those now on government relief and who would shortly, he felt, be forced off. That by a united action and effort the Lord would bless the efforts of the brethren and prosper them. He stated the brethren there who were proposing to share their lands with us, were showing a better spirit, less selfishness, etc. than many of our brethren.
Isaac Carling had been present at the council meeting to urge the union on.

This interest in a return to the United Order and John Y. Barlow's concern about a loss of government relief has to be considered with the fact Utah suffered more than most states during the Great Depression. Per capita income fell from $537 in 1929 to $237 in 1933. In 1932 state unemployment stood at 36 percent. At this time, the summer of 1935, the federal government's discontinuance of many aspects of the Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA) and Utah's unwillingness to pick up those benefits brought a 50 percent reduction in benefits. These cuts brought a small riot in Salt Lake City in early November 1935.19

With the decision of the upper Utah Fundamentalists to colonize their leaders began to preach the need for a return to the United Order in Short Creek. In June 1935 Musser recorded in his diary:

Attended meeting in evening at home of Edmund Barlow and spoke on our activities both here and South of a cooperative nature. Said none of us were prepared for the United Order, but the present move was in that direction. We must overcome selfishness, prejudice, envy and learn to love out neighbors as ourselves. When this is achieved we will be able to live in accordance with God's plan and will find it so much easier to live than the present plan, we will wonder why we didn't (sic) adopt it before. Quit gossipping (sic) and bearing false witness.20
THE FIRST POLYGAMY PROSECUTIONS

The first twentieth century prosecutions for polygamy soon followed. Arizona prosecutions at first charged eight individuals, but in December 1935 only two were tried and convicted: Price Johnson and Isaac Carling Spencer. During his trial Spencer proudly proclaimed his belief in polygamy and marriage to two wives, claiming first amendment protection as a defense. A jury with only one Mormon convicted him after three hours of deliberation. Johnson was convicted in just 45 minutes in a second trial. Both men were sentenced to 18 months in the Arizona Penitentiary.

While the LDS Church approved of the prosecutions, news accounts of the trial reported it was government welfare investigations which triggered the action. Musser felt otherwise. He wrote in Truth, a monthly magazine he edited for Fundamentalists, that high ranking Church leaders had prompted the prosecutions from the beginning.

After the conviction "Bishop" John Y. Barlow assured the press that nothing would stop the groups colonizing plans. Spencer was quoted in Newsweek as saying "I am glad to go to jail for this cause ... I consider I am a martyr for the Lord." Price Johnson in 1936 told another national news magazine polygamy had been in his family for at least three generations. Both men were released from prison in November 1936 and returned to Short Creek, although Price Johnson would break with the community some years later.

As more followers moved into the area and committed their land to the United Effort Plan (UEP) it became necessary in October 1936 to file a Declaration of Trust in the Mohave County Courthouse in
Kingman. The UEP held title to a saw mill, some farm equipment, and land, given to the body "for the purpose of building up the Kingdom of God," through the building of a physical economic community.31 The group had earlier begun experimenting with a services exchange.32

But in late 1936 some discord had appeared in Short Creek's UEP, then under the direct administration of John Y. Barlow who had continued to live there with his plural families. Musser recorded in his diaries that he and Lewis Kelsch had been called in to mediate.33 Dissenters had complained that Barlow was autocratic and should limit his authority to spiritual matters. To some extent this conflict was representative of a continuing debate among Fundamentalists as to whether their mission was only to preserve plural marriage or included responsibility for other aspects of pure Mormonism such as the United Order. The situation was aggravated in 1936 by the difficulty of extracting a living from the harsh lands and the relative newness of UEP living for the people there.

The community lived quietly for the next couple years, protected by its isolation, allowing for modest growth. In 1939 a CCC Camp was established at Short Creek on a high ground of the south side of the wash.

In September 1939 three Utah men at New Harmony in Washington County were arrested in a second round of polygamy prosecutions: Fred Jessop, Richard Jessop, and Grover Cleveland LeBaron. They were charged under Utah's 1935 felony unlawful cohabitation law. Richard Jessop was convicted at a jury trial34 but it was later overturned by the state supreme court for insufficient evidence. In its 1940 opinion the supreme court observed:
The evidence in the case is very meager. The county sheriff and his deputy visited the home of Richard Jessup (sic) to arrest him. When the deputy entered the place, there were two women there, one of whom left hurriedly. The other was Jessup's (sic) wife. Both were pregnant. The following day the sheriff again went to the home to serve subpoenas upon the women. Both women were there; the one who had hurriedly left the previous day, was sitting on a bed holding a baby. She answered in the affirmative, when the sheriff asked if her name was Lola Jessup (sic). The other woman, Mrs. Jessup (sic), bore the name of Ida...

While taking him to jail, Jessup (sic) remarked that he wished people would leave them alone. He said they were being prosecuted for the same thing their fathers had done, and added: "We believe in living the laws of God. The laws of man are man-made laws. We believe in living according to the laws of God."35

Fred Jessop was acquitted in a non-jury trial and charges were later dropped against LeBaron.

In 1940 a new group of settlers arrived from northern Utah to join the UEP. J. Marion Hammon was in that party and was appointed manager of the UEP. A local man who was not a member of the group, Jacob Lauritzen, described their efforts in his autobiography:

Under this plan (UEP) no one owned anything. The men worked under the direction of the leaders and their earnings belonged to the group. The woman and the children, large enough to work, were also drafted into
the service of the group, and during fruit picking, canning and such work they were transported by truck to and from their work in the nearby towns. A common store house was provided where food, clothing, etc. were gathered and stored. The milk cows of the group were all kept in one barn and milked and cared by (sic) individuals assigned to that work. Several times each day a supply truck made the rounds of the homes of the members of the group and distributed milk and all kinds of food such as the group possessed. Clothing and fuel were also furnished to members of the group.  

In 1941 Leroy Johnson was called to the Priesthood Council by John Y. Barlow. The two men grew especially close and their relationship would have a continuing effect on the community long after Barlow's death.

THE UEP REORGANIZERS

Hardships continued and some settlers abandoned Short Creek. Personality conflicts no doubt were a factor, but some reorganization of the cooperative organization apparently was thought necessary.

A new trust instrument was adopted in 1942. The UEP was to be administered by not less than three or more than nine trustees, initially consisting of John Y. Barlow, Joseph Musser, Leroy Johnson, J. Marion Hammon, and Rulon T. Jeffs. (Jeffs is the current religious leader of the old Short Creek community.) The instrument provided "The purpose and object of the trust shall first be charitable and philanthropic, its operations to be
governed in a tru (sic) spirit of brotherhood," through "all kinds of legitimate business ventures."\(^{37}\)

Following a 1943 visit Musser recorded in his diaries that better than 100 people were committed to the UEP in Short Creek:

The spirit of the United Order is (in) possession (of) this little band of saints numbering a dozen families and involving about 100 people. Others in the village are friendly but have not joined us, while a few others are not at all in harmony with the movement.

I viewed real progress; and with the blessings of the Lord we should raise good crops this year. The brethren are alert and determined to succeed if faithfulness and work will bring success. We have confidence in the Lord being pleased with our efforts.\(^{38}\)

In August 1943 Musser wrote about another visit to Short Creek accompanied by John Y. Barlow and Ed Christensen:

...Enjoyed a feast of fat things. Saints there are growing. Economic situation improving. During last three weeks they have received some 400 bushels of peaches for home canning. Have canned 900 quarts of apricots, besides drying a number of bushels. General spirit of co-operation good.\(^{39}\)

John Y. Barlow told his people that if they lived the United Order "God will be with us." In a 1944 Salt Lake City sermon he said:
A short time ago, we left these parts and went down to Short Creek and started the United Order. If we do not live that law, the spirit of God will cease to be with us, and we will go down and out. The fullness of the Gospel is the United Order and Plural Marriage.

... No matter what people do or say about God's laws, they are true. If they killed us, a truth would still be a truth.\(^{40}\)

But the most serious disruption of Short Creek and Fundamentalist Mormon life was on the horizon. By December 1943 scattered arrests of Fundamentalists were occurring. In February 1944 Musser wrote in his diaries:

The F.B.I. making a desperate attempt to get something on Bro. Barlow and myself to prosecute us in the courts. We believe the Church is behind the move. But let them investigate and be damned and go to hell if they choose to, the work of the Lord will not stop.\(^{41}\)

Later that month Musser commented on a grand jury investigation which was particularly focused on Truth, the magazine he edited. He wrote:

Some of us may have to go to prison, but what of that. We should be willing to bear such a testimony to the nation if that course is the will of the Lord. We ask, not for lighter burdens, our Father, but for the strength to carry out all the burdens that in thy wisdom are placed upon us.\(^{42}\)
On March 7, 1944, the legal roof caved in. A multi-state raid by federal and state authorities rounded up 46 Fundamentalist men and women on a variety of state and federal charges, including virtually the entire leadership.⁴³ Utah authorities arrested Fred Jessop and Edson Jessop near Short Creek on unlawful cohabitation charges.⁴⁴ (A year later charges against both would be dropped.)

A total of five cases reached the United States Supreme Court, but the Fundamentalists won no significant victories.⁴⁵ When the legal dust had settled 31 men sentenced to local jail terms of up to one year and 15 to Utah State Prison terms of up to five years. A few more received federal sentences.

As the state prisoners' terms dragged on they felt mounting pressures to provide for their families. In about a year and a half they were offered parole if they would sign a written pledge not to live polygamy again. Eleven of the fifteen, including John Y. Barlow and Musser, did sign in order to be reunited with their families around Thanksgiving 1945.⁴⁶ Four refused to sign and were not released until November 1947.⁴⁷ This document became very divisive within the Fundamentalist community as the "Prison Manifesto."

THE PRIESTHOOD SPLIT

In December 1949 John Y. Barlow died in the Lincoln Street home operated in Salt Lake City as a headquarters by the Fundamentalist community. He was 75-years-old. Next in line by ordination on the Priesthood Council was Joseph Musser who also lived in Salt Lake City. Musser had forged a considerable following through his editorship of the influential Fundamentalist monthly Truth and was a major intellectual force in the movement.
But Musser and Barlow were very different men and available records hint at occasional distance between them. Leroy Johnson, who continued to live in Short Creek, was closer to Barlow in temperament and background. Musser had also suffered a series of debilitating strokes and was under the care of Rulon C. Allred, a naturopath, much of the time. It was Musser's wish to designate Allred as his successor, a move that was resisted by many. Harsh words by some at the time of the "Prison Manifesto" contributed to the problems at this juncture.

The first real rift in Fundamentalism followed. By 1952 a complete break between the two camps followed and the community divided. Musser called a new council, including Lyman Jessop, Rulon Allred who was acknowledged as successor designate, and Owen Allred who presently leads that community. Those who did not follow this new council, probably a numerically larger group, followed Johnson. Charles Zitting, another long time council member, was apparently not accepted as a compromise candidate.⁴⁸ Truth came under the control of the Johnson group and was edited by Musser's son, Guy Musser. The Musser group eventually began a new publication, Star of Truth.⁴⁹

Today the old Musser group operates out of Bluffdale, Utah, under Owen Allred, and is sometimes called the United Apostolic Brethren, after a legal entity created to hold title to their properties. They have a United Order community at Pinesdale, Montana; a substantial congregation outside Mexico City; an outpost of disaffected Mormons outside London; and a membership in the thousands. There are distinct doctrinal differences and they still operate under a Priesthood Council. All of the larger Fundamentalist families have members in both groups.
Johnson's leadership position was cemented during the 1953 Short Creek Raid and events that followed. He presided until 1986 and during that period did not fill vacancies on his Priesthood Council. With Johnson's death, Rulon Jeffs, a Sandy accountant and former LDS missionary in Great Britain, emerged as his designated successor.

**THE 1953 SHORT CREEK RAID**

The most wrenching and difficult trial to befall Short Creek was the 1953 raid by Arizona authorities. Because these events are fairly well known I will not go into detail on them.

In brief, over 100 Arizona lawmen and another 100 invited newsmen conducted a surprise -- or so they thought -- raid taking almost every man, woman and child into custody during a weekend Pioneer Day celebration. Utah and Arizona authorities initiated dependant child actions on around 200 children. One of these cases eventually reached the United States Supreme Court and some children were held for almost two years before being returned to their parents. Fifty-two seven husbands of plural families plead guilty to misdemeanor unlawful cohabitation charges and were placed on one year probation by Arizona courts. Polygamous families everywhere went into hiding or fled the state. The Fundamentalists found few friends willing to speak against the raid, but St. George historian Juanita Brooks was one of those a few.

The 1953 raid was supported by the LDS Church, as they had supported the 1944 prosecutions. Johnson always saw this as proof the Church had compromised doctrine in order to gain acceptance from the world. Typical of his sentiments was a 1962 sermon where he said:
When President MacKay got up and made the statement that he wanted the people to understand that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was in full harmony with the actions of the state of Arizona in the Short Creek episode, whether he knew it or not, he testified to the heavens that the Church had rejected the fullness of the everlasting Gospel.\textsuperscript{55}

One of the best known 1953 defendants died within a week of the raid and was unable to answer the charges. Joseph Smith Jessop, 84, died within days of his release from the Kingman jail of an acute attack of phlebitis. He had been excommunicated from the Millville Ward of the LDS Church in 1930 and moved to Short Creek in 1942. At the time of his death he had 112 grandchildren and 145 great grandchildren through his three wives. Fully 110 of his survivors, mostly mothers and children, could not attend his funeral because they were being held in Phoenix by Arizona authorities.\textsuperscript{56}

The raid was terribly traumatic for all those caught up in it and today has gained almost mythical proportions in the collective memory of Short Creek. The 1953 cases would represent the last United States polygamy prosecution of Fundamentalists affiliated with the Short Creek community.

\textbf{THE END OF ISOLATION}

The 1960s ended the isolation of Short Creek.

In 1960 the local post office changed its name to Colorado City, erasing the name Short Creek from the map. In 1961 the first
oiled highway from Hurricane, Utah, to Fredonia, Arizona, opened up access to the community.

In 1962 a University of Utah graduate student visited the community and attempted interviews but met with resistance. He counted 31 houses and eight mobile homes on the Utah side, and another 25 homes and six mobile homes on the Arizona side.57 Hildale was incorporated as a Utah town in 1963.

Today there are about 4,000 residents in the two communities. Recent census data recognized Colorado City as having the greater number of residents her household in Arizona with a community median age in the low teens. Hildale Elementary School has about 420 students and another 1,000 are enrolled in the Colorado City Unified Schools. The Mohave Community College has offered courses in the high school for some years now. Education is also available at Barlow University which is still in its infancy.58

An airport was opened this winter with a later $250,000 expansion of weather instruments and lights. The recession has hurt the local economy but manufacturing and the schools still provide about 400 jobs. The town's one gas station has, in the words of the man who always tends my car there, "gone the way of all gas stations" and become a minit market. Three term Colorado City Mayor Dan Barlow has strongly supported economic growth and positive engagement with the outside world. As part of that outlook he served as the 1991 president of the Western Arizona Council of Governments.

One interesting development is the positive partnership between the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and the community in the exploration of an anasazi indian site within a stone's throw of the meeting hall. BLM has conducted an archeological field school there for the last three summers and will begin again next month.
They have been warmly received. Future plans include a $1-million visitor and education center on the site which will bring tourists and school children into town on a regular basis.

Leroy Johnson died at his home just after Thanksgiving 1986. He was 98-years-old. He reportedly was survived by fifteen widows. His funeral was the first public gathering held in the large public meeting hall that now bears his name. A crowd of 5,000 attended the two hour service then followed his body to the community graveyard -- the plain casket carried in an old horse-drawn wagon. Sandy, Utah, accountant Rulon T. Jeffs, 81 at the time, was introduced as Johnson's designated successor. The competing claims of J. Marion Hammon were not recognized by the community's majority.59

Johnson's death ended an era. A Sunstone obituary called him "a dominant figure in post-Manifesto polygamy for over a half century."60 During his period of leadership Short Creek grew in numbers, began to prosper financially, and gained confidence as a religious community.

Under Jeffs the community has opened up considerably, looking to improve its relationship with the outside world while retaining its unique religious culture. Economic expansion in Colorado City and in many other holdings has accelerated. Internal conflicts in the UEP continue but the Short Creek community is clearly here to stay.

Thank you.

2. The Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (FLDS) was incorporated in the state of Utah in winter 1991. This is a different legal entity from the United Effort Plan.


8. LDS Church records show Price Johnson, while living at Byron, Wyoming, being sent apart to serve in the Eastern States Mission on November 9, 1909, and returning on December 21, 1911. While living at Short Creek he was again called to the Eastern States Mission, being set apart on February 2, 1926, and returning September 19, 1926. The second call appears to have been for six months. There is no indication Johnson was sent home early.


10. Vergel Jessop would recall that he moved to southern Utah in March 1927. He was excommunicated from the Kanab Stake of the LDS Church along with Donald Spencer on November 16, 1935. Taped interview with Vergel Jessop by the author on January 5, 1990. Vergel Jessop died in Colorado City on February 17, 1990.


13. Musser published one of the oaths in the magazine *Truth* as follows: "I, the undersigned number of the Millville Ward of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, solemnly declare and affirm that I, without any mental reservation whatsoever, support the Presidency and Apostles of the Church; that I repudiate any intimation that any one of the Presidency or Apostles of the Church is living a double life; that I repudiate those who are falsely accusing them; that I denounce the practice and advocacy of plural marriage as being out of harmony with the declared principles of the Church at the present time; and that I myself am not living in such alleged marriage relationship." "Mass Excommunications." *Truth.* March 1936. P. 129. For more information on this see D. Michael Quinn. *J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years.* Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1983, Pgs. 184-85.


20. ibid, June 23, 1935.


25. Musser wrote in *Truth* that Zion Park Stake President Claude Hirschi "transmitted the names (of those excommunicated for polygamy) to Mohave County Attorney Elmo E. Bollinger at Kingman, requesting that the civil authorities get after them and send them to prison..." Pledging support for the prosecutions, Hirschi wrote of the "willingness of the high council and the stake presidency to assist in any way possible to bring the accused parties to trial." "Heber J. Grant Given Cause To Rejoice," *Truth*, January 1936, pp. 101-04. One of the witnesses testifying against Price Johnson was Charles Heaton, president of the Kanab Stake of the LDS Church. "Polygamy Verdict Is 'Guilty'," *Arizona Republic*, December 13, 1935, p. 1, at p. 8.


30. In a 1971 interview Johnson recalled that he broke with John Y. Barlow and the Short Creek community shortly after his
release from prison. He remained a committed Fundamentalist but opposed efforts to organize a church structure, feeling that the Fundamentalist mission was limited to plural marriage. Baird and Baird, II:17-18.


33. ibid, November 8, 1936.

34. The original court file at the Washington County Courthouse in St. George, Utah, contains the trial transcript. See Criminal Docket #268, filed September 5, 1939.

35. State v Jessop, 100 P.2d 969 (Utah 1940).

36. As quoted in "Short Creek - Colorado City on the Arizona Strip."

37. Declaration of Trust of the United Effort Plan, Recorder's Record of Mohave County, Kingman, Arizona, at page 597, dated November 9, 1942.


39. ibid, August 13, 1943.

41. Musser Journals, February 8, 1944.

42. *ibid*, February 29, 1944.


46. The eleven who signed the agreement were: Rulon C. Allred, Albert Barlow, Edmund Barlow, Ianthus Barlow, John Y. Barlow, Oswald Brainich, David B. Darger, Lyman Jessop, Heber Cleveland Kimball, Joseph W. Musser, and Alma A. Timpson.

47. The four who refused to sign were Arnold Boss, Louis A. Kelsch, Morris Q. Kunz, and Charles F. Zitting.

48. *Truth* published from June 1935 until June 1956 and was edited by Joseph W. Musser through the majority of its life. After the split the Musser group published *Star of Truth* from June 1953 until June 1956. Note also "Cult Magazine Is Denounced," *Arizona Republic*, March 15, 1944, p. 5. One of the more misguided government actions directed at Fundamentalists was an effort to prosecute *Truth* as an obscene publication, based on its advocating polygamy, in 1944. In dismissing the charges a federal court observed: "It is nothing more than advocacy of a certain practice that was once part of the religion of the Mormon Church, and which this group of defendants still advocates. There is nothing in it that ... tends to corrupt and debauch minds and morals of those in whose hands it might fall." *United States v Barlow et al*, 56 F. Supp. 795, 797 (D. Utah 1944).


55. *Johnson Sermons*, 7:93.


