THE ORIGIN OF NON-MORMON SETTLEMENTS IN UTAH: 1847-1896

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ABSTRACT

THE ORIGIN OF NON-MORMON SETTLEMENTS
IN UTAH: 1847-1896

By

Dean R. Hodson

Utah has been known primarily as the area where the Mormons settled and built their kingdom. The spatial impact of Mormon settlement is fairly well known, but not much has been written specifically about the intrusion of Gentiles into the Mormon domain.

The purpose of this study is to examine non-Mormon settlement in Utah during the period 1847-1896. Three non-Mormon settlements are examined in depth: Stockton, the first Gentile community; Corinne, a railroad town; and Park City, a mining settlement. Each is analyzed as to its effect and impact upon the landscape, as well as its origin, evolution and function.

Non-Mormon settlements established during this period are mapped and certain patterns of distribution are discussed. The spatial distribution and cultural impact of Mormon settlement is also analyzed in relation to its effect on non-Mormon movement into the area. A comparison is made between the typical Mormon village patterned after the plat of the "city of Zion" and the three non-Mormon communities. Each of the three settlements have been traced geographically, through time with emphasis on the form and function of each.

Non-Mormons began moving into Utah in response to economic opportunities. At first the movement centered

around Salt Lake City where Gentile businessmen were able to make substantial profits selling their goods to willing Mormon buyers. However, the real impetus to non-Mormon settlement came as a result of three factors: (1) movement of federal troops into Utah, (2) completion of the trans-continental railroad, and (3) discovery and development of mineral resources.

Mining for precious metals was not pursued by the Mormons who were interested in establishing a permanent society based on agriculture and manufacturing. It was not until the army came that systematic exploration for minerals took place. For army troops to be engaged in the exploration of minerals with the specific goal of trying to break the economic control of the Mormons was unparalleled in the history of the West.

The concentrated areas of non-Mormon settlement were directly correlated to mineral discoveries and the railroad. Two spatial patterns were evident: (1) there was a general cluster of settlements with a 100 mile radius of Salt Lake and (2) there was a pattern of settlements scattered along the two main rail lines that cut through the state. This distribution resulted in contact and conflict between Mormons and Gentiles.

The struggle between the Mormons and Gentiles centered chiefly around the desire on the part of the Mormons for unity and the Gentiles for diversity. The Mormons were united

politically and economically and were content with adherence to the theocratic control of the church. On the other hand, the non-Mormons abhored the control of the church over the people and sought to break its power through opposition towards polygamy. Eventually, they were successful to a large degree in breaking the economic and political power of the church.

The non-Mormons injected cultural variety into the Mormon realm. The Gentile town with its heterogeneous, mobile and volatile population was quite alien to the Mormon way of living. The contrast between the two types was immediately recognizable and despite some convergence they remain easy to distinguish from one another.

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By

Dean R. Hodson

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I wish to acknowledge the help of Dr. H. Bowman Hawkes, professor of geography at the University of Utah. He not only gave valuable suggestions, but it was through his Geography of Utah course that I gained interest and appreciation of the geography of the state.

A special word of thanks is due to the staff in the Western American Section at the University of Utah Library. In particular, Dr. Everett Cooley, Curator, and Ruth Yeaman, staff member, gave valuable assistance. Also, the staff at the Utah State Historical Society were very helpful in providing use of their sources and photographs.

I also wish to express my appreciation to my parents Mr. and Mrs. Allen Hodson, and my in-laws, Mr. and Mrs. Philip T. Sonntag. Both helped to ease the financial burden

of raising a family and attending graduate school.

Finally, a word of appreciation to my wife, Pam, and our three boys, Mike, Matt and Mark. They endured my many moods and provided a change from the routine. To them this dissertation is dedicated.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A central theme of geography is the interrelationship of man and the land. Analyses of the results of man's impact upon the landscape, such as settlements, land use and economic activity, help to illuminate these relationships. As part of the field of human geography, the cultural approach has been instrumental in explaining the effect of man on the land as well as the effect of land on man. An important aspect of cultural geography is the understanding of the conditions under which man occupies a particular region and the process operative through that occupance. In particular, the cultural-historical study of settlements and settlement patterns has been important to geographic study because settlement forms and functional relationships express cultural differences. Factors that pertain to the origin, location and effect of settlements on the landscape can also provide answers to areal differentiation.

Cultural-geographical studies have been important in understanding the development of settlement in the American West. A specific example of such settlement has been the occupation of a part of the Great Basin by a religious group

commonly known as the Mormons.[1] Specifically, the Salt Lake Valley in Utah became their focal point of settlement. Much has been written about the Mormons and Mormon settlement and their domination of the landscape of Utah has become well known. Perhaps not so widely known is the fact that non-Mormons also moved into the area almost immediately after the Mormons and challenged the Mormon domination of society. Despite their continued presence, no comprehensive account of non-Mormon settlement has yet been written. A geographic study of non-Mormon settlement in Utah is especially needed to explain its areal impact on the landscape.

Soon after the first Mormons arrived and settled the Salt Lake Valley, they made plans to explore the surrounding area, since the valley was too limited in resources to meet the increasing needs of their growing numbers. Within 15 years after their arrival, they had settled almost all of the good, easily available agricultural land. Settlements extended from Bear Lake in the north to the Virgin River in the south, a distance of 450 miles, and by 1877 there was so little unsettled agricultural land available in Utah that the Mormons began moving into the surrounding areas of Wyoming, Idaho, Nevada and Arizona.

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[1]The original name of the church is The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Members are often referred to as Mormons because of their belief in the Book of Mormon.

Brigham Young, head of the Mormon Church during this colonizing era, had encouraged his followers to build a self-sustaining agricultural economy and discouraged them from mining or other speculative activities that could not readily provide sustenance for the people. In fact, the day after their arrival in the Salt Lake Valley, the Mormons proclaimed that no land was to be bought or sold. Land was to be apportioned to Mormon settlers only in allotments that would be totally utilized for residential and agricultural purposes. Non-Mormons apparently realized, therefore, that opportunities for buying good agricultural land were limited, and consequently, non-Mormon settlement in Utah was related almost entirely to economic activities other than agriculture.

PROBLEM

It is the purpose of this study to examine non-Mormon settlement in Utah during the period 1847 to 1896. Three non-Mormon settlements will be examined in depth: Stockton, the first Gentile[2] mining settlement; Corinne, a railroad town and Park City, a mining community (Figure 1). Each will be examined comprehensively as to its effect and impact upon the cultural environment, and each will be analyzed in terms of origin, evolution, function and its relation to other settlements. Topographic maps, areal photographs and other

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[2]The term Gentile was used by the Mormons to identify anyone not of the Mormon faith. It is used synonomously with non-Mormon throughout this study.

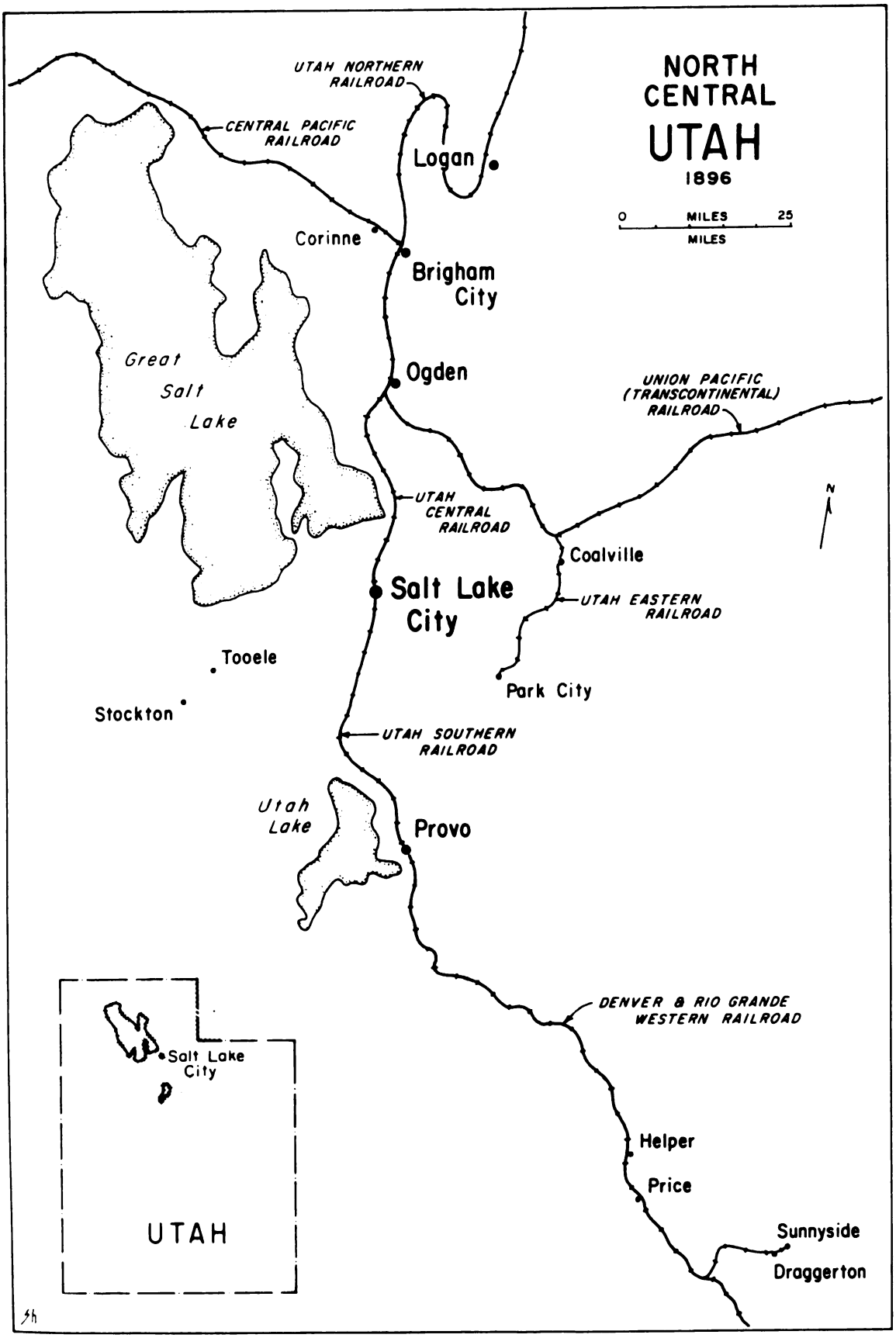
NORTH CENTRAL UTAH
1896
0 MILES 25
MILES
UTAH NORTHERN RAILROAD
CENTRAL PACIFIC RAILROAD
Logan
Corinne
Brigham City
Great Salt Lake
Ogden
UNION PACIFIC (TRANSCONTINENTAL) RAILROAD
UTAH CENTRAL RAILROAD
N
Coalville
Salt Lake City
UTAH EASTERN RAILROAD
Tooele
Park City
Stockton
UTAH SOUTHERN RAILROAD
Utah Lake
Provo
DENVER & RIO GRANDE WESTERN RAILROAD
Salt Lake City
UTAH
Helper
Price
Sunnyside
Draggerton
Sh

Figure 1

materials have been used to determine the influence of natural conditions upon the various settlements. The areal distribution of most non-Mormon settlements established during this period has been plotted to determine what patterns existed. Comparisons between Mormon and non-Mormon settlements have been made where feasible.

Such research has involved extensive review of newspaper, archival and journal materials, as well as careful and detailed field research. Contacts were made with knowledgeable people in Utah: Dr. Everett Cooley, Director of the Western Americana Collection at the University of Utah Library; Dr. H. Bowman Hawkes, professor of geography at the University of Utah; and others familiar with the history and geography of settlement in the Western United States.

METHODOLOGY

For the purpose of this study the cultural-historical-geographical approach has been utilized. Each of the three settlements has been traced geographically through time, with an emphasis on form and function. The settlements have been analyzed as to their cultural impact upon the landscape and Mormon society. Such an approach has provided answers to some specific questions concerning non-Mormon settlement in Utah. These are:

1. What were the factors that attracted non-Mormons to settle in Utah?

2. Were there concentrated areas of non-Mormon settlement? If so, where?

3. What were the major economic activities pursued by non-Mormons, and why?

4. To what extent did Mormon-Gentile relations affect non-Mormon settlement?

5. What was the effect of non-Mormon settlement upon the cultural landscape of Utah?

RELATED LITERATURE

A review of the literature about non-Mormons in Utah immediately points to the scarcity of material on the subject. Most of the major sources dealing with non-Mormons are based on studies of religious groups. Dwyer, in his book The Gentile Comes to Utah, presents the most complete account of non-Mormons in the state, as well as the activities of the Catholic church.[3] Another account of a particular religious group is a dissertation by Lyon.[4] However, the only work on the distribution of the major religious groups in Utah was written by Rathjen.[5]

Material pertaining to specific non-Mormon settlements is limited almost exclusively to journal articles. For

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[3]Robert Dwyer, The Gentile Comes to Utah (Washington D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1941).

[4]Thomas E. Lyon, "Evangelical Protestant Missionary Activities in Mormon Dominated Areas: 1865-1900" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Utah, 1962).

[5]Randall M. Rathjen, "The Distribution of Major Non-Mormon Denominations in Utah," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1966).

example, Anderson's and the Madsen articles dealing with the non-Mormon city of Corinne appear in the Utah Historical Quarterly.[6] However, the best account of the railroad town of Corinne is Jameson's thesis of the history of the city from 1869 to 1878.[7] The histories of the numerous mining communities in Utah, most of which were non-Mormon, are scattered among sources.

Meinig makes the only attempt to portray the geographic extent of non-Mormon settlement.[8] In his article, "The Mormon Culture Region," he stresses the influence of the railroad and mineral discoveries on the development of some Gentile settlements.

Important sources of Mormon history are also helpful to this study because they contain some information on Gentile movement into the area as well as on conflicts between the two groups. One of the best sources of this kind is Arrington's book, Great Basin Kingdom, which is a history of the

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[6]Bernice G. Anderson, "The Gentile City of Corinne," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 9 (1941), pp. 141-155. Brigham D. and Betty M. Madsen, "Corinne the Fair: Gateway to the Montana Mines," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 37 (1969), pp. 102-123.

[7]Jesse H. Jameson, "Corinne: A Study of a Freight Transfer Point in the Montana Trade, 1869 to 1878," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1951.

[8]Donald W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 55 (June, 1965), pp. 191-220.

Mormons up to 1900.[9] Of special value to researchers is the extensive bibliography that appears in Arrington's book. More general histories written by Bancroft, Whitney and Tullidge also provide some insight on Mormon and Gentile relations.[10]

Specific works on Mormon colonization and settlement are books by Ricks, Hunter and Nelson.[11] Hunter's book is decidedly pro-Mormon, but nevertheless contains valuable material on colonization. Nelson's work is the most specific and the most valuable on Mormon settlement patterns.

Newspapers are another important source for this study. Specifically, the Deseret News, a Mormon paper, the Union Vedette and the Salt Lake Tribune, both pro-Gentile, are invaluable sources. Equally important are local newspapers such as the Corinne Daily Reporter and the Park Record.

Literature on the Mormon religion is voluminous. The most authoritative official history of the church is by

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[9]Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968).

[10]Hubert H. Bancroft, History of Utah (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889); Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah (4 vols., Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, Co., 1892-1894); Edward W. Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders (Salt Lake City: Edward W. Tullidge, 1886).

[11]Joel Ricks, "Forms and Methods of Early Mormon Settlement in Utah and the Surrounding Region, 1847 to 1877," Utah State University Monograph Series, Vol. 11, No. 2 (1964), pp. 1-77; Milton R. Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940); Lowry Nelson, The Mormon Village (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952).

Roberts.[12] An important in depth study of the Mormons by one outside the faith is O'Dea's work.[13]

IMPORTANCE OF STUDY

The above review of the available literature on non-Mormon settlement reinforces the need for a geographical study of the origin of such settlement. Such a study will provide explanations of the spatial extent and impact of these settlements upon the cultural landscape of Utah. In turn, by comparing non-Mormon settlement with Mormon settlement, influences that one type may have had upon the other will be illuminated. Some understanding of settlement in arid lands as well as the development of mining communities should also be a result of such a study.

Most accounts of the history of Utah fail to emphasize the importance of non-Mormon settlement to the state. The development of the mineral resources of Utah would have occurred much later than it did if not for the interest of the Gentiles. It is hoped that this study will place the non-Mormon influence in Utah on a broader prospective than the normal accounts of Mormon and non-Mormon conflict and that it will make a meaningful contribution to the understanding

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[12]B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Century I (6 vols., Salt Lake City: 1930).

[13]Thomas F. O'Dea, The Mormons (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

of non-Mormon importance in Utah.

Geographically, the study should portray the significance of the movement of one cultural group into the domain of another. Finally, it is hoped that this study will provide insights into the cultural-historical-geographic study of settlement.

CHAPTER II

NON-MORMON SETTLEMENT, 1847-1868: STOCKTON--A CASE STUDY

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

Utah is a land of varied relief and contrasting climate. Elevations range from 2,350 feet in the southern part of the state to above 13,000 feet in the Uinta Range of the Rocky Mountains. Precipitation varies from less than eight inches in the western and southern parts of the state to over 40 inches in some of the mountain areas.

In terms of land area, Utah occupies about 84,916 square miles. Within its borders are parts of three physiographic provinces; the Basin and Range, the Colorado Plateau and the Rocky Mountain Region (Figure 2).

Generally, Utah is considered to be mostly arid and semi-arid in climate. Annual precipitation is less than 20 inches except in the high mountain areas. In much of the Basin and Range and Colorado Plateau regions annual precipitation amounts to eight inches or less.

Temperatures in Utah are largely an expression of altitude, although there is a difference of a few degrees from the southern to the northern part. St. George, in the southwest corner, has an average temperature of 38.7° in

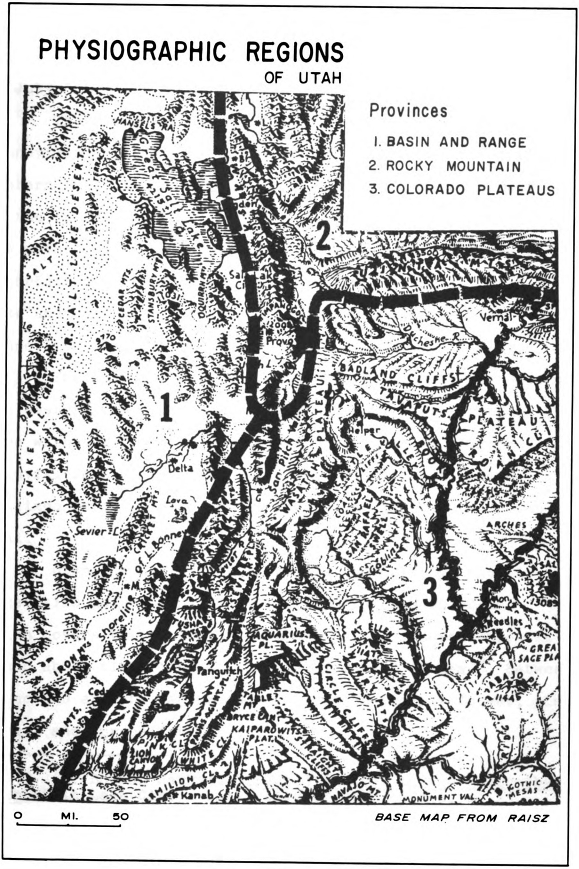
PHYSIOGRAPHIC REGIONS
OF UTAH
Provinces
1. BASIN AND RANGE
2. ROCKY MOUNTAIN
3. COLORADO PLATEAUS
1
2
3
GR. SALT LAKE DESERT
Provo
Delta
Sevier L.
Panguitch
Kanab
Vernal
Helper
BADLAND CLIFFS
ARCHES
AQUARIUS PL.
KAIPAROWITS PLAT.
PINK CL.
WHITE CL.
MONUMENT VAL.
GOTHIC MESAS
NAVAJO MT.
0 MI. 50
BASE MAP FROM RAISZ

Figure 2

January and 83.5° in July.[1] In the northern part, Logan has an average temperature of 23.6° in January and 73.5° in July.[2]

There are two main drainage basins in Utah: the Bonneville and the Colorado. The Bonneville comprises the western half of Utah, while the Colorado encompasses most of the eastern half. The Colorado and the Green Rivers are the principal components of the Colorado basin and form an important source of water for the state. The Great Salt Lake and Utah Lake are the outstanding features of the Bonneville Basin, which is an area of interior drainage.

The best soils in the state are found near the base of the western side of the Wasatch Mountains. Here streams have washed alluvium down from the mountains and formed alluvial fans at their base. These alluvial soils were utilized early by the Mormons for their agricultural potential.

Utah, because of its irregular topography, has six vegetation zones, ranging upward from the desert scrub, which covers the southern lowlands, to the tundra, which is found above timberline on the high mountain ranges.[3] Between these two are the sagebrush scrub, pinon-juniper forest, pine forest and spruce-fir forest.[4]

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[1]H. Bowman Hawkes, Directed Studies in the Geography of Utah (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, n.d.), p. 13.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Works Project Administration, Utah, A Guide to the State (New York: Hastings House Publications, 1941), p. 18.

[4]Ibid.

From this general description of the physical landscape of Utah, one can form a picture of the problems faced by the Mormons who first tamed the land. When they entered the Salt Lake Valley the climate of the area was essentially the same as described above. With utilization of the mountain streams, the pioneers were able to plant trees where none existed before, and crops were grown where sagebrush had previously flowered. The story of Mormon settlement is an epic in the settlement and subsequent development of an arid land.

MORMON SETTLEMENT AND COLONIZATION

A brief account of Mormon settlement and colonization of the Great Basin will be given here for two purposes: (1) to bring into focus the relationship of Mormon settlement to the movement of non-Mormons into Utah, and (2) to show the spatial implications of such settlement.

Mormon colonization and settlement can be divided into three main periods: 1847-1857, 1858-1867 and 1868-1877.[5] The first Mormon company arrived in the valley of the Great Salt Lake on July 24, 1847. Prior to the Mormons coming the only permanent white man's settlement (there were a few Indian tribes in the region) in the area of Utah was a fur trapper's cabin near the present day city of Ogden.

[5]Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer, p. 32.

How did those first Mormons feel about the area when they arrived in the Great Basin? Their memories were still fresh with thoughts of the green and fertile Mid-West and no doubt there was apprehension about such a dry and desolate place.

> Some of the pioneers, weary and worn by their long pilgrimage, were far from enchanted at the prospect of remaining in such a desolate place . . . Said Harriet Young: "Weak and weary as I am I would go a thousand miles farther than remain in such a forsaken place as this." Ellen Kimball, her sister, felt likewise . . . Lorenzo D. Young says there was a scrub-oak or cottonwood here and there, but that the general outlook was dreary and disheartening . . . All in all it is evident, that beyond the scenic glory of Salt Lake Valley, its inviting features at that time were more visible to the eye of faith than to the natural vision.[6]

Perhaps the most graphic description of the valley as it appeared to the Mormons is the one given by Orson F. Whitney. He writes:

> It was no garden of the Hesperides upon which the Pioneers gazed that memorable July morning. Aside from its scenic splendor, which was indeed glorious, magnificent, there was little to invite and much to repel in the prospect presented to their view. A broad and barren plain, hemmed in by mountains, blistering in the burning rays of a midsummer sun. No waving fields, no swaying forests, no verdant meadows, to rest and refresh the eye, but on all sides, a seemingly interminable waste of sagebrush, bespangled with sunflowers, the paradise of the lizard, the cricket and the rattlesnake. Less than half way across the baked

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[6]Whitney, History of Utah, I, p. 328.

> and burning valley, dividing it in twain, as if the vast bowl, in the intense heat of the Master Potter's fires, in the process of the formation has cracked asunder a narrow river turbid and shallow, from north to south in many a serpentine curve, sweeps on its goal, dotted with mountain islands; its briny waters shimmering in the sunlight like a silver shield.
>
> From mountains, snow caped, seamed and craggy, lifting their kingly heads to be crowned by the golden sun, flow limpid, laughing streams, cold and crystal clear, leaping, dashing, foaming, flashing from rock to glen, from peak to plain. But the fresh canyon streams are far and few; and the arid waste they water, glistening with beds of salt and soda and pools of deadly alkali, scarcely allows them to reach the river, but midway well nigh swallows and absorbs them in its thirsty sands. Above the line of gray and gold, of sage and sunflower, the sloping hillsides and precipitous steeps, clothed with purple and dark green patches. These, the oakbrush, the squaw berry and other scant growths, with here and there a tree, casting its lone shadow on hill or in valley; a wire-grass swamp, a few acres of withered bunch grass and the lazily waving willows and wild rose-bushes fringing the distant streams, the only green things visible.
>
> Silence and desolation reign. A silence, unbroken, save by the cricket's ceaseless chirp, the roar of the mountain torrent, or the whir and twitter of a passing bird. A desolation of centuries, where hermit Nature, watching, waiting, weeps, and worships God amid eternal solitudes.[7]

Immediately after arriving in the valley the pioneers began plowing so that crops could be sown and harvested before the coming winter. All activities were carefully organized

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[7] Ibid., p. 325-326.

and cooperatively carried out. Notwithstanding the importance of raising food, exploration of the surrounding country was also begun before the winter snow came. In fact, Brigham Young told the people that he intended to have "every hole and corner from the Bay of San Francisco known to us."[8] By the end of 1847, exploring parties had been sent north, south and west to look for and keep a record of farming land, sources of water, timber, grazing lands and other resources.[9] Before winter had set in explorations were completed of most of western Utah and along the northern and southern routes to California.[10]

Mormon colonization during the first ten years went through two phases. The first was the founding of the "inner cordon" of settlements, which consisted of settlements established in cultivable valleys close to Salt Lake.[11] Utah, Weber, Sanpete and Tooele Valleys were settled by 1848; and Box Elder, Pahvant, Juab, Parowan and Cache Valleys were settled by 1856[12] (Figure 3). Additional increases in population accounted for an increase in the number of settlements in each of these valleys. The second phase of Mormon colonization during this period was the establishment of

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[8]Ibid., p. 32.

[9]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 42.

[10]Ibid., p. 45.

[11]Andrew L. Neff, History of Utah (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), p. 209.

[12]Ibid.

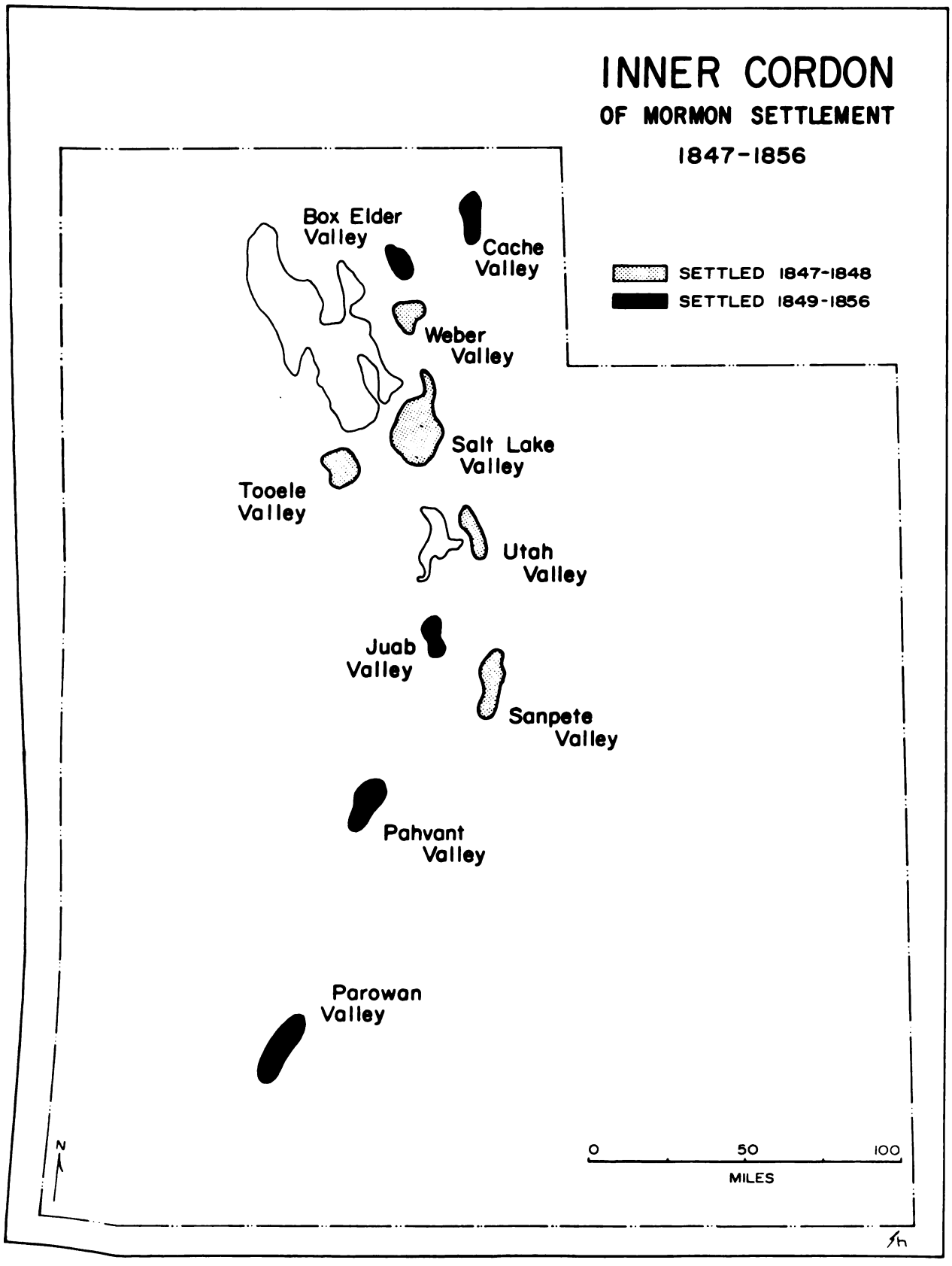
INNER CORDON
OF MORMON SETTLEMENT
1847-1856
SETTLED 1847-1848
SETTLED 1849-1856
Box Elder Valley
Cache Valley
Weber Valley
Salt Lake Valley
Tooele Valley
Utah Valley
Juab Valley
Sanpete Valley
Pahvant Valley
Parowan Valley
N
0
50
100
MILES

Figure 3

settlements as strategic points far from the center of Mormonism.[13] The most important settlements of this phase were those connecting the Salt Lake Valley with the southern California coast. This string of settlements has been aptly termed "the Mormon Corridor"[14] (Figure 4). The key village in the corridor, San Bernardino, was to be a gathering place for Mormons immigrating to Utah via California. Brigham Young's plan was to eventually make it a second Salt Lake City, thus giving the Mormons an access to the sea.[15] Other settlements established under the second phase were Moab, Carson Valley (Nevada) and Fort Lemhi (Idaho) (Figure 4). Still another important outpost was established when the Mormons purchased Fort Bridger in the southwest corner of what is now Wyoming.

Within ten years after the Mormons arrived in the Great Basin, they had colonized an area extending approximately 1,000 miles from north to south and 800 miles from east to west.[16] The first ten years of settlement were abruptly stopped when a federal army marched into Utah in 1858 to quell the "Mormon Rebellion." Problems between the United States government and the Mormons had been continuous

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Milton R. Hunter, "The Mormon Corridor," Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 8 (1939), p. 185.

[15] Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer, p. 353.

[16] Ibid., p. 354.

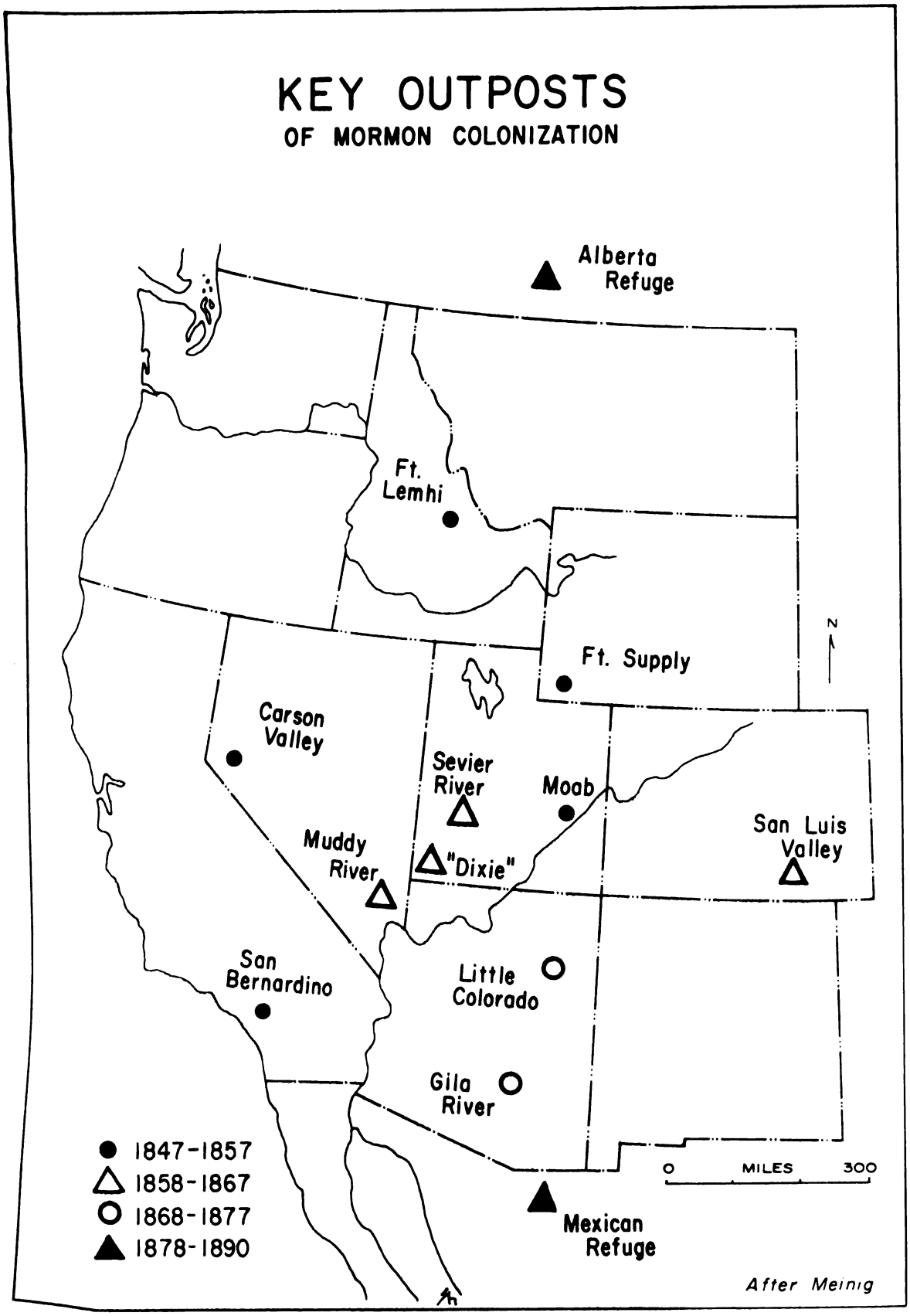
KEY OUTPOSTS
OF MORMON COLONIZATION
Alberta Refuge
Ft. Lemhi
Ft. Supply
N
Carson Valley
Sevier River
Moab
San Luis Valley
Muddy River
"Dixie"
San Bernardino
Little Colorado
Gila River
1847-1857
1858-1867
1868-1877
1878-1890
0 MILES 300
Mexican Refuge
After Meinig

Figure 4

since 1850 when Utah became a territory and federal officials from the east were appointed to some of the offices in the territorial government. The climax was reached when these Gentile officials complained to Washington of Mormon domination of territorial affairs. A federal army of 2,550 was dispatched to halt the so-called rebellion. Brigham Young's reaction was to recall all of the settlers at the strategic outposts back to Utah to help, if necessary, fight the army. Consequently, San Bernardino, Carson Valley, Fort Lemhi and Fort Bridger were all abandoned and Mormon control over much of the Great Basin was reduced considerably.

As soon as the difficulties between the government and the Mormons were resolved, colonization was resumed. The year 1859 saw an increase in the number of settlements but most were established near the center of Mormon colonization. In 1860 Brigham Young continued to expand the frontier of the Mormon commonwealth.[17] The expansion was more gradual and closer to the Salt Lake Valley than had been the previous outposts. Many new towns were established in northern Utah and southern Idaho.

Southern colonization occurred during the latter years of this period. Settlements of importance were established in the Sevier River Valley, the Muddy River area of Nevada and the southern Utah area of "Dixie"[18] (Figure 4).

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[17] Ibid., p. 355.

[18] Nels Anderson, Desert Saints (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), p. 234.

The third period, 1868-1877, was like the first period when settlements were projected far distant from Salt Lake.[19] Activities centered mainly on Arizona, with settlements being established on the Little Colorado River in 1876 and on the Gila River in 1877 (Figure 4).

In 1877 Brigham Young died. For 30 years he had directed Mormon colonization and the result was the establishment of 360 settlements. Mormon settlement, however, did not end with the death of Young. The federal "anti-bigamy" laws of 1882 and 1887 created an intolerable condition for the many Mormons who were practicing polygamy. They were forced to flee the country to resist arrest for violation of these laws. Consequently, two new frontiers were opened in Mexico and Canada.[20]

The colonization movement of the Mormons was well organized. It involved a three phase sequence: (1) preliminary exploration was undertaken by companies appointed, equipped and supported by the church, (2) colonizing companies were appointed to found the settlements, and (3) settlements were expected to pattern their community institutions after those of Salt Lake City.[21]

All phases were carried out in a meticulous manner and each phase was given equal importance. In 1849 Brigham Young

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[19]Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer, p. 356.

[20]Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region," p. 204.

[21]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 88.

commissioned Parley P. Pratt to organize a company of 50 men for the purpose of exploring the country to the southwest as far as California.[22] Pratt wrote to Young:

> The place where we now are (Parowan) say Latitude 37 degrees 50 minutes is well adapted to the sustenance and convenience of a small settlement say 50 or 100 families...This location is immediately east of Little Salt Lake from which it may be 6 miles distant in the same valley and at the western foot of the Wasatch Range. The land is rich, lies beautifully, undulating westward and the best calculated for watering of any place we have seen of late. Two small streams rather less than City Creek come out high, run nearly on a level, with the top of the ground on the highest levels, and throw out their surplus floods in times of high water, dispersing fertility in every direction. The wire grass, willows, weeds and other grasses grow exceedingly dense over thousands of acres. Pasture lands also extend for miles north and south of the farming lands and the foothills at from one to two miles distant are black with inexhaustible supplies of fuel, easy of access and consisting of Scrub Pine and Cedar about twelve feet high. Good building timber will be harder to obtain but shows itself in abundance, among the mountains. There is also free stone, in abundance, near a good townsite and water power running through, with any desirable amount of fall and being on the immediate line of travel is certainly a desirable location. The weather here is like spring.[23]

When the reports of the exploring parties reached Young, he and other leaders mapped plans for the location of each prospective colony. The next problem was to choose a leader who was adequately prepared and experienced to direct the

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[22]Ricks, "Forms and Methods of Early Mormon Settlement in Utah and the Surrounding Region, 1847 to 1877," p. 43.

[23]Ibid., p. 44.

group in settling the area. Important officials of the church were often chosen, such as George A. Smith, an Apostle, who was called to lead the colony that was sent to settle Parowan.[24]

Then came the selection of the colonizers who were to form the companies. Each company was carefully selected to include men with the necessary skills and equipment needed to create a successful community.[25]

One method of making sure the members of the group attached significant importance to the venture was the "call." Brigham Young would read out in a Church conference the names of the people chosen to form a settlement. This had the pretext of being a special assignment from the Prophet. Of course, under this method there were very few who did not respond and Young and his advisers were able to choose men whose skills were suited to the economic needs for which the settlement was to be established.[26]

The organized company was then divided into groups of ten, 50 and 100, with leaders appointed over each. Orders were obeyed with dispatch and willingness, for to disobey was against the religious order, and anyone doing so was likely to be dismissed from the church.

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[24]Ibid., p. 48.

[25]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 89.

[26]Ricks, "Forms and Methods of Early Mormon Settlement in Utah and the Surrounding Region, 1847 to 1877," p. 50.

Supplies and equipment needed for the settlement were carefully chosen. A group, numbering 168, leaving Salt Lake in the winter of 1850-1851 to settle near the Little Salt Lake took with them:

> . . . two carriages, three hundred and sixty eight oxen, twelve mules, twenty beef cattle . . . one hundred and one wagons, one hundred horses, one hundred and forty six cows . . . one hundred chickens, carpenter's tools, 1 set mill irons for saw mill, 3 sets whip saws, 110 spades and shovels, 72 scythes, 436 panes of glass, 137 axes, 98 hoes, 1 brass cannon, 6 pounder, 129 guns, 9 swords, 1001 lbs. of ammunition, 44 sadles and 52 pistols.[27]

Upon arriving at their destination, the colonists would dedicate the land by prayer, after which a fort or stockade was erected until homes for individual families could be built. All work during the initial settlement was cooperatively assigned in meetings and each person was given specific jobs to do.

The villages established by the Mormons were in many instances patterned after Salt Lake City, which in turn was patterned after the plan of the "City of Zion"[28] (Figure 5). The plan called for the village to be laid out on a grid pattern with streets running north-south and east-west. On this basis the area was surveyed and divided into blocks. The blocks were separated by wide streets and usually contained from five to ten acres. One or more blocks (depending on the

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[27]Ibid., p. 52.

[28]The plan of the "City of Zion" was instituted by Joseph Smith when the Mormons were settling in western Missouri. For a discussion of the plan see Nelson, The Mormon Village, pp. 34-40.

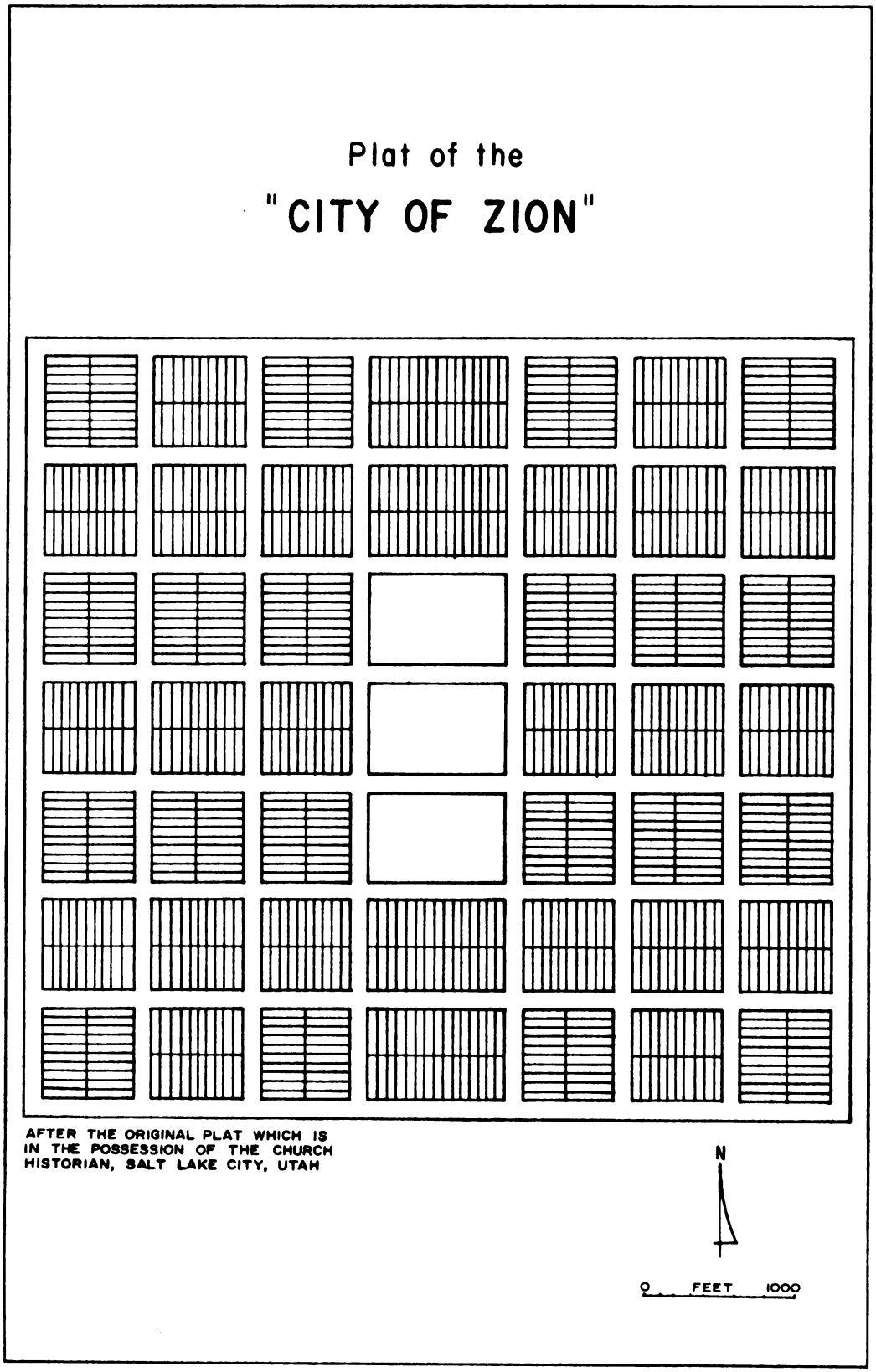
Plat of the
"CITY OF ZION"
AFTER THE ORIGINAL PLAT WHICH IS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE CHURCH HISTORIAN, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH
N
0 FEET 1000

Figure 5

size of the settlement) in the center of the town was reserved for public buildings. Each block was divided into plots of one acre or more and drawings among the settlers were held for each lot. A family would then erect a home, plant a garden and orchard and build livestock shelters on their lot.

The farming land was located outside of the village and no outbuildings were permitted on the land. The usual case was to establish large fields from five to 20 acres and then divide them. Each family in the settlement had a chance to draw for a lot.

The Mormon village was a result of the convergence of the following influences:

1. The plan of the "City of Zion."
2. The development of extraordinary group solidarity among the Mormons.
3. The favorable environment of the Great Basin.[29]

The environment of the area was an influence in helping to perpetuate this particular settlement pattern. The nucleated village provided protection from Indians, as well as facilitated cooperative effort by the members of the community. It also provided the social intercourse necessary to maintain contentment and unity within the community. One of the most important factors was that the separation of residences from arable land created a more advantageous utilization of the land.[30]

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[29]Nelson, The Mormon Village, p. 53.

[30]Ibid., p. 52.

It was with such organization and religious purpose that the Mormons were able to secure a large area of the Great Basin. Their process of seeking out the best agricultural land and settling it formed a barrier for future farming settlements by people who were not of the same faith.

MORMON AND GENTILE CONFLICT

When the Mormons first arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, Brigham Young outlined the land policies. He said, on more than one occasion, that "land was not to be bought or sold, but apportioned to each man on the basis of need and no man should hold more land than he could cultivate and if a man would not till his land it should be taken from him."[31]

This policy had a direct effect upon non-Mormons. Within 15 years after the Mormons entered the Great Basin, almost all of the good agricultural land had been settled. Consequently, any Gentile wishing to settle on farming land was limited to land that the Mormons had not claimed, most of it being marginal at best.

Finding good quality land was further complicated by the necessity of finding it together with sufficient water. Brigham Young set forth the church's policy toward water and other natural resources when he said: "There shall be no private ownership of the streams that come out of the canyons,

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[31]Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer, p. 132.

nor the timber that grows on the hills. These belong to the people: all the people."[32] The application of this principle put control of water resources directly in the hands of the people of the community. In the first years of Mormon settlement, water matters rested in the hands of the Bishops of the various congregations. When Utah became a territory in 1850 this system of public ownership was confirmed by the legislature.[33] Thomas states that "the vast majority of Utah's canals were built by farmers, owned by farmers and operated by farmers."[34] It was apparent to non-Mormons that Mormon control of the agricultural land of Utah was dominant.

The territory that the Mormons had occupied was outside the jurisdiction of the United States. In fact, it was under control of the Mexican government. However, in 1848 the region came into control of the United States with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The Mormons immediately applied for statehood, but the area was instead designated as the Utah Territory. The government then appointed eight federal officials to govern it. Four of the appointees were Mormon; one of them, Brigham Young, was appointed Governor.

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[32]B. H. Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Century I (6 vols.: Salt Lake City, 1930), III, p. 269.

[33]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 53.

[34]George Thomas, The Development of Institutions Under Irrigation, With Special Reference to Early Utah Conditions (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1920), p. 27.

The other four appointees were Gentiles from the East. It was inevitable that conflicts would arise between the two groups. In the first place, the Mormons were devoted primarily to the church and were suspicious of the federal appointees from the East. On the other hand, the latter came to Utah with certain preconceived ideas of the Mormons.

At first the federal officers were well received by the Saints. But when one of them, who had been invited to speak at a conference of the church, took to task some of the Mormon leaders who had spoken disrespectfully of the government, and when his remarks condemned polygamy, the Mormons were exasperated.[35] Soon after this episode, the federal officials were condemned to social ostracism.[36]

Three of the officials refused to stay in the Territory and immediately returned to the East. They reported in Washington that they had been forced to leave Utah

> . . . on account of the lawless acts and seditious tendencies of Brigham Young and the majority of the residents; the governor was wasting public funds and the people were immoral and were practicing polygamy.[37]

The Mormons counterattacked the claims of these officials with letters from Brigham Young, Jedediah Grant, the major of Salt Lake and Thomas Kane, a friend of the Mormons. The officials were asked to return to Utah or resign, and they chose

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[35]Bancroft, History of Utah, p. 457.

[36]Ibid., p. 458.

[37]Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer, p. 343.

the latter. They were replaced by others who were more favorable to the Mormons.[38]

Reasons for the conflicts between Mormons and non-Mormons are manyfold, but the following are significant:

1. One basic cause of the difficulties throughout this decade (1850-1860), and indeed in later years, was the existence of a public opinion extremely hostile to the Mormons and prepared to seize upon any pretext, whether valid or not to renew the attack upon the Church.

2. A second cause of trouble was the selection of inferior men to fill the Territory's offices

3. Another irritant, of lesser importance was the question of land ownership.[39]

Also of significance is the Mormon genre de vie which was exasperating to the Gentiles. The Mormons' continual insistence upon the superiority of their religion under divine sanction proved most objectionable to other Christians in Utah.[40] Secondly, the political and ecclesiastical government created by the Mormons in the early part of 1850 became a major cause of strained relations with Gentiles in later years.[41] Mormons, believing their church divinely instituted, and their leaders chosen by God, were more apt to

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[38]Dale L. Morgan, The Great Salt Lake (New York: The Bobbs Merrill Co., 1947), p. 262.

[39]Norman F. Furniss, The Mormon Conflict: 1850-1859 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 11.

[40]Ibid., p. 14.

[41]Ibid., p. 14.

follow the directives of the church rather than the laws of the government. Heber C. Kimball, an authority of the church, made the position of obedience to the church very clear when he said, "Our Father and our God has sent Brigham and his brethren: if you rebel against them, you rebel against the authority that sent them."[42]

Perhaps of paramount significance was Brigham Young, whom many of the Gentiles considered a major irritant. The Saints referred to him as President, Lion of the Lord, Prophet, Seer and Revelator. Even some Gentiles found him to possess the qualities spoken of by the members of the church. The majority, however, believed he was the model of an oriental tyrant, unbearable as Governor of Utah and the prime mover in the establishment of a political system that provided no place for a dissenting Gentile minority.[43]

The culmination of these intense feelings between Mormons and Gentiles came to a head in 1857 when William Drummond and George Stiles, both federal officials appointed to Utah, sent affidavits to President Buchannan. They made accusations that all male members of the Mormon church were under secret oath to resist the laws of the country and also reported that all members were bound to obey no law save the laws of the priesthood, and Brigham Young determined those

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[42]Deseret News, August 17, 1854.

[43]Furniss, The Mormon Conflict: 1850-1859, p. 19.

laws at will.[44] Essentially, Drummond and Stiles claimed that the Mormons were in open rebellion against the laws and government of the United States.

By the early part of 1857 all of the important Gentile officers of the Territory were back in the states circulating their complaints of Mormon violations of the law.[45] The affidavits of Drummond and Stiles, plus public opinion, resulted in a Presidential decision to send an army to Utah to subdue the Mormons. On July 24, 1857, the Mormons were celebrating the anniversary of their entrance into the Salt Lake Valley, when four travel-worn men rushed upon the scene with information that a new governor, with a large military escort, was on his way to establish control over the Territory and put down the Mormon rebellion.[46]

The ensuing conflict was known as the "Mormon War," but it hardly deserves the name for not a shot was fired, nor was anyone killed. When Brigham Young heard the news of the approaching army, he mustered into service the Utah Militia, and called the people in the outpost settlements back to Salt Lake. The militia went east of Ford Bridger, Wyoming, and harassed the approaching troops by burning some of their supplies.[47] At the same time the Saints in Salt

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[44]Ibid., p. 51.

[45]Ibid., p. 59.

[46]Bancroft, History of Utah, p. 494.

[47]Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer, p. 346.

Lake and neighboring valleys prepared to burn their homes and move south.[48]

The Federal army did not make it to the Great Basin before winter and had to camp on the Blacks Fork River in Wyoming. Perhaps the victor was the winter storms, for when spring came, Alfred Cumming, the new Governor, preceded the army into Salt Lake. He was able to report to Washington that the people of Utah were disposed to accept the authority of the President and the so-called war came to an end.[49]

The army then marched into Utah in the spring of 1858 and set up camp in Cedar Valley west of Utah Lake. Its presence in the area conditioned Mormon thinking and the Mormon mind was never again quite so intransigent.[50]

The presence of federal troops in Utah also resulted in an increase of non-Mormons. The increase came by way of suppliers of the army and those Gentiles who opened houses of business in Salt Lake to accommodate the demands of the army.

The army was retained in Utah until after the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 when the post was abandoned. The Mormons received a windfall when the army sold many of the supplies and equipment of the post for very low prices.

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[48] Ibid.

[49] Morgan, The Great Salt Lake, p. 269.

[50] Ibid.

The most devastating aspect of Government policies, as far as the Mormons were concerned, was the ordering of the Third California Volunteers to Utah to protect the overland mail and telegraph in 1862. Under the direction of Col. Patrick Connor these Union troops established Camp Douglas on the east bench of the Salt Lake Valley, with a commanding view of the Mormon city. The Mormons were outraged by the presence of an army so close to their center of settlement. However, the main problem evolved around Col. Connor, who was opposed to Mormon domination of society in Utah.[51]

In a letter to his superiors, Connor wrote, "I have no reason to doubt that the Mormon question will at an early date be finally settled by peaceful means, without the increased expenditure of a dollar by the Government, or, still more important, without the loss of a single soldier in conflict."[52] Public opinion against Utah was on the rise because of the Mormon practice of polygamy. Utah's demand for statehood continued to be turned down, mainly because of this practice. Connor hoped that an increase in the number of Gentiles above the number of Mormons would take care of polygamy. He saw the Mormon problem as his main concern and planned to solve it by creating a mining

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[51]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 201.

[52]Frederick B. Rogers, Soldiers of the Overland (San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1938), p. 112.

boom to attract large numbers of Gentiles to the area.

DISCOVERY OF MINERALS

The Third Volunteers of California had experience the Gold Rush in 1849 and some had even prospected during that era. The first systematic efforts at prospecting in Utah were the result of Connor's actions. He encouraged his men to search the area for precious metals and even provided military escort for such ventures.

These explorations were ridiculed by the Mormons and for what they thought was good reason.[53] The leaders of the church had discouraged the search for gold and silver from the time that they had first entered the Great Basin. Brigham Young expressed the real reason when he made the following remarks:

> Instead of hunting for gold we ought to pray the Lord to hide it up. Gold is not wealth, wealth consists in the multiplication of necessaries and comforts of life. Instead of hunting gold, go raise wheat, barley, oats, get your bread and make gardens and orchards and raise vegetables and fruits that you may have something to sustain yourselves and something to give to the poor and the needy.[54]
>
> Can you not see that gold and silver rank among the things that we are in least want of? We want an abundance of wheat and

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[53]Bancroft, History of Utah, p. 741.

[54]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 203.

> fine flour, of wine and oil, and of every choice fruit that will grow in our climate; we want silk, wool, cotton, flax and other textile substances of which cloth can be made; we want vegetables of various kinds to suit our constitutions and tastes, and the products of flocks and herds; we want the coal and the iron that are concealed in these ancient mountains, the lumber from our great staples to which kingdoms owe their existence, continuance, wealth, magnificance, splendor, glory and power; in which gold and silver serve as mere tinsel to give the finishing touch to all this greatness. The colossal wealth of the world is founded upon and sustained by the common staples of life.[55]

The Mormons were never opposed to mining: the many mining missions sponsored by the church, as well as the church's promotion of railroads to the mines after 1869 is proof of this.[56] It was opposed to what it thought were premature efforts, particularly the scheme for developing mining by bringing in "outsiders" to subvert the Mormon commonwealth.[57]

Despite Mormon objections, the volunteers continued to pursue their search. Finally in the fall of 1863, a party from Fort Douglas discovered argentiferous galena and copper in Bingham Canyon on the east slope of the Oquirrh Range, about 30 miles southwest of Salt Lake.[58] The importance of this discovery is best explained by the following:

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[55]Deseret News, November 18, 1863.

[56]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 473.

[57]Ibid.

[58]Robert G. Raymer, "Early Mining in Utah," Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 8 (1939), p. 83.

> During the early autumn of 1863 an event occurred of the greatest importance in the subsequent course of affairs in Utah, bearing directly upon the relations between the Mormons and the Gentiles. The discovery of the mineral wealth of the Territory served in time to give permanence to a larger and more active non-Mormon group than had hitherto made its home there.[59]

Shortly after the discovery, the West Mountain Mining Company was organized, with Connor a principal force in the firm. The shareholders were mainly officers of the Volunteers.[60] That same autumn Connor wrote to his departmental headquarters to inform his superiors of these developments.

> The results so far have exceeded my most sanguine expectations. Already reliable reports reach me of the discovery of rich gold, silver and copper mines in almost every direction. The work is still going on, and I have little doubt that rich veins of silver, and probably gold, will be discovered in almost every direction, and still nearer to Great Salt Lake City.[61]

It was not long before other discoveries were made, one by Connor himself. Bancroft states: "The first discovery of silver-bearing rock in the Wasatch Range was made by General Connor at the head of Little Cottonwood canyon."[62] Despite Connor's efforts, a full-scale rush of miners into Utah did

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[59]Dwyer, The Gentile Comes to Utah, p. 18.

[60]Ibid., p. 19.

[61]The War of the Rebellion (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897, Series I, Vol. L. Part II), p. 657.

[62]Bancroft, History of Utah, p. 742. Connor was promoted to the rank of General while in Utah.

not occur. Two factors prevented this: (1) the mining prospects in surrounding states were even greater than those in Utah, and (2) transportation was inadequate.[63]

The result, however, was the development of a foundation for non-Mormon settlement in Utah. Because of mineral discoveries west of Salt Lake, Connor and others established Stockton, the first Gentile settlement in Utah.

STOCKTON--THE FIRST NON-MORMON SETTLEMENT

In 1862 Connor established a camp in Rush Valley where the troop's horses could be wintered. In the hills just to the east of this camp, Indians had discovered metals and used them in making bracelets and trinkets. The soldiers noticed this jewelry and began to explore the surrounding area. It was not long before mineral discoveries were made and on June 11, 1864, the Rush Valley mining district was organized.[64]

Even before organization of the mining district, Connor and some of his fellow officers began to make plans for a settlement on the northeastern shore of the then present Rush Lake (Figure 6). On May 19, 1864, the town was surveyed by Joseph Clark. Those involved in the venture made the following entry in the records of Tooele County:

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[63]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 202.

[64]Rogers, Soldiers of the Overland, p. 115.


STOCKTON
UTAH
1870
---STAGE LINE
BUILT-UP TOWN
0 FEET 2000
To Salt Lake City
To Nevada

Figure 6

> We the undersigned citizens of Utah Territory, United States and proprietors of the City of Stockton do hereby certify that we have laid off into Blocks, Lotts, Streets and Alleys as shown and described on the accompanying Plat.
>
> (Signed) Joseph Clark
> P. Edw. Connor
> James Rodgers
> James S. Johnson[65]

From available accounts it appears that the progress of Stockton was fairly rapid. On July 13, 1864, the following article in the Fort Douglas newspaper gave indication of the town's progress:

> A company of enterprising gentlemen have taken up a beautiful site for a town about two miles from the mines and have surveyed and laid off the "City of Stockton." One substantial building is nearly completed and will be opened shortly as a hotel, restaurant and saloon--which parties are busily engaged in getting out timber for other buildings in the new town. The site selected is a beautiful one at the head of Rush Valley. The proprietors have constructed at considerable expense, a ditch upwards of seven miles long, through which the water from the creek in East Canon [sic] is now coursing.
>
> We have no doubt that a large and thriving city will soon grow up on this spot, as we learn that the lots are already in considerable demand, and many citizens propose settling there. An adobe yard has been started and a good quality of adobes for building and fire block for the furnaces turned out.[66]

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[65] Record Book B (Tooele County Recorders Office), p. 211.

[66] Daily Union Vedette, July 13, 1864.

The first house was built in July, 1864, by either John Paxton or William N. Bracken.[67] Many of the soldiers from Fort Douglas settled in the city when they were discharged. In 1866 General Connor built a home there after his retirement from the army. Nothing is left of the original buildings that graced the town because of a fire in 1884 which destroyed almost all of the buildings[68] (Figure 7).

The first smelting furnace in the Territory was erected at Stockton in 1864 by Connor.[69] He also induced a large number of his California friends to enter into the enterprise. Soon after this Connor also built a furnace of the reverberatory type, the first one in the Territory.[70] During the summer and fall of 1864 furnaces were built to smelt gold and silver by the following in and around Stockton, viz: "The St. James; James Finherty; J. W. Gibson; Nichols and Brand; Hartnet; Davids and Company; and one cupola blast-furnace by Johnson, Monheim and Company."[71]

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[67]Janet Cook, "Stockton--Small Utah Town--Exciting History," Sons of Utah Pioneers News (March, 1958), p. 23.

[68]Bancroft, History of Utah, p. 741.

[69]Morgan, The Great Salt Lake, p. 287.

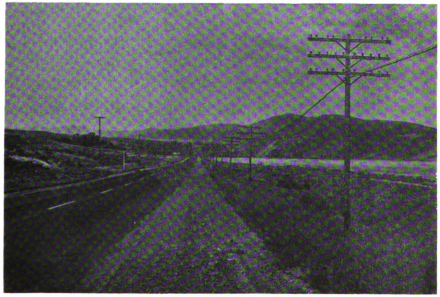
[70]Rogers, Soldiers of the Overland, p. 116.

[71]Edward Tullidge, "The Mines of Utah," Tullidge Quarterly Magazine Vol. I (1880), p. 180.

Figure 7

The old stagecoach office in Stockton. Courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.

Figure 8



Present day Stockton with a view of the gravel bar to the right of the highway. Photo by the author

In January of 1866, a miner wrote to the Daily Union Vedette and spoke of Stockton as "a very promising little town, with a population of about 400 souls, men of energy and perseverance."[72] Again in April, 1866, the editor of the Vedette wrote:

> . . . the place now contains, forty families and four hundred inhabitants--the most of whom are directly identified with the mining interest. The city is pleasantly located and remarkably healthy--not a death having occurred in the place. We understand that the Overland Mail Company intend to run their stages through Stockton this season and it is directly on route of the Pacific Railroad.[73]

By May of that same year Stockton had a post office, stores, mining companies, stage office (Figure 7) and expected a telegraph line.[74] The prospects for Stockton appeared good to the editor of the Vedette in 1866 when he wrote: "One year from this time we believe Stockton will be one of the leading towns of the Territories."[75]

The value of the mines around Stockton and the prosperity of the town itself during the 1860's is almost impossible to ascertain. For one thing, newspaper reports from the Vedette seem to be exaggerated, apparently to cause anxiety among the Mormons, as well as paint a good picture to people outside the Territory in hopes of attracting them

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[72]Daily Union Vedette, January 29, 1866.

[73]Ibid., April 2, 1866.

[74]Ibid., May 15, 1866.

[75]Ibid., September 6, 1866.

to Utah. Two problems constantly faced the mining interests of Stockton: (1) the inability to provide proper smelting for the ores, and (2) the lack of adequate transportation of the ore to market.[76] The biggest problem, no doubt, was transportation. Stockton was 40 miles from Salt Lake City, located a considerable distance from either California or the East. It was not until the completion of the trans-continental railroad in 1869 that this problem was solved.

Of much more interest to the geographer is the pattern of settlement of Stockton. It was a unique mining town because not only was it the first non-Mormon settlement in Utah, but it was also the first mining town in the West to have its streets surveyed and laid out according to the compass.[77]

As mentioned above, Stockton was surveyed by Joseph Clark in May, 1864. Clark recorded that, "All full lots are 150 feet deep and 20 feet wide, and all streets are 80 feet except Connor, Grant and Silver avenues which are 100 feet each and all alleys are 20 feet wide."[78] A plat of the surveyed city was made but did not appear with county records.[79] However, a plat made in 1902 appears to be very similar to the

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[76]Tullidge, "The Mines of Utah," p. 180.

[77]Cook, "Stockton--Small Utah Town--Exciting History," p. 23.

[78]Record Book B (Tooele County Recorders Office, Tooele County), p. 211.

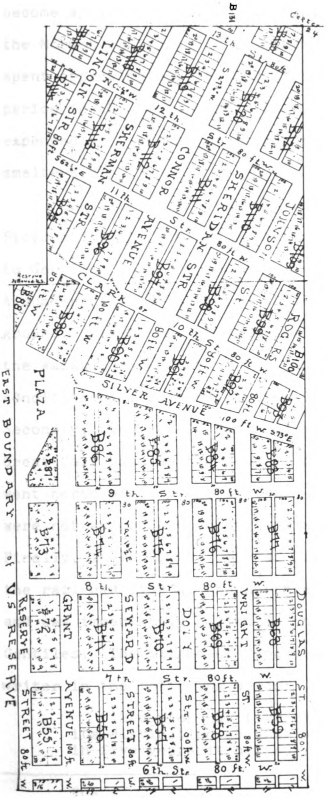
[79]The records of the County Recorder in Tooele County give evidence that a plat was made in 1864, but it was not included in the records.

original one (Figure 9). From this plat the pattern of the town is readily apparent.

The physical features of the area are responsible for the streets in the north end of the town running northeast-southeast. Situated along the northwest boundary of the city is a large mound of gravel material (Figure 8). This is part of a geological phenomenon called the "Stockton Bar." Wave action from prehistoric Lake Bonneville created this huge sandbar. It stretches from the Oquirrh Mountains on the east to the Stansbury Mountains on the west (Figure 6).

Other unique features of the settlement pattern are the wide streets, the blocks which are divided by alleys and the names of the streets. The idea for such wide streets might have come from Salt Lake City, for the main streets there were 8 rods in width. The blocks were rectangular in shape, differing from Salt Lake's which were square, and the regular sized blocks contained approximately two acres of land each. The town contained approximately 811 lots, which were 150 feet deep and 20 feet wide. Some of the streets were named after generals in the Union Army, i.e., Grant, Sherman, Connor, Sheridan, and Clark. Others, such as Johnson, Lincoln, Wright, Doty, Seward and Silver, were named after government officials.

General Connor had fond hopes of Stockton growing into a mecca for non-Mormons in Utah. He hoped that it would also



Plat of
STOCKTON
UTAH

Drawn April, 1902

0 Feet 400

SOURCE: Tooele County Recorder's Office

Figure 9

become a "Virginia City" of Utah, and eventually overshadow the Mormon capital. It has been estimated that Connor spent approximately $80,000 of his own money during his period in the service in Utah and the majority of that was expended at Stockton on land purchases and erection of smelters.[80]

Outside of the two military establishments, Camp Floyd and Camp Douglas, Stockton became the shining light to Gentiles in Utah. However, this glory was short lived. A number of factors helped to place Stockton in the background. First, new discoveries of minerals were made in the Wasatch Mountains to the east of Salt Lake where conditions for successful investment were more favorable. Secondly, the Pacific Railroad did not pass south of the Great Salt Lake as the people of Stockton had hoped, but went north of it. Thirdly, the mines of the Stockton area were not as productive as it was supposed they would be. Finally, in 1869, the city of Corinne was established on the railroad line at the north end of the Great Salt Lake and was immediately hailed as the gathering place of the Gentiles. The plight of Stockton was expressed by one writer in the following words:

> Stockton had five years to live up to its distinction as Utah's Gentile City, and in five years it had not exhibited the remotest

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[80]Rogers, Soldiers of the Overland, p. 251.

> promise of growing into something that would put Salt Lake City in the shade. It was time for the gentiles to have another try.[81]

Despite the failure of Stockton to develop to its expected potential, it was an important start to non-Mormon settlement in Utah. The settlement provided Connor and other Gentiles a means for attracting non-Mormons into the area both to settle and to prospect for precious metals. Stockton also was important because it became one of the few non-Mormon communities in Utah that was surveyed and settled in an organized way.

The mines around the city never did live up to what Connor and others thought were their potential. Nevertheless, the settlement did attract people and capital from outside the Territory. Stockton was soon to be overshadowed by the city of Corinne, which was established on the railroad and became a center for the Gentiles of Utah.

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[81]Morgan, The Great Salt Lake, p. 297.

CHAPTER III

THE IMPACT OF THE RAILROAD, 1869-1896: CORINNE AND PARK CITY--CASE STUDIES

THE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD

On May 10, 1869, at Promontory Point, near Ogden, Utah, the joining of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads took place. The completion of the railroad in 1869 posed three threats to the Mormon society: it threatened (1) the continuance of theocratic control of the region; (2) the economic autonomy of the Mormon commonwealth; and (3) the break up of the Mormon Empire into conflicting segments.[1]

Despite the threats that the railroad posed to the Mormons, they were anxious for it to reach Utah. The following statement made by the mayor of Ogden when the track was completed to that city is indicative of Mormon support:

> A prejudice has existed in the minds of some in relation to our feelings on this matter. It has been said that we did not wish to have a railway pass through our country. Such prejudice has proved to be unfounded. And our labors along the line, especially through Echo and Weber Canyons are a standing and irrefutable testimony of our great desire and anxiety to see the completion of this; the greatest undertaking ever designed by human skill and wisdom.[2]

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[1]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 234.

[2]Whitney, History of Utah, I., p. 248.

Brigham Young also stated:

> Speaking of the completion of this railroad, I am anxious to see it and I say to the Congress of the United States, through our Delegate, to the Company, and to others hung up, hasten the work! We want to hear the iron horse puffing through this valley. What for! To bring our brethren and sisters here.[3]

Not only did the church welcome the railroad, but it facilitated its construction in many ways. Even after its completion the church successfully promoted a number of branch railroads within the state.[4]

There was probably no region in the country that was so much in need of railroad communication as was the Territory of Utah in 1869. Here was a community of over 40,000 persons, dependent on wagons to haul goods, which could not be produced locally, over mountains and deserts. Freight was hauled in wagons holding from 5,000 to 7,000 pounds and it required a full summer to make the round trip from Utah to Independence, Missouri.[5] This resulted in prohibitive prices in Utah on almost all imported goods.

The completion of the railroad had an instantaneous effect on the economy of the territory. One author had this to say:

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[3]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 236.

[4]For a detailed discussion of the railroads that were built in Utah by the Mormons see Arrington, pp. 257-292 and David F. Johnson, "The History and Economics of Utah Railroads," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1947).

[5]Wain Sutton, ed., Utah A Centennial History (3 Vols., New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1949), II, p. 817.

> It would be manifestly impossible for one who was not here when there were no railroads to grasp in its fullness the greatness of the transformation which the rails have wrought. How true it is that the first locomotive bell which resounded in the gorges of the Wasatch mountains tolled the death knell of old conditions, while at the same time signalizing with joyous notes the ushering in of the new! No more the wearisome, long drawn-out marches from frontier to frontier, sore footed, wearied, worn and wan, with months of time consumed, means squandered and opportunities deffered or lost; no more prohibitive tariffs on the necessaries of life with the use of luxuries restricted to the very few; no longer living in the shadow of civilization, but basking in its full-orbed glow! The change was so sudden and yet so complete that it seemed like waking from a dream, or like passing into another sphere of existence; and yet it had come so quietly, so apparently naturally, that the marvel was no sooner upon us than it had passed away.[6]

Some general effects that the railroad had on the economy of Utah were also visible. First, it reduced the cost of manufactured goods imported from the East. Secondly, it caused the failure of many local manufacturing establishments, as well as the closing of many freight businesses. Finally, it gave new impetus to the mining industry.[7]

ADJUSTMENT OF THE MORMONS

As far as the Mormon church was concerned it was faced with three basic problems as the railroad neared Utah Territory. First, the church was concerned about raising money to pay the

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[6]S. A. Kenner, Utah As It is (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1904), p. 217.

[7]Sutton, Utah A Centennial History, II., p. 818.

railway fares of new converts. Secondly, it was worried about the flood of cheap imports which would be shipped to Utah. Thirdly, the church was worried about the new potential that the railroad would provide for expansion of the mining industry of the region.[8] The Mormons thought that this expansion would result in an increase of non-Mormons into the territory and the church was worried that its members would be subject to conditions not conducive to their religious ideals.

From their first entrance into the Valley of the Great Salt Lake the Mormons were interested in all of their people gathering to this choice land. The Perpetual Emigration Fund was established by Brigham Young to help finance Mormon converts to Utah. Previous to the completion of the railroad, most of the saints had traveled by wagon or pulled handcarts to the Great Basin. The railroad was looked upon by the leaders of the church as an improved means of bringing new converts to Utah. Brigham Young and other leaders began to solicit money to increase the fund. This became increasingly important as the railroad neared the territory.

Probably one of the most far-reaching moves that the church made was to establish locally-owned cooperative enterprises which would help to make the Mormon community less dependent on imports. A church-established firm, Zion's

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[8]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 240.

Cooperative Mercantile Institution, became the wholesale buyer of imported goods. These goods were then sold through its retail outlets in perhaps a hundred Mormon communities.[9]

Brigham Young also encouraged the people to purchase only from Mormon-owned stores, when he laid down the following rule:

> In all matters, their (the members) dealings should be as much as possible with those in full fellowship in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, but they must not deal with their enemies.[10]

Of course, this policy received the brunt of the non-Mormon businessmen's disfavor.

When the railroad entered the Great Basin almost all of the rich mineral deposits were owned by non-Mormons. The Mormon church had to consider that the profits from these mines would not go to its members, but rather to the Gentiles. However, in the past, the leaders had repeatedly admonished the members not to go to the mines, but to sustain themselves by farming or manufacturing. Now when the railroad did come and favorable wages were available for mine laborers, the church leaders encouraged the members to work in the mines. Two reasons for the change of heart by the church were: (1) to make it unnecessary for mine owners to import non-Mormons as laborers and (2) to provide church members with a means of

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[9]Robert G. Athearn, "Opening the Gates of Zion: Utah and the Coming of the Union Pacific Railroad," Utah Historical Quarterly Vol. 36, (1968), p. 306.

[10]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 248.

obtaining cash.[11]

The church was also worried about the element that the railroad would bring to the area. One solution to this problem was for the church to sponsor a contract with the Union Pacific to furnish labor for building the road from the mouth of Echo Canyon to Ogden, a distance of some 80 miles. By doing this the Mormons hoped to keep Utah somewhat free of the "scalawags that the construction of the railroad would bring."[12] This desire proved to be of no avail as railroad workers swarmed into Ogden for completion of the road to Promontory.

Boom towns sprang up between the mouth of Echo Canyon and the Wyoming border as well as west of Ogden. None of these towns were permanent except for the city of Corinne, which was to become the "Gentile Capitol of Utah." With the advent of Corinne the Gentiles began to see hope for the elimination of the Mormon plague.

CORINNE--A NON MORMON RAILROAD TOWN

Physical Setting--The physical features of Corinne to some degree played a role in the location and founding of the settlement. Corinne is located in Box Elder County, six miles north and west of Brigham City and about 60 miles north of Salt Lake City (Figure 10). Its location on the west bank of

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[11] Ibid., p. 243.

[12] Ibid., p. 246.

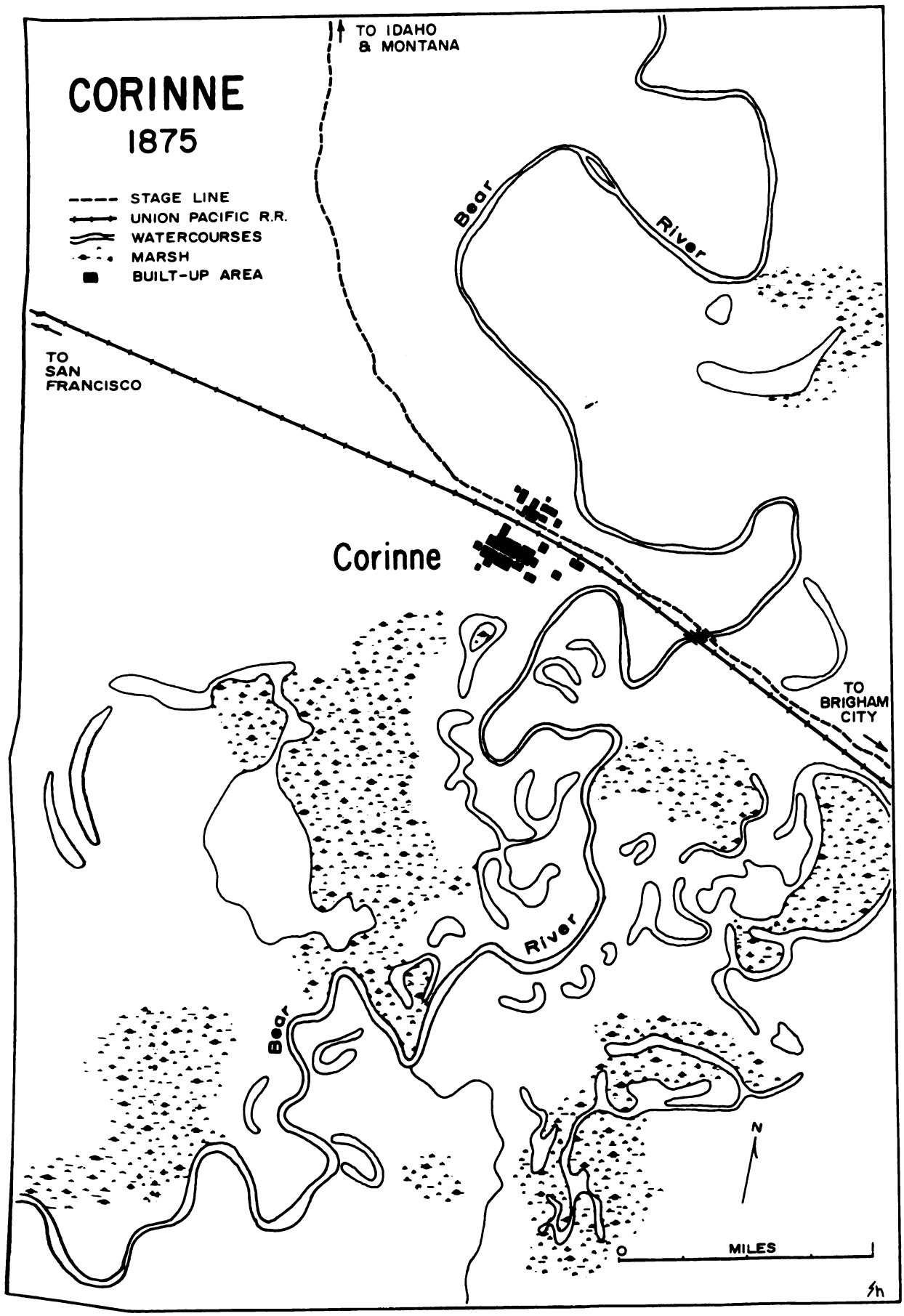
CORINNE
1875
STAGE LINE
UNION PACIFIC R.R.
WATERCOURSES
MARSH
BUILT-UP AREA
TO IDAHO & MONTANA
TO SAN FRANCISCO
Bear River
Corinne
TO BRIGHAM CITY
Bear River
N
0
MILES
Sh

Figure 10

the Bear River has been advantageous because the town is on high ground and is free from the flooding of the river. Immediately northwest and west of the city fairly good soils are found. They are deep heavy silt loams from which good crop production can be obtained; however, the alkali content is high and they must be drained properly.

Climatically, this is an area of dry steppe. The growing season, approximately 139 days, is sufficient for most crops, but with the small amount of precipitation irrigation is essential. The natural vegetation of the area is salt grass and greasewood. At the present, however, crops such as alfalfa, small grains, tomatoes and sugar beets are cultivated.

The obstacles of climate, soil and water supply discouraged Mormon farmers from settling the area. The early Mormon settlers of Box Elder County recognized the limitations around Corinne and grazed their animals instead of farming the land.

History and Settlement--Four factors contributed to Corinne's settlement and growth. First, it was located on a direct wagon route to the mines of Idaho and Montana. Second, it offered the shortest, fastest and easiest route to those markets. Third, it was the nearest point on the transcontinental railroad to the promising communities of northeastern Utah. Fourth, there was a possibility of using the Bear River and the Great Salt Lake to ship ore from the

mines near the south shore of the Lake to the railroad.[13]

The founding of Corinne took place in February of 1869, when J. E. House directed a survey of the city site for the Union Pacific Railroad.[14] The city plat was drawn on a grand scale, much larger than the future community, to provide for the predicted metropolis. The blocks were almost square, 264 x 280 feet, with a 16 foot alley running through the middle (Figure 11).[15] The city was laid out to the north and south of the railroad track. The blocks closest to the track and river were divided into more lots (22) than those farther away. The lots on the main streets were long and very narrow, measuring 132 x 22 feet.[16] The streets did not run directly north and south as do most streets in Utah, but rather in a northeasterly direction and roughly parallel to the railroad which divided the city into sections, north and south. The names of the streets running east and west were either those of states or territories, except for the eight most southerly streets, while those running northeasterly were numbered beginning from the river westward.

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[13]Brigham D. and Betty M. Madsen, "Corinne, the Fair: Gateway to Montana Mines," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 37, No. 1 (1969), p. 103-104.

[14]Ibid., p. 107.

[15]Jesse H. Jameson, "Corinne: A Study of a Freight Transfer Point in the Montana Trade, 1869 to 1878"(Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1951), p. 49.

[16]Ibid., p. 54.

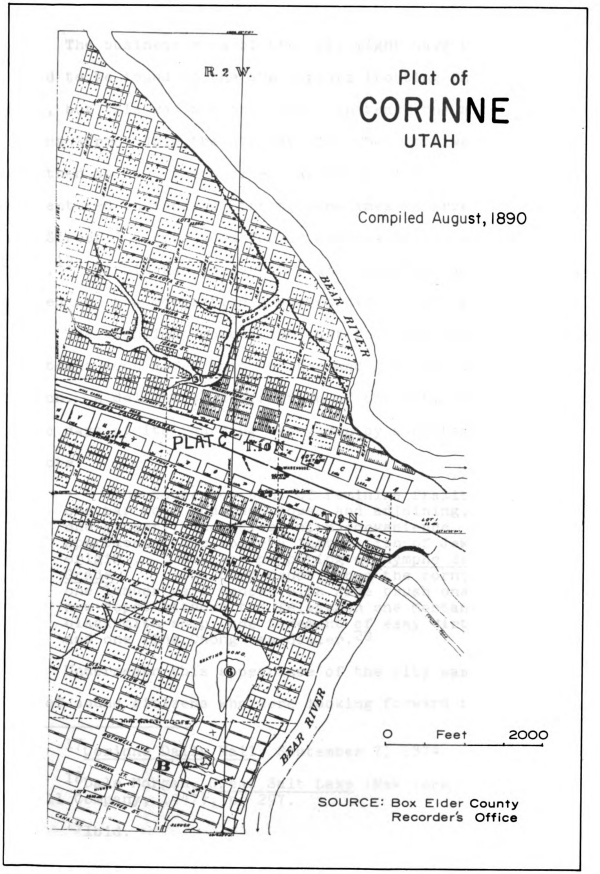
R. 2 W.
Plat of
CORINNE
UTAH
Compiled August, 1890
BEAR RIVER
PLAT C
T. 9 N.
BEAR RIVER
0 Feet 2000
SOURCE: Box Elder County Recorder's Office

Figure 11

The business area of the city might have been expected to be found on the two streets fronting the railroad track, but this was not the case. Instead, the area along Montana Street drew the highest bids when lots were sold and, then as now, the business activity of the community was centered on Montana Street, sometimes referred to as Main Street.[17] Lots sold for as much as $1,000 and as little as $5.[18] Within two weeks 500 frame buildings and tents were erected and the population numbered over 1,500 (Figure 12).[19]

The transient population that followed the railroad boom towns soon moved into Corinne and gave her a lasting reputation. A delightful description of the city during the hectic days of its founding was given by a contemporary when he wrote:

> One house, or tent of feminine frality, one bar room and chop house and adjoining, one grocery, one saloon with convenience apartments, one toggery institution of Jewish origin . . .a spicy peppering of Nymphe de Grade . . . one corn depot minus the corn; one lumber yard fenced with sage brush one new depot without the Telegraph one Montana blacksmith shop; one tenement of easy Virtue; and one Ping Chong tea dealer.[20]

Underneath this appearance of the city was a substantial body of sound citizens who were looking forward to the Idaho

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[17]Corinne Daily Mail, September 7, 1874.

[18]Dale Morgan, Great Salt Lake (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1947), p. 297.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Salt Lake Daily Telegraph, April 12, 1869.

Figure 12

Courtesy of the Utah State
Historical Society

Corinne 1869

and Montana mining trade. Under their influence law and order was soon established when they formed a "popular" government. The railroad element and camp followers moved out in May and June of 1869 and the business element began to dominate the life of the community.

Beginning in May, 1869, a railroad station and sawmill were built.[21] This was soon followed in June by the erection of the first non-Mormon church in Utah: a momentous occasion for most Gentiles (Figure 13).

Corinne was finally emerging as a permanent community (Figure 14). In order to give the town stability and legal recognition, Box Elder County officials created a precinct government. However, this did not prove any more satisfactory than did the "popular" government. Finally, on March 10, 1869, a chartered government was organized and it quickly began improvements, the height of which was the establishment of the first free public school in Utah.[22]

At first Corinne had high hopes of being chosen the junction city for the two railroads, the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific. The junction city would have to provide hotels and restaurants for passengers changing cars and also men to work in the machine shops and railroad station. It was therefore, a bitter disappointment when Ogden triumphed over Corinne for this distinction. Despite this drawback the

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[21]Utah Tri-Weekly Reporter, May 24, 1869.

[22]Corinne Daily Reporter, October 21, 1872.

Figure 13

The first non-Mormon church in Utah. Built in 1869. Photo by the author.

Figure 14

The home of Hiram House one of the town's first citizens. Photo by the author.

citizens of Corinne were convinced that the city was still the most convenient point of departure for the stages and freight wagons that would be running from the railroad to the mines of northern Idaho and Montana.[23]

It had been the pattern from Omaha westward that as the rails were laid, each new town that was settled became a freight transfer point for a few weeks or months until one further west had been built. As each new terminal was set up, the forwarding agent and commission merchant would move his warehouses and places of business there. Because of the lag in railroad building north from Utah to the territories of Idaho and Montana, Corinne was able to grow and prosper longer than any other freight transfer point on the Union Pacific Railroad.[24] Unfortunately, the economic security of Corinne was dependent upon these freighting merchants and their exodus could mean an end to the economy of the city. Therefore, the freighting business in Corinne became the framework for its historical development under the Gentiles.

The freight transfer business in Corinne had its ups and downs. In the summer of 1869, instead of the expected boom, business suffered. The explanation for this was the continuation of freight shipments via the Missouri River route

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[23]Morgan, Great Salt Lake, p. 298.

[24]Jameson, "Corinne: A Study of a Freight Transfer Point in the Montana Trade, 1869 to 1878," p. 73.

to Idaho and Montana.[25] However, when some shipments went through Corinne they proved to be more economical than the Missouri River route and the Montana merchants made plans for the fall shipping to come from Corinne.

The year 1870 saw a continuation of the fall business of 1869 and ended with a bright note of optimism. Ironically, not only the city itself prospered, but also the Mormon farmers of the surrounding area, because shipments of foodstuff were loaded on the freight wagons for the northern mines and on freight trains for cities in California.[26]

The season of 1871 was distinguished by the emphasis of lake freighting. Two steamboats, the City of Corinne and the General Garfield had been built to carry ore from the mines near the south shore of the Great Salt Lake to Corinne, where it could be loaded on freight trains and shipped to smelters (Figure 15). As a reflection of the freighting from the Lake, a smelter and refinery was built in the city in 1871 and the mine owners in Montana and Idaho were asked to send their ore back in the empty freight wagons for refinement or reshipment to other smelters (Figures 16 & 17). Even though the smelter continued to run through 1873 it was never a profitable venture.[27]

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[25]Ibid., p. 85.

[26]Utah Tri-Weekly Reporter, August 27, 1870.

[27]Corinne Daily Reporter, May 6, 1871.

Figure 15

The steamboat General Connor being used as a pleasure boat on the Great Salt. Courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.

Figure 16

The steamboat landing was located near this site on the Bear River. Photo by the author.

Figure 17

The smelter was located on the corner lot where the brick home now stands. It was about 50 feet from the steamboat landing. Photo by the author

Business prospects appeared to be good in early 1872, but the construction of the newly planned Utah Northern Railroad, which would by-pass Corinne, threatened her freight business. The railroad was to be built from Ogden north into Idaho and Montana (Figure 1). Work had started on the railroad in August of the previous year but progress was irregular and slow and the city did not take the challenge too seriously until 1872.

One effect of the railroad was the transfer of one of the largest freighting firms in Corinne, the Diamond R. The firm sold its warehouses and moved to new headquarters in Logan, Utah, along the Utah Northern route. By November of 1873, the hopes for another freighting season were rapidly fading.

The city reached the lowest point in its economic history in the spring of 1874. Franklin, Idaho, had been established as the terminal of the Utah Northern and many freighters thought that it would provide a more direct route northward. However, by the middle of the summer the freighters had decided that Corinne was still a better terminal than Franklin, because the road northward was more direct.

Merchants and others expressed the opinion that the 1875 season was better than any previous one.[28] Fall freighting continued to be as successful as the spring run and it

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[28]Salt Lake Tribune, June 5, 1875.

was only because of snow and rain in November that the season came to a close.

The last year that Corinne enjoyed freighting without the threat of competition with the Utah Northern route was 1876. When the season ended,the city continued to be "lively" by doing business with the neighboring farmers who were selling their farm produce and buying merchandise in return from the merchants.[29]

The last two years of Corinne's freighting history, 1877 and 1878, are vague; the definite date for the termination of the city as a freight transfer point is hard to establish. A solitary comment in September of 1877 leaves the impression that the season had been successful because "Corinne is said to be enjoying the most prosperous season it has known since the last Profit [sic] cursed it."[30]

The collapse of freighting in Corinne was rapid and dramatic. In October, 1877, the Utah Northern Railroad was purchased by the Union Pacific and construction of the road north into Idaho and Montana was begun. By January, 1878, the road had been extended 20 miles north of Franklin.

The forecast for the future of Corinne was: "Corinne is one of the things of the past. It will in another year be simply a way station of the Central Pacific Railroad."[31] The

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[29]Ibid., December 3, 1876.

[30]Ibid., September 28, 1877. The word "Profit" refers to the Prophet, Brigham Young.

[31]Ibid., January 6, 1878.

future prospects were that the town would be depopulated or pass into Mormon hands. The forwarding and commission merchants had left by the early part of 1878. For the remaining citizens of Corinne, the future was certain; it was to become an agricultural community and serve as the shopping center for neighboring farmers.[32]

Those who remained in Corinne aspired to challenge the Mormons agriculturally. In 1890, the Bear Lake, River Water, and Irrigation Company put in a dam and diversion canal on the river and opened about 10,000 acres to irrigation. People in Corinne made plans to make the countryside a vast fertile orchard. Fruit trees of almost every variety were planted on land lying west and southwest of the city. This vast acreage was called the "Model Farm." But irrigating brought the mineral salts to the surface of the soil and due to lack of proper drainage much of the land became practically worthless.

Thus another decline began, which was further accentuated by the building of the Lucin Cut-Off railroad across the Great Salt Lake, making the northern route around the lake obsolete. This took away almost all of the railroad activity from Corinne and it became virtually a ghost town. However, the funeral of Corinne was not to be:

> Quietly without fuss the Mormons waited until the Burg on the Bear burnt itself out.

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[32] Ibid., January 1, 1878.

> They disliked it, they did their best to boycott it and ruin it, but they never made active war on it. But when the debate came, when quick money was no longer available and the hordes of infidels had departed, the saints moved quietly in and took over, transforming Corinne into a sleepy Mormon village. The reason is plain enough. The thing the Gentiles were chasing was clearly no longer available in Corinne. But the thing the Mormons were still after was.[33]

DEVELOPMENT OF MINERAL RESOURCES

Importance of the Railroad--Despite the fact that minerals were discovered in Utah almost a decade before the completion of the transcontinental railroad, development of these resources did not take place until after it was built. Extremely important to the dormant mining industry in 1869 was the building of the Utah Central Railroad. About one week after the Central Pacific and Union Pacific were joined together work was begun on the Utah Central. It was a church-financed company and was to connect Salt Lake City with the transcontinental line at Ogden. It was completed in January, 1870, and almost immediately ore from the mines around Salt Lake became its most lucrative traffic. Shipments averaged 100 tons a day for many months.[34]

Before the end of the 1870's the church had built or was building railroad lines into southern, eastern and northern Utah. Branches were built from these main lines to the

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[33]Wallace Stegner, Mormon Country (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pierce, 1942), p. 258.

[34]Edward Sloan, Gazeteer of Utah and Salt Lake City Directory (Salt Lake City: 1874), p. 30.

nearby mines. This construction brought about a tremendous increase in the production of minerals in Utah.

New Discoveries--As soon as adequate transportation was available the search for new mines was intensified. Many prospectors in the surrounding territories of Nevada, Idaho and Montana ventured to Utah in hopes of gaining a fortune. Soon they were scouring the hills of the state and it was not long before important discoveries were made.

New mining districts which opened up as a result of these efforts were Little Cottonwood, Ophir, Tintic, American Fork and Park City (Figure 18).[35] Even the sandstone plateaus of southern Utah came under the scrutiny of the prospector's eye.[36] Small mining camps and towns began to spring up when rich strikes of silver and gold occurred in each district.

The most important discoveries during this era were made on the eastern slope of the Wasatch Mountains, about 35 miles east of Salt Lake City. This newly formed district centered around the mining camp of Park City.

Coupled with these new discoveries and the railroad was the building of new smelters which were successful in smelting

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[35]For a detailed account of mineral discoveries and mining districts in Utah see: Victor C. Hekes, et. al., The Ore Deposits of Utah (United States Geological Survey Professional Paper 111, Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920.

[36]The two most important discoveries in southern Utah were the Horn Silver Mine in the San Francisco Mountains and the deposits of silver discovered in sandstone for the first time at Silver Reef.

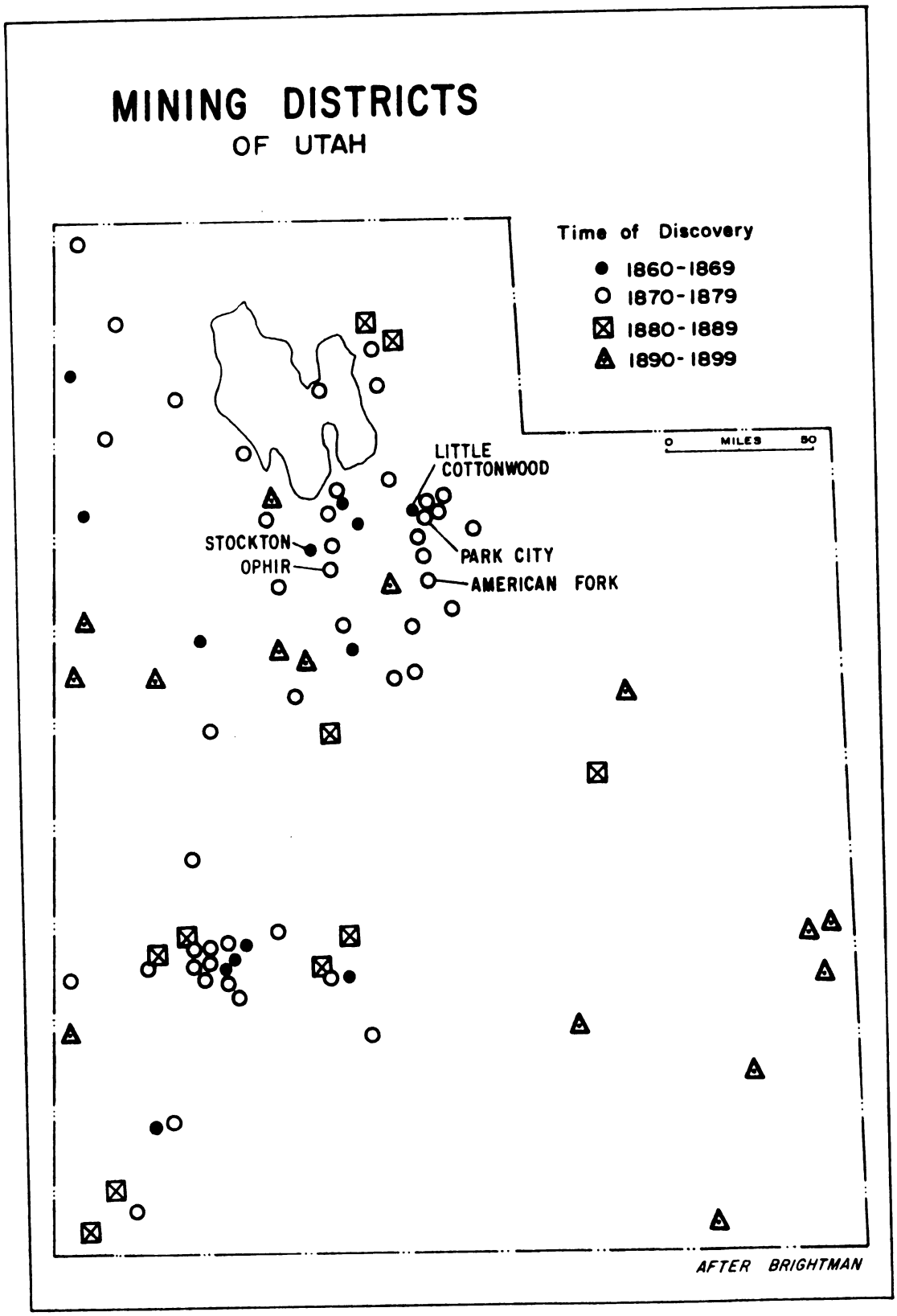
MINING DISTRICTS
OF UTAH
Time of Discovery
1860-1869
1870-1879
1880-1889
1890-1899
0 MILES 50
LITTLE COTTONWOOD
STOCKTON
OPHIR
PARK CITY
AMERICAN FORK
AFTER BRIGHTMAN

Figure 18

down the silver, gold and lead. The three most important smelters in the 1870's were: (1) the Germania Smelter, constructed in 1872; (2) the Mingo or Mountain Chief furnaces, built the same year, and (3) the Morgan or Hanauer Smelting Works, completed in 1874.[37] All three of these smelters were located in Murray, a town about seven miles south of Salt Lake.

Significantly, it was the completion of the transcontinental railroad which started this mining boom. The effects of the railroad on mining and the effects of mining on the railroads within the state were interrelated. Without the local railroads the mining industry would not have developed as soon and on the other hand, without the discovery of minerals, many of the railroad lines in the state would not have been built.[38]

However, while the railroad gave the primary impetus to mineral development in Utah other factors which were involved included: (1) the improved technology which was now available; (2) the financial assistance of Eastern United States and British investors; and (3) the cooperation of the local Mormons, who were able and willing to supply provisions

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[37]Robert Wallace, "Early History of Lead Smelting in the West," A-I-D-A, Vol. 14 (May, 1929), p. 2.

[38]David F. Johnson, "The History and Economics of Utah Railroads" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1947), p. 8.

and labor for building the railroads and working in the mines.[39] Utah was unique in this last respect because the territory already had an economic base of farming before mining developed. In other surrounding states and territories most of the first settlements were mining communities. In Utah, the miners already had a supply base; the local Mormon communities.

The result of the building of this early network of railroad lines, new mineral discoveries and the development and building of new smelting facilities, was the skyrocketing of mineral production within the territory (Table 1). This boom also brought into the state large numbers of Gentiles concentrated in newly developed mining communities. One of the largest of these towns is Park City. Its early development and history provide another interesting episode in non-Mormon settlement.

PARK CITY--A NON-MORMON MINING COMMUNITY

Physical Setting--The town of Park City is situated on the eastern slope of the Wasatch Mountains snuggled neatly between two ridges (Figure 19). Located on the southern edge of a mountain prairie called Parley's Park, it has an elevation of 7,200 feet above sea level (Figures 20 and 21).

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[39]Leonard J. Arrington, "Abundance From the Earth: The Beginnings of Commercial Mining in Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 31 (1963), p. 205.

TABLE 1

TABLE 1

MINERAL PRODUCTION IN THE TERRITORY
OF UTAH, 1865-1896

	GOLD		SILVER		LEAD		
Year	Production (Fine Ounces)	Value ($1,000)	Production (Fine Ounces)	Value ($1,000)	Production (Short tons)	Value ($1,000)	Total Value ($1,000)
1865	2,700	55.8	450	0.6	--	--	56.4
1866	4.100	84.8	800	1.1	--	--	85.8
1867	4,670	96.5	812	1.1	--	--	97.6
1868	8,000	165.4	1,600	2.1	--	--	167.5
1869	9,068	187.5	1,750	2.3	--	--	189.8
1870	14,512	300.0	473,182	628.4	4,166.5	500.0	1,449.6
1871	11,063	228.7	1,709,811	2,265.5	5,000.0	608.0	3,196.3
1872	8.500	175.7	2,981,521	3,941.6	11,785.0	1,484.9	5,815.6
1873	2,536	52.4	3,157,435	3,725.8	15,000.0	1,896.0	5.919.2
1874	13,608	281.3	2,904,246	3,630.3	20,000.0	2,440.0	6,433.9
1875	8,793	181.8	2,383,809	2,955.9	19,000.0	2,204.0	5,504.4
1876	8,820	182.3	4,436,982	5,146.9	25,000.0	3,050.0	8,578.1
1877	17,323	358.1	4,359,733	5,231.6	24,194.0	2,661.3	8,372.9
1878	13,394	276.9	4,132,313	4,752.1	21,627.0	1,557.1	6,713.1
1879	15,730	325.2	3,665,600	4,10515	14,370.0	1,178.3	5,657.1
1880	8,020	165.8	3,663,183	4,2,2.7	15,214.0	1,521.4	5,918.3
1881	6,982	144.3	4,958,345	5,602.9	23,978.0	2,301.4	8,118.8
1882	9,039	186.9	5,435,444	6,196.4	29,937.0	2,933.8	9,432.8
1883	6,772	140.0	4,388,541	4,915.2	33,330.0	2,866.4	7,978.0
1884	5,805	120.0	5,263,157	5,842.1	30, 432.0	2,252.0	8,248.6

TABLE 1 (Continued)

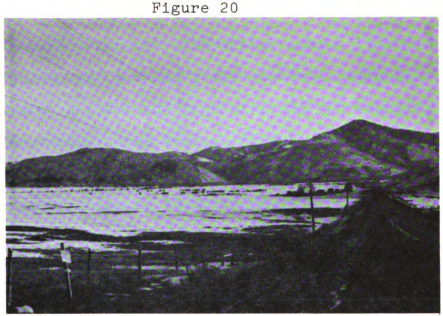
Year	GOLD Production (Fine Ounces)	GOLD Value ($1,000)	SILVER Production (Fine Ounces)	SILVER Value ($1,000)	LEAD Production (Fine Ounces)	LEAD Value ($1,000)	Total Value ($1,000)
1885	8,707	180.0	5,232,557	5,598.3	25,659.4	2,001.4	7,793.9
1886	10,449	216.0	5,030,958	4,980.6	24,228.1	2,335.9	7,799.8
1887	10,643	220.0	5,414,185	5,305.9	22,838.5	2,061.0	7,931.9
1888	14,029	290.0	6,178,855	5,089.2	22,283.4	1,960.9	7,698.1
1889	24,187	500.0	7,005,193	6,580.0	31,180.2	2,432.0	9,790.2
1890	32,895	680.0	8,000,000	8,400.0	34,123.0	3,071.9	12,308.9
1891	31,444	650.0	8,750,000	8,662.5	43,360.0	3,729.0	13,241.4
1892	31,936	660.2	8,490,000	7,047.0	45,553.0	3,644.2	11,607.7
1893	41,293	853.6	7,196,300	5,613.1	35,043.0	2,593.2	9,182.5
1894	41,991	868.0	5,891,901	3,711.9	23,190.0	1,530.5	6,219.5
1895	66,419	1,373.0	7,468,100	4,854.3	31,350.0	2,003.5	8,464.5
1896	91,906	1,899.9	8,827,600	6,002.8	35,578.0	2,134.7	10,415.6

Source: University of Utah, Bureau of Economic and Business Research, A Statistical Review of Utah's Economy (Salt Lake City: 1960).


To Salt Lake City
To Coalville
PARK CITY
UTAH
1890
STAGE LINE
UNION PACIFIC R.R.
BUILT-UP TOWN
0 FEET 2000
PARLEYS
MEADOW
To Coalville
To Salt Lake City
Silver Creek
SILVER KING MINE
To ONTARIO MINE
N

Figure 19

Figure 20



Looking south across Parley's Park towards Park City which is located behind the mountain in the left of the photograph. Photo by the author

Figure 21

The town of Park City situated between two mountain ridges. Photo by the author.

The climate is mountainous with short, cool summers and long, harsh winters. The winter season is also marked by heavy snowfall and low temperatures. Temperatures and precipitation reflect the high altitude and mountain location. For example, the average monthly temperature in January is 20.8° F. and in July is 67.2° F. and average annual precipitation is 18.69 inches.[40]

The vegetation of the area consists mainly of aspen and pine trees. Originally the slopes supported a dense growth of pine, but this was utilized early for fuel and underground supports in the mines. Some of the pines have grown back, but are not nearly as dense as before.

Parley's Park (Figure 20) the extensive meadow to the north of the town has long been used as a summer grazing range for cattle. In fact the Mormon pioneers utilized it soon after they settled the Salt Lake Valley.

History and Settlement--The earliest known settlement in the general area of Park City was established in 1853, when Samuel Snyder, a Mormon, erected a sawmill a few miles to the north of where Park City lies today.[41] Soon a small

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[40]Letter from E. Arlo Richardson, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, State Climatologist, Logan, Utah, January 27, 1971.

[41]John Mason Boutwell, Geology and Ore Deposits of the Park City District, Utah (United States Geological Survey, Professional Paper No. 77, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912), p. 19.

settlement grew up which became known as Snyderville. Other than a few scattered ranches this was the extent of settlement when prospectors began to emerge on the scene.

It appears that prospectors converged on the area from two directions. A group had arrived in Snyderville in 1869, made their camp nearby, and began prospecting the foothills and canyons around the settlement. At almost the same time, miners from the camp at Alta, on the western slope of the Wasatch Range, crossed the summit and began searching the district for silver and gold.[42]

Records do not indicate who made the first discovery, but the earliest claims that are on record are ones filed by Rufus Walker and Ephriam Hanks.[43] Other discoveries were soon made and before long the area was being combed by numerous prospectors.

However, it was not until 1872 that the most important discovery was made. In the spring of that year, Rector Steen discovered the Ontario silver lode, which started Park City on its way to becoming one of the most noted mining camps in the West.

In the meantime, a number of the miners had located their tents along Silver Creek near where it forked at Deer

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[42]George A. Thompson and Fraiser Buck, Treasure Mountain Home: A Centennial History of Park City (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1968), p. 5.

[43]Boutwell, Geology and Ore Deposits of the Park City District, Utah, p. 19.

Valley. This camp was able to obtain supplies of lumber and food in Snyderville and it was not long before tents were replaced by log cabins and rough board shacks.[44]

The site of the camp was alongside a wagon trail that led up the mountain to various claims. That summer a new road, much wider and straighter than the old, was completed. Not long after the new roadway was built log cabins, stores, shops and saloons lined it and the camp began to take on the appearance of a town.[45]

George Snyder built the first house and gave the town of Park City its name. Soon a general store and Post Office made their appearances. These were followed by a butcher shop, blacksmith shop and livery stable in the summer of 1872. Almost every passing week new businesses were built with saloons outnumbering them all.

Despite the progress and growth of the town, it had not been surveyed nor had title to the land been secured from the government. Three newcomers to the settlement that summer, D. C. McLaughlin, F. A. Nims and J. W. Mason, made plans to purchase the townsite and sell lots. McLaughlin made a survey while Nims made formal application to the government for the townsite.[46] In the meantime Mason tried to get rid of the squatters and discouraged others from settling on

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[44]Thompson and Buck, Treasure Mountain Home, p. 18.

[45]Ibid., p. 20.

[46]Ibid., p. 27.

the land until they had gotten title to it. They encountered trouble when J. L. Streets, who owned the butcher shop, started a law suit to halt the townsite application. All was straightened out when Streets lost his suit and the application for the site was approved. The entire area of the community was sold by the government to the three partners and they immediately began to sell lots.[47]

The history of Park City is indeed a history of the success and failure of its mines. As one author has said: ". . . its history is a story of people and of mines inextricably intertwined until it is difficult to separate the threads."[48] More specifically, the history of the city's first 15 years is the story of the Ontario Silver Mining Company.[49]

After Steen had discovered the Ontario lode he sold it to George Hearst of San Francisco for $27,000. This brought outside capital and influence into Park City and was a major impetus in bringing other fortune seekers to the town.

Thousands of dollars were spent trying to develop various claims in the district and even though small ore shipments were made, it was nothing to compare to the Ontario. By 1874 the Ontario was producing $14,000 per week while the

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[47]Ibid.

[48]William McPhee, "Vignettes of Park City," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 28 (1960), p. 137.

[49]Thompson and Buck, Treasure Mountain Home, p. 21.

entire camp was only producing $20,000 per week.[50] It was estimated that the one shaft already dug had ore in it valued at over a million dollars. In 1876, the Ontario Company was incorporated with $10,000,000 worth of stock. At that time work had begun on the number two shaft and the mine employed 150 men. It was the largest annual producer in the territory.[51]

Most of the mines of the district were beset with drainage problems and the Ontario was no different. After the shafts were sunk to about 600 feet, water was usually encountered. To conquer this, drain tunnels were dug connecting the shaft, but they did not completely solve the problem. Officials of the Ontario Company decided to build a huge pump which would be able to pump water from below 600 feet to the surface. The size of the pump which was built is hard to comprehend, but it solved the drainage problem for the company. It was able to pump 2,560 gallons a minute, 153,600 an hour and almost 4,000,000 a day.[52] The pump allowed the Ontario to mine depths once thought impossible and added jobs and stability to Park City.

The first mining company to give the Ontario any competition was the Cresent Mining Company in 1883. Col.

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[50]Arrington, "Abundance from the Earth: The Beginnings of Commercial Mining in Utah," p. 214.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Thompson and Buck, Treasure Mountain Home, p. 39.

E. P. Ferry was able to consolidate claims on Pinion ridge and the Cresent was born. It provided monthly dividends in May, August and October in 1883 of $60,000; and in November of that same year $150,000.[53] Still, it did not come close to the Ontario's production.

Meanwhile, the Daly West Mining Company was started. It was to become the second largest producing mine in Park City. John Daly, who worked for Ontario, got the notion that its ore extended to the west. He soon learned that the ground to the west of the mine had not been claimed and he quietly acquired 24 claims. He struck ore and was quickly able to pay the entire cost of development and operation.

The next significant development came when the Woodside strike was made. It proved to be one of the very few places in the district where an ore vein was exposed on the surface. It turned out to be a real bonanza, but it was soon placed in the background when the Silver King strike occurred.

Thomas Kearns, who was to become a senator and leading citizen of Utah, came to Park City in the late 1880's. He obtained employment at the Ontario and began to prospect in his spare time. He was able to join with others in purchasing the Mayflower claim. Development followed and ore was produced. When they found that the ore vein they were

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[53] Ibid.

working dipped into the adjacent Silver King claim, they purchased it in 1892. It became a significant producer and was the only mining company that was able to continue production during the silver decline in 1893.

Despite competition the Ontario remained Park City's, and the state's largest producer. By 1904 the Ontario had yielded 37,619,047 ounces of silver and paid dividends of $13,939,950.[54]

Few of the people of Park City who made fortunes in mining left their wealth for the benefit of the town. Most of them invested their earnings in Salt Lake City and many of the old mansions which stand on South Temple Street (in the early 1900's this was called Millionares' row) are monuments to the fortunes made in Park City.[55]

The condition of the Ontario brought many inquiries concerning business openings in the town. More new homes and business buildings were erected along the main road. Many miners came to Park City without their families, but sent for them later. The homes, churches and schools that they built became stabilizing influences in the community (Figures 22 and 23).[56]

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[54]Boutwell, Geology and Ore Deposits of the Park City District, Utah, p. 139.

[55]McPhee, "Vignettes of Park City," p. 143.

[56]Ibid., p. 139.

Figure 22

Present day Park City looking north. Photo by the author.

Figure 23

Park City in the 1890's. C.R. Savage photograph courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.

In 1875 the Ontario Mine Company built the first school in Park City. This was followed in 1879 by a free school and after that by St. Marys Catholic School. Education was important to the citizens and by 1887 there were 500 students enrolled in all schools.[57]

An important boom to the city came in 1880 when mining officials and civic leaders from Salt Lake joined in forming the Utah Eastern Railroad Company. Even the Mormon Church joined the venture because of the monopoly the Union Pacific had in supplying coal to Salt Lake. The company planned to build a railroad from Coalville to Park City and then to Salt Lake, a distance of about 35 miles (Figure 1).[58]

The line, completed only from Coalville to Park City, did not benefit the Mormon Church as planned. For the mining companies in Park City, the railroad meant that they could ship ore directly rather than transferring it by way of freight wagons to the rails in Coalville; consequently, it created a savings in time and money. Another significant aspect for the town was that coal was able to be shipped from Coalville to supply fuel for the residents as well as the mining companies.

It was not until 1890 that the Utah Central built a railroad line up Parley's Canyon to Park City. This gave the

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[57]Thompson and Buck, Treasure Mountain Home, p. 79.

[58]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 347.

mining companies direct access to smelters in Salt Lake City. It also provided a means for supplies to reach Park City faster and cheaper than previously had been the case.

Park City was not incorporated until 1880.[59] As part of the incorporation, a plat was drawn of the city by Charles Brooks (Figure 24). The city also began movements such as the organization of a waterworks company and the surveying of new side streets. The blocks on these streets were the same size as the original ones, i.e., 400 x 170 feet. The streets were relatively narrow; 50 feet for those running north and south and only 30 feet for those running at right angles.

In 1881 the Rocky Mountain Bell Telephone Company installed 60 telephones in the city. It was the third city in Utah, to have telephone service, after Salt Lake City and Ogden. The telephone was preceded by a newspaper, the Park Record, which began publication in February, 1880. Furthermore, in 1889 the Park City Light, Heat and Power Company was organized and the city was one of the first in Utah to receive electricity.

The population of Park City was a conglomerate of Irish, Cornish, English, Scots, Chinese and Scandinavian. It has been estimated that the population in the 1870's reached 3,000 and

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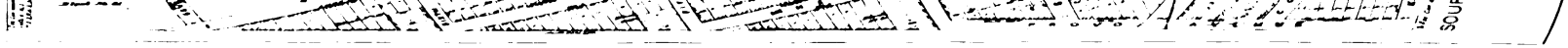
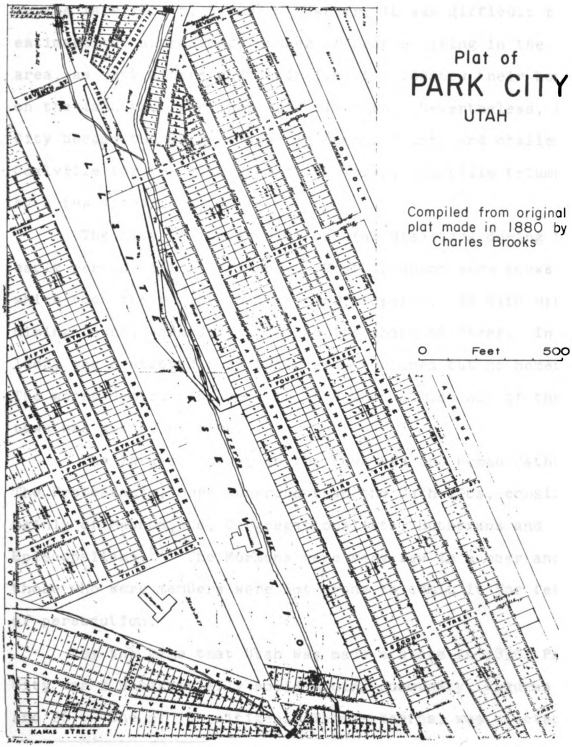
[59]There appears to be a disagreement on the date of incorporation between Thompson and Buck and McPhee. McPhee claims it occurred in 1880 whereas Thompson and Buck claim 1884. However, the 1880 date corresponds with the records in the Summit County Recorders Office.





SOURCE: Summit County Recorder's Office

Figure 24

in the late 1880's, 5,000.[60] However, it was difficult to estimate the approximate number of people living in the area, as many miners and their families located their homes on the land that they had laid claim to. Nevertheless, Park City became the largest town in Summit County and challenged Coalville for the county seat. However, Coalville triumphed by a few votes.

The city was beset with natural disasters during the early period of its existence. Most frequent were snowslides which took their toll in lives and property. As with other mining towns, Park City also had its share of fires. In 1882, one destroyed four business structures but no homes. The worst destruction came in 1898 when almost all of the town was gutted by fire.

The largest church in the town was the Roman Catholic. The Protestants, more numerous than the Catholics, consisted mainly of Methodists, Congregationalists, Lutherans and Episcopalians.[61] The Mormons were very few in number and those who were members were not prone to admit it for fear of persecution.

By the time that Utah was made a state in 1896, Park City was a substantially solid mining community (Figures 25 and 26). One of its citizens, Thomas Kearns, was elected as

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[60]Thompson and Buck, Treasure Mountain Home, p. 45.

[61]McPhee, "Vignettes of Park City," p. 149.

Figure 25

Park City in the 1890's. Courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.

Figure 26

Park City in 1896. Courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.

a senator to congress at the turn of the century. With the election of Kearns the Gentiles made inroads into Mormon political control, Park City being instrumental in creating the financial base for such progress.

THE DENVER AND RIO GRANDE WESTERN RAILROAD AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF COAL MINING

Although the leaders of the Mormon Church had discouraged the members from mining gold and silver, they had encouraged them to search for iron ore and coal. On all the exploring missions organized by the Church the search for these two minerals was taken as seriously as was the search for areas favorable for settlement. One of the early problems that the Mormons faced was the shortage of timber for fuel in the valley of the Great Salt Lake. Timber on the slopes of the Wasatch Range was available but it had to be hauled from the hills and supply was not adequate for the increasing number of Mormons. Brigham recognized this limitation and offered $100 to the first person who discovered coal within a 40 mile radius of Salt Lake City. Discoveries were soon made just outside the radius at Coalville and Wales in central Utah.

Before the coming of the railroad, coal from these areas was freighted to Salt Lake on wagons. With the completion of the railroad through Echo Canyon, which was only a few miles north of Coalville, the coal was then shipped to Salt Lake City by the Union Pacific. However, the Union

Pacific began to ship coal from their mines in Rock Springs, Wyoming, and charged high rates for shipment of coal from Coalville. Even with the Union Pacific, coal prices were high and supplies uncertain.[62]

In 1871, the Mormons built what they hoped would become a branch line of the Union Pacific from Echo Canyon to Coalville. This new railroad line was supposed to "free the citizens from the clutches of the Union Pacific." However, the coal had to be transferred at Echo to the Union Pacific tracks and then again at Ogden to the Utah Central tracks. The Union Pacific, not wanting to relinquish its hold on the lucrative Salt Lake coal market, retaliated by hiking coal rates from Echo to Ogden to prohibitive levels.[63] Salt Lake City was once again in the grips of the Union Pacific and the company reigned supreme in Utah's coal industry for more than ten years.[64] It was not until the building of the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad, completed in 1822, that Salt Lake City would be free from the Union Pacific monopoly.

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[62]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 276.

[63]Ibid.

[64]Thomas G. Alexander, "From Dearth to Deluge: Utah's Coal Industry," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 31 (1963), p. 237.

The Denver and Rio Grande in Utah--The Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad began its appearance on the Utah scene with the purchase of some of the mining railroads in the territory. In 1881 the company purchased the Bingham Canyon and Camp Floyd line, as well as the Wasatch and Jordan Valley line. This consisted of a single track from Little Cottonwood Canyon directly across the valley to Bingham Canyon.[65]

The most important development for Utah came when contracts were let out for construction of the company's narrow gauge line from Salt Lake City south, and eastward to the Colorado border in the early part of 1882.[66] It was not until April of 1883 that the line was completed and made connection with Denver.

Before the road was finished much of the rich coal fields in Carbon County were just beginning to be exploited. After completing the line in Spanish Fork Canyon, the railroad soon reached Pleasant Valley where the Pleasant Valley Coal Company was just opening its properties. The mine was then able to ship coal direct to Salt Lake City and the monopoly of the Union Pacific was finally broken.

The discovery of coal in the Carbon County area had taken place in 1875 in Huntington Canyon. In 1879 the Pleasant Valley Coal Company was organized and began operations in

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[65]Sutton, Utah A Centennial History, Vol. II, p. 837.

[66]Ibid., p. 838.

Winter Quarters. News of the planned construction of the Denver and Rio Grande Western, from Salt Lake City through the area to Denver, caused intensification of the search for coal. In 1882 the Mud Creek mine and the Pleasant Valley properties were purchased by the Utah Fuel Company, a subsidiary of the Denver and Rio Grande Western. When this company entered upon the scene, efforts were expanded to find new coal veins. The Utah Fuel Company was successful in its search. There were numerous small finds but the most important were the Sunnyside No. 1 and the Sunnyside No. 2, which were discovered in 1890 and 1899 respectively.

The building of the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad in Utah had two economic effects on the state. First, it opened up the coal fields of Carbon County and created low coal prices as well as adequate supplies. Secondly, the Rio Grande ended the monopoly on interstate traffic of the Union Pacific.[67]

More important to this study, however, is the fact that the railroad brought an increase in the number of non-Mormon settlements in the state. The discovery and development of the coal fields of Carbon County brought about the establishment of communities near the mines. Few of these settlements came within the period of this study and they will not be examined. However, it would be significant to

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[67] Ibid., p. 840.

mention the few that were established before 1896.

One such community, Helper, began as a result of the railroad (Figure 1). North of the present community of Price, Helper started when it was discovered that a "helper" engine was needed to pull trains up the long grade to the summit of the Wasatch Range. In 1883 the Rio Grande purchased the right-of-way at Helper from Teancum Pratt, a Mormon, who had homesteaded the area. Soon homes were built to house some of the railroad workers and the company even built a church and Y.M.C.A.

Other settlements, such as Sunnyside and Draggerton, were built by the Utah Fuel Company and were considered company towns (Figure 1). However, these came into existence around the turn of the century. Significantly then, the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad and its subsidiary, the Utah Fuel Company, were instrumental in creating another phase of non-Mormon settlement in Utah.

POLYGAMY--THE WHIPPING BOY

The conflicts between the Mormons and non-Mormons that had begun with the appointment of Gentile officials to territorial offices of Utah in the early 1850's, continued throughout the period from 1869 to 1896. One author, writing about the Mormon-Gentile conflict had this to say:

> The decade of the sixties, then, was distinctly an era of denomination conflict and combat in the local arena, the clashes being marked by rancor, bitter altercation,

> and fierce denunciation. A head on collision between the discordant elements was always iminent. It was though the thread of controversy had been picked up where it had been dropped when the Saints abandoned the field in Nauvoo. These animosities and distinctions permeated business, society, politics as well as religion. Human nature being as it was, doubtless some tilting was necessary to secure subsequent readjustment of the broad platform of concession, compromise and mutual toleration. That these issues should be carefully nursed and prolonged into the Seventies and Eighties was of course deplorable and unpardonable.[68]

The greatest clamor came as a direct result of the Mormon practice of polygamy. In effect, it was to become the whipping boy in the conflict.

Although polygamy was practiced by the Mormons in Illinois, it was not officially proclaimed as a doctrine of the church until 1852, some five years after they had arrived in the Great Basin. From the time that it was procalimed a doctrine, there was public disfavor over the practice. Up to 1862, however, the controversy centered around the constitutionality, sociality and religious justification of polygamy.[69] After 1862 the issue became one of following the law because the Anti-Bigamy Act of that year prevented the practice of polygamy. What had been socially permissible and merely a matter of private opinion, now became a serious offense and even a criminal one. Little or no effort was made to enforce this law,

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[68]Neff, History of Utah, p. 865.

[69]Ibid., p. 865.

however, mainly because the Mormons, as well as some lawyers, editors and statesmen throughout the country, considered it unconstitutional.

In 1882 Congress passed another "anti-bigamy" bill. It was named the Edmunds Act and called for:

> Every person who has a husband or wife living in a Territory or other place over which the United States have exclusive jurisdiction, hereafter marries another whether married or single, and any man who hereafter simultaneously, or in the same day, marries more than one woman, in a Territory or other place..., is guilty of polygamy, and shall be punished by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars and by imprisonment for a term of not more than five years....[70]

The act went even further when it defined cohabitation with a polygamous wife as a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not to exceed $300, by imprisonment not to exceed six months, or both.[71]

The law was slow to function until 1884 when Rudger Clawson, a leader of the Mormons, was convicted of polygamy. Basing his defense on the Constitution, which read "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or interfering with the free exercise thereof" Clawson appealed to the Supreme Court. This appeal was denied and almost immediately officials commenced the systematic and intense prosecution of Mormons who were practicing polygamy.

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[70]Edmunds Act, 22 Stat., p. 30 (1882).

[71]Ibid.

From 1884 to 1893 there were 1,004 convictions for unlawful cohabitation and another 31 for polygamy.[72] All of these convictions took place in spite of the church's effort to send its leaders "underground." The Edmunds law was still unable to force a change in the position of the church. Congress then moved to increase the pressure and on February 19, 1887, adopted the Edmunds-Tucker Act. This law amended the 1862 law as follows:

1. The corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was dissolved.

2. The Perpetual Emigrating Company was dissolved.

3. The act also abolished women suffrage in Utah, disinherited children of plural marriages and made it compulsory for voters to take a "test oath" to ban polygamists from voting, holding office, or serving on juries.[73]

This act was a direct bid to destroy the temporal power of the Mormon Church and the Congressional leaders had reasoned that the Church would have to yield on the principle of polygamy or suffer destruction as an organization of power and influence.[74] Church leaders took the stand that several points of the act were unconstitutional. They declared that they could not revoke polygamy; only God could

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[72]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 360.

[73]Edmunds-Tucker Act, 24 Stat., pp. 635-639 (1887).

[74]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 361.

do it if He so desired and it would be done by revelation to the President of the church.[75]

In anticipation of the passage of Edmunds-Tucker Act the church leaders secretly decided to place church properties in the hands of individuals and congregations. The sword fell on the church the day following the funeral of President John Taylor, who had replaced Brigham Young as the President of the church. In July of 1887 the United States Attorney for Utah started a suit in the Supreme Court of the Territory to recover all of the property held by the church in excess of $50,000 and to formally dissolve the Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.[76]

The court appointed Frank H. Dyer, United States Marshall in Utah, as a receiver of the properties of the church. These properties were to be held by Dyer until a decision had been made on the case. Involved in the surrender to the receiver, was property amounting to $807,000 and cash amounting to $239,266.

The decision was handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States on May 19, 1890. It was in favor of the Edmunds-Tucker Act in that Congress did have the power to legislate directly for local governments and it also had the right to seize the property of the church.

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[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid., p. 365.

The major effect of this decision was the church "Manifesto" which proclaimed an end to performance of plural marriage. In making the decision Wilford Woodruff, successor to John Taylor, wrote in his journal: "I have arrived at a point in my life as the president of the Church . . . where I am under the necessity of acting for the temporal salvation of the church."[77]

The announcement came as a shock to some members of the church but in a general conference on October 8, 1890, the congregation unanimously sustained this declaration as authoritative and binding.

Officially then, the Mormon church had outlawed polygamy and in one fell swoop had taken from the non-Mormons their whipping boy. For now the Gentiles had no valid complaints against the Mormons.

> But it was even more of a shock to the enemies of the Church. President Woodruff had literally pulled the rug out from under them. Now they had no rallying cry on which to build their cause for political ambition. So deep-rooted was their prejudice that they refused to believe the President's action.[78]

The Manifesto enabled the Mormons to achieve the goal of statehood, which had been denied them for over 40 years.

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[77]Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Century I, VI, p. 220.

[78]Gordon B. Hinckley, James Henry Moyle (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1951), pp. 210-211.

Six years after the Manifesto was issued Utah was admitted to the Union as the 45th state. Even to be finally admitted to the Union the Mormons were supposed to have made a "deal" with the congressional and administration leaders that they would support a proposition to prohibit forever the practice of polygamy in Utah; that the church would discontinue its alleged fight against Gentile business and relax its own economic efforts.[79]

Perhaps the most significant factor of these events was the reduced friction between the Mormons and Gentiles. Now both parties began working for the benefit of the State and few conflicts arose between the two thereafter.

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[79]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 379.

CHAPTER IV

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MORMON AND NON-MORMON SETTLEMENT

The motives the Mormons had for settling in Utah are, for the most part, much different than the reasons for non-Mormon movement into the area. The Mormons wanted a home where they could practice their religion and rear their children without the threat of persecution. On the other hand, a large number of the Gentiles that settled in Utah were motivated economically.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

From such a diversity of purpose it would stand to reason that there would be a wide gulf of differences between Mormon and non-Mormon settlement. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that there are few similarities. Perhaps the only similarity was the environment that both groups had to contend with.

An analysis of Utah's environment reveals that the settlers had to combat a major problem: the shortage of water. No matter if it were a Mormon or Gentile settlement, water was an immediate need, but to the Mormons it was a

greater concern because of their agricultural economy. The lack of precipitation and the distance between streams that flowed from the mountains made it necessary for Brigham Young to have large areas of land explored for expansion.[1]

It was the usual practice of the Mormons to divert some of these streams, causing them to run through the settlement and provide water for drinking as well as irrigation purposes. Not only in Mormon towns were ditches dug to run water to the settlement, but it was also the case in Stockton, the first non-Mormon community. The proprietors of the town constructed a ditch seven miles long. This brought water from the mountains to the east of the city to be used for drinking and industrial purposes.[2]

Another environmental factor which created a problem for Mormon and non-Mormons alike was the sparsity of timber. Except for the mountain slopes the western part of Utah was devoid of trees that could be used for building purposes. The story is told that when the Mormons first entered the Salt Lake Valley there was only one tree growing in it. Regardless of the truth of the above statement, it was a fact that timber had to be hauled considerable distances from the mountains to the settlements. Even some of the

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[1]Ricks, "Forms and Methods of Early Mormon Settlement in Utah," p. 32.

[2]Daily Union Vedette, July 13, 1864.

non-Mormon mining communities in the Wasatch Mountains, where timber was plentiful, had their problems. Park City had to ship coal from the Coalville area when the surrounding hills became stripped of timber. Because of the sparsity of timber adobe was a popular material for building during the early period of Mormon settlement.

Two environmental problems which faced the Mormons, but not so much the non-Mormons, were the quality of soil and Indian relations. The area at the base of the Wasatch Mountains became the focal point of Mormon settlement.[3] West of this strip most of the land was too highly impregnated with salt for agriculture.[4] To the east many of the "back valleys" of the Wasatch Range had too short a growing season for most agricultural crops. Consequently, Mormon settlement mainly extended north and south of the Salt Lake Valley.

The Indians, who occupied much of the land upon which the Mormons settled, proved to be less of a barrier than they usually formed in the colonization of the American frontier.[5] A number of reasons accounted for this success: (1) Mormons considered the Indians to be "children of God,"[6] (2) Brigham Young announced that "it is cheaper to feed the

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[3]For a discussion of this oasis see: Mark Jefferson, "The Oasis at the Foot of the Wasatch," Geographical Review Vol. I (1916), pp. 346-358.

[4]Ricks, "Forms and Methods of Early Mormon Settlement in Utah," p. 33.

[5]Ibid., p. 34.

[6]The Book of Mormon contains an account of the descent of the Indians in which they are alleged to be descended from the Israelites.

Indians than to fight them," and (3) Young established agencies and Indian farms to promote friendly realtions.[7]

Despite these overtures the Mormons were not without Indian problems. The main outbreak occurred in southern Utah in 1867 and was known as the Black Hawk War. Consequently, during the early periods of Mormon settlement almost every village that was established was enclosed by a protective wall.

The Gentiles were not bothered by either of these last two environmental concerns: Indians or soil. First, their economic pursuit was not agriculture, and secondly, their settlement came after most of the Indian problems had been settled and they did not come into direct contact with the Indians as the Mormons did.

Mormon Settlement--Mormon village settlement was patterned after the plan of the "City of Zion," (Figure 5). This plan called for the village to be laid out on a grid pattern with streets running north-south and east-west. The streets were very wide, eight rods, and the blocks contained from five to ten acres. One or more blocks were reserved for public buildings. Each block was divided into one acre or more and drawings were held among the settlers for each lot. A home, livestock shelters and barns were erected on the lot.

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[7]Ricks, "Forms and Methods of Early Mormon Settlement in Utah," pp. 34-35.

The farming land was located surrounding the village and no outbuildings were permitted on the land. The usual case was to establish a "Big Field" which was divided into lots from five to 20 acres depending on the number of colonists and the amount of arable land.[8] The lots in the field were distributed among the settlers on the basis of a drawing. No family was permitted to draw more lots than any of the other settlers, thus eliminating land manipulation.[9] The lots that were not taken in the drawing were reserved for newcomers who were admitted to the community on the same terms as the original settlers.[10] Also, in several communities, the colonists agreed to give up equal portions of their allotments to incoming immigrants.[11] Thus the survival and growth of each Mormon settlement was dependent upon the maximum use of available land and water resources. Therefore, speculative withholding of land from use was prohibited by the people.[12]

Another unique feature of Mormon settlement was the cooperative effort of the settlers. All of the farming land was fenced by cooperative effort so that crops could be

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[8]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 90.

[9]Lowry Nelson, "Early Land Holding Practices in Utah and Problems Arising from Them," Journal of Farm Economics, Vol. IX (1947), p. 354.

[10]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 90.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid.

protected from the livestock. The area outside of the farming land was designated as common pasture. Livestock would be led from the town lots in the early morning to the pasture by "herd boys." At night the "herd boys" would drive the cattle back into town to their owners.[13]

The villagers also cooperated in digging irrigation canals and ditches that would carry water to the farm land. For their efforts the settlers held shares which entitled them to use of the water for a certain period of time each week.

The organization of the colonizing effort of the Mormons was an important factor in the settlement process. Land and water in the Great Basin was scarce, yet the cooperative effort of the Mormons, as well as their settlement plan, resulted in their taming the arid environment.

Non-Mormon Settlement--The non-Mormon communities of Stockton, Corinne and Park City provide a general view of overall non-Mormon settlement in Utah. Two types of Gentile towns dominated: the mining community and the railroad town. Stockton and Park City were established as mining settlements and Corinne as a railroad town. The specific purposes for the formation of these settlements were far different from the objectives of Mormon village settlement.

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[13]Ibid., p. 91.

Stockton represented the origin of Gentile settlement. It was the first mining town in the west that was surveyed and settled in an organized pattern. Its unique features were its wide strees; the main ones being 100 feet in width. Perhaps the wide streets of Salt Lake City, which was established some 17 years before Stockton, provided some impetus to Colonel Connor and the other founders when they planned the city. The records of Tooele County indicate that Connor and John Paxton controlled a major portion of the lots in Stockton. Lots changed hands often and much speculation and manipulation took place.

The physical features around the city also played a role in its form. On the west the town extended to the boundary of the United States Reserve set up by Colonel Stephoe in 1854. The eastern boundary ran along the foothills of the town. The U.S. Reserve and the gravel bar on the west, as well as the foothills on the east gave the settlement a linear pattern (Figure 6).

The other mining town, Park City, originated like most of the mining camps and towns in the West. Many miners had already settled on the site on a first come, first choice basis. There was no organization until the town was plotted and surveyed a year later. Speculation and land manipulation was not uncommon. The surrounding physical features of Park City had a direct influence on the shape of the community, and expansion took place in linear fashion because of the narrowness of the valley (Figure 19).

The streets of the town even reflected this closed-in feeling. Main street was the widest being 50 feet in width, but all the other streets were only 30 feet. The blocks also were much smaller than those in the typical Mormon village, measuring 400 x 170 feet. Lots were also much smaller, 30 x 90 feet, but sufficient for a home and small yard.

The third community, Corinne, was established as a result of the railroad. The Union Pacific surveyed the town and sold most of the lots. The plot of the settlement was much different than the Mormon village. Corinne's blocks were 264 x 280 feet and the lots measured 22 x 132 feet. Its site played an important part in the plan and expansion of the town. The Bear River on the north, east and south prevented expansion of the city in those directions.

The streets were patterned after the grid, running almost north-south and east-west. Again, as with the other communities, the width of the streets were much less than those found in Mormon settlements.

In all three non-Mormon settlements the blocks, lots and streets were significantly smaller than those of the Mormon village. Almost all Mormon settlements were established as agricultural communities. In the Great Basin area it was essential to make wise use of the scarce resources of soil and water. Their nucleated settlements had sufficient room on the town lots to build livestock shelters and barns,

and the Mormons left the land surrounding the settlement free from buildings. The separation of areas of residence from arable lands resulted in a more advantageous utilization of the land.[14]

The functions of the three Gentile settlements were different from the Mormon settlements. Park City and Stockton originated because of mineral discoveries while Corinne was established as a railroad town, and this was paramount in causing the differences between them and Mormon settlements.

Essentially the Gentile settlements had few similarities with the typical Mormon village. The Mormons moved into an area that previously had little penetration by other white men; consequently, self-sufficiency was necessary. On the other hand, the Gentiles moved into an area already occupied and their communities did not have to be self-supporting.

An analysis, however, of the cultural impact and distribution of both types of settlement reveals some surprising inroads made by the non-Mormons. It also reveals the spatial extent and control of the Mormons over much of the Intermountain West.

CULTURAL IMPACT AND DISTRIBUTION OF MORMON SETTLEMENT

It is apparent from the extensive colonization program carried out by the Mormons that they exerted a cultural

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[14]Nelson, The Mormon Village, p. 53.

influence on a large part of the Western United States. Even today there is a definite "Mormon Culture Region."[15]

The Mormons hoped to find in the Great Basin an area which could be made predominately Mormon and where they would no longer be a persecuted minority group.[16] The area which they hoped to occupy eventually was delimited by the boundaries of their proposed "State of Deseret" (Figure 27). Two years after their movement into the West they presented an application for statehood, but it was rejected. The proposed state encompassed all of the drainage basin of the Colorado River, the area of interior drainage within the Great Basin, and lower part of southern California.

Around the periphery of the proposed state the Mormons soon established a number of outposts which were physical evidences of their intention to dominate the area (Figure 27). The most important of these outposts was San Bernardino. In 1855 it was a thriving town of 1400 Mormons and seat of the Mormon county of San Bernardino. Its main purpose was to establish a foothold upon the Pacific Coast as a portal of immigration for converts from Europe.[17]

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[15]For an excellent discussion of this region see Donald W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. LV (June, 1965), pp. 191-220.

[16]George F. Brightman, "The Boundaries of Utah," Economic Geography, Vol.XVI (1940), p. 87.

[17]Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region," p. 200.

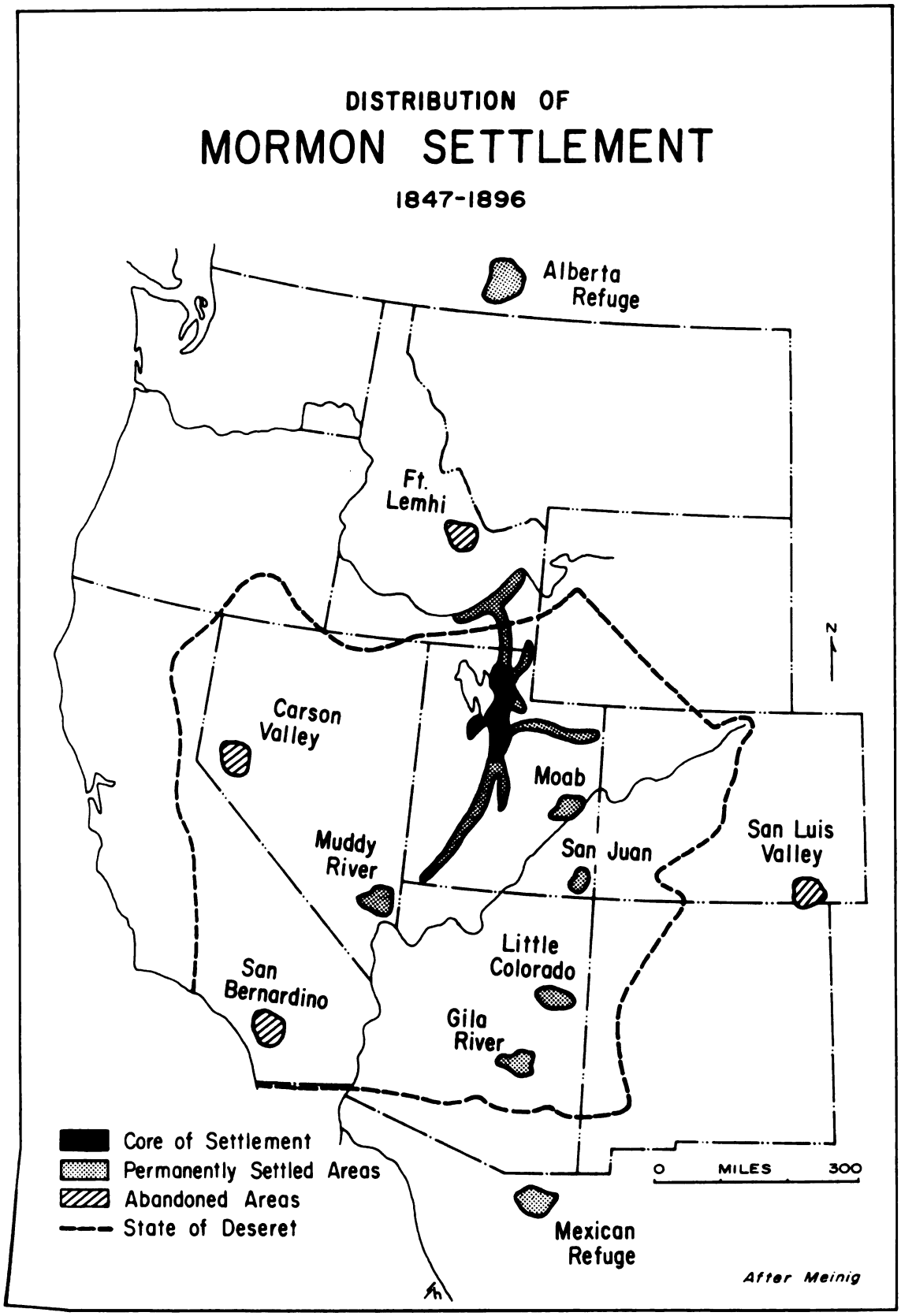
DISTRIBUTION OF
MORMON SETTLEMENT
1847-1896
Alberta Refuge
Ft. Lemhi
Carson Valley
Moab
Muddy River
San Juan
San Luis Valley
Little Colorado
San Bernardino
Gila River
Mexican Refuge
N
0 MILES 300
Core of Settlement
Permanently Settled Areas
Abandoned Areas
State of Deseret
After Meinig

Figure 27

The problem with the Mormons trying to settle such a large area was that there were few places where farming could be carried on by irrigation. The most favorable area was the Salt Lake Oasis which became the core of Mormon settlement.

Another favorable area was Carson Valley (Nevada), located along the eastern base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains (Figure 27). Here a Mormon trading post was established in 1851. By 1857 there were nearly a thousand Mormons in the area.[18] However, Carson Valley, San Bernardino and other outposts were lost when the settlers were recalled to Salt Lake City in 1858 because of a federal army marching on Utah.

Other outposts were eventually opened extending their culture area even farther. By 1877 areas in Arizona and Colorado were settled by Mormon pioneers (Figure 27). Even later in the 1880's Mormons fleeing from government arrest for polygamy established settlements in southern Canada and northern Mexico.

Before the Mormons could gain control Gentiles began moving in and applying pressure to the Mormons. The result was the concentration of Mormon control and impact on the landscape to Utah and fringe areas of the surrounding states.

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[18]Brightman, "The Boundaries of Utah," p. 90.

The real core of the Mormon region was the Wasatch Oasis. This eventually became the population center of the state and at the present 70% of the inhabitants are Mormon.

One important factor that bound Mormons together was their implicit faith in Brigham Young. This created a unique cooperative attitude throughout the Mormon empire. Therefore, when the settlement of a village occurred it was through cooperative effort. The fact that the Mormons were a united group was a paramount factor in their creating a culture region.

This cooperative attitude revealed itself in many projects. The Church planned and built a telegraph system that connected Salt Lake City with almost all Mormon settlements in Utah. Other cooperative projects were a wholesale merchandising concern with hundreds of retail outlets, a sugar company and many others which helped to maintain economic and cultural control over Utah during the 1800's.[19]

In order to further strengthen Mormon control in the late 1860's and 1870's Brigham Young instituted the United Order. Ideally it was to be an economic organization where all the people of a settlement lived equally. Everything in the village, property, businesses, etc., was owned collectively.

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[19]For a detailed discussion of economic enterprises and pursuits that the Mormon Church engaged in during the 1800's see: Leonard J. Arrington, "Mormon Economic Policies and Their Implementation on the Western Frontier, 1847-1899," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1952).

In essence it can be described as communal living. Each person in the community was expected to work and was paid according to need. The purpose was to create a self-sufficient village economy and to retard and, if possible, to prevent the development of a market-oriented economy dependent on importation and exportation.[20]

The characteristics mentioned above represented the strictest form of the United Order. In actuality it varied from community to community from the strictest form to one where all businesses were cooperatively owned, but the people retained their land holdings. Entrance was voluntary and not everyone agreed to contribute his economic property to the Order. Also it was impossible to institute this system in every settlement.

The United Order was not without problems and was phased out by 1877 except for a few settlements. Communities like Orderville[21] in southern Utah, some of the Little Colorado settlements in Arizona and a few others were able to continue until 1885 when enforcement of the Edmunds Act caused abandonment of the Order.

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[20]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 330.

[21]Orderville has been the most extensively studied of the United Order settlements. The best account is by Leonard J. Arrington, "Orderville Utah: A Pioneer Mormon Experiment in Economic Organization," Utah State Monograph Series, Vol. II, No. 2 (1954), pp. 1-44.

It was apparent that the movement was aimed at solidifying Mormon domination. Three main objectives of the Order were: (1) the need for greater economic unity to fight depression and unfriendly (Gentile) merchants, (2) the need to cut down imports and (3) the need to pool surplus capital to initiate new industries, develop new resources and establish new colonies.[22]

There are many arguments as to whether the United Order was instrumental in achieving the above goals. However, one may safely say that the United Order did promote thrift and made possible a more rapid accumulation of funds, created additional employment for the Mormons, and overall, helped to keep Utah economically independent of the rest of the nation more completely than would otherwise have been the case.[23]

The Mormon Kingdom up to 1880 had been able to maintain economic and political control throughout in Utah. However, events were shaping which would soon change the picture. Yet, up to that point in time and despite the inroads made by the Gentiles, the cultural impact of the Mormons on the landscape was overwhelmingly apparent throughout Utah.

One major event occurring in the 1880's causing the Mormons to eventually lose much of their control, both economically and politically, was the passing of legislation

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[22]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 330.

[23]Ibid., p. 82.

against polygamy. This subject has been discussed in Chapter Three and, therefore, it is sufficient to say that much of the economic power of the Church was broken by the government's enforcement of the anti-polygamy laws.

The other major development which was instrumental in causing the Mormons to lose some of their power was the rapid and increased development of mining within the state. It was from the 1880's onward that the cultural impact of the non-Mormons began to be more than just idle threats and became a powerful force in the economic and political life of Utah.

CULTURAL IMPACT AND DISTRIBUTION OF NON-MORMON SETTLEMENT

> It is one of the great fateful ironies of their history that the Mormons selected the Great Salt Lake Valley as an isolated refuge, free from that direct mingling with the Gentiles which had brought such disaster in the states, only to find themselves within two years astride the main transcontinental thoroughfare of America directly on the overland path of those heterogeneous hordes bound for the California gold fields. The successive commercial strands of the rapidly growing nation crossed the core of Mormonland: the freighting wagons, the overland mail, the pony express, the telegraph, and the railroad.[24]

Despite the fact that the Mormons were the first and dominant group to settle the Great Basin, the above statement is indicative of the rapid penetration of Gentiles into their culture area. In 1849 the first of these penetrations

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[24]Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region," p. 209.

occurred in Salt Lake City with the establishment of two non-Mormon merchandising firms: Holladay and Warner, and Livingston and Kinkead. Both were successful and had no competition from the Mormons. Ben Holladay, of the Holladay and Warner firm, became "Stagecoach King of the West" from his earnings in the Salt Lake City store.[25] It was estimated by Brigham Young that the Gentile merchants in Salt Lake City grossed approximately $500,000 between 1849 and 1852.[26]

From a few Gentiles who first set up businesses in Salt Lake City they soon increased in influence and numbers. During the period, 1850-1870, Utah's population increased from 11,380 to 86,786.[27] Gentiles were few in 1850 and by 1870 they probably did not exceed five percent of the population.[28]

Table 2 is a compilation of figures taken from the 1896 census and reveals that about 10 percent of the population of Utah was probably non-Mormon. It is difficult to determine the exact number of non-Mormons in Utah from 1847 to 1896. However, the first religious census taken in

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[25]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 81.

[26]Ibid., p. 82.

[27]United States Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population (1870).

[28]This is only an estimate and it is based on figures from the 1870 election. In that election the Peoples Party, almost all Mormon, polled 21,656 votes; whereas the Liberal Party, largely Gentile, polled 1,444 votes: Anderson, Desert Saints, p. 190.

TABLE 2

SIGNIFICANT NON-MORMON POPULATION
IN UTAH BY COUNTIES: 1890

County	Population	Church Members	Mormons	Non-Mormons	Unaccounted
Beaver	3,340	1,548	1,342	206	1,792
Cache	15,509	7,182	6,962	220	8,327
Salt Lake	58,457	27,381	23,428	3,953	31,076
Summit	7,733	4,639	2,383	2,256	3,094
Utah	23,768	19,547	19,240	307	4,221
Weber	22,723	12,501	10,351	2,150	10,222
All Counties	207,905	128,115	117,640	10,975	79,790

Source: United States Bureau of Census, United States Census of Religious Bodies (1890)

1890, despite its inadequacies, does help to give one an idea of the relative ratio of Mormons and non-Mormons.

The distribution of non-Mormon settlements in Utah is evidence of the inroads made by the Gentiles (Figure 28). An analysis of this distribution reveals two distinct patterns. First, there is a definite cluster of mining communities within a 100 mile radius of Salt Lake City. This concentration had two effects: (1) it created a more united Gentile group than might otherwise have been the case if mineral discoveries had not been in such a concentrated area, and (2) the area of contact and conflict between Mormons and

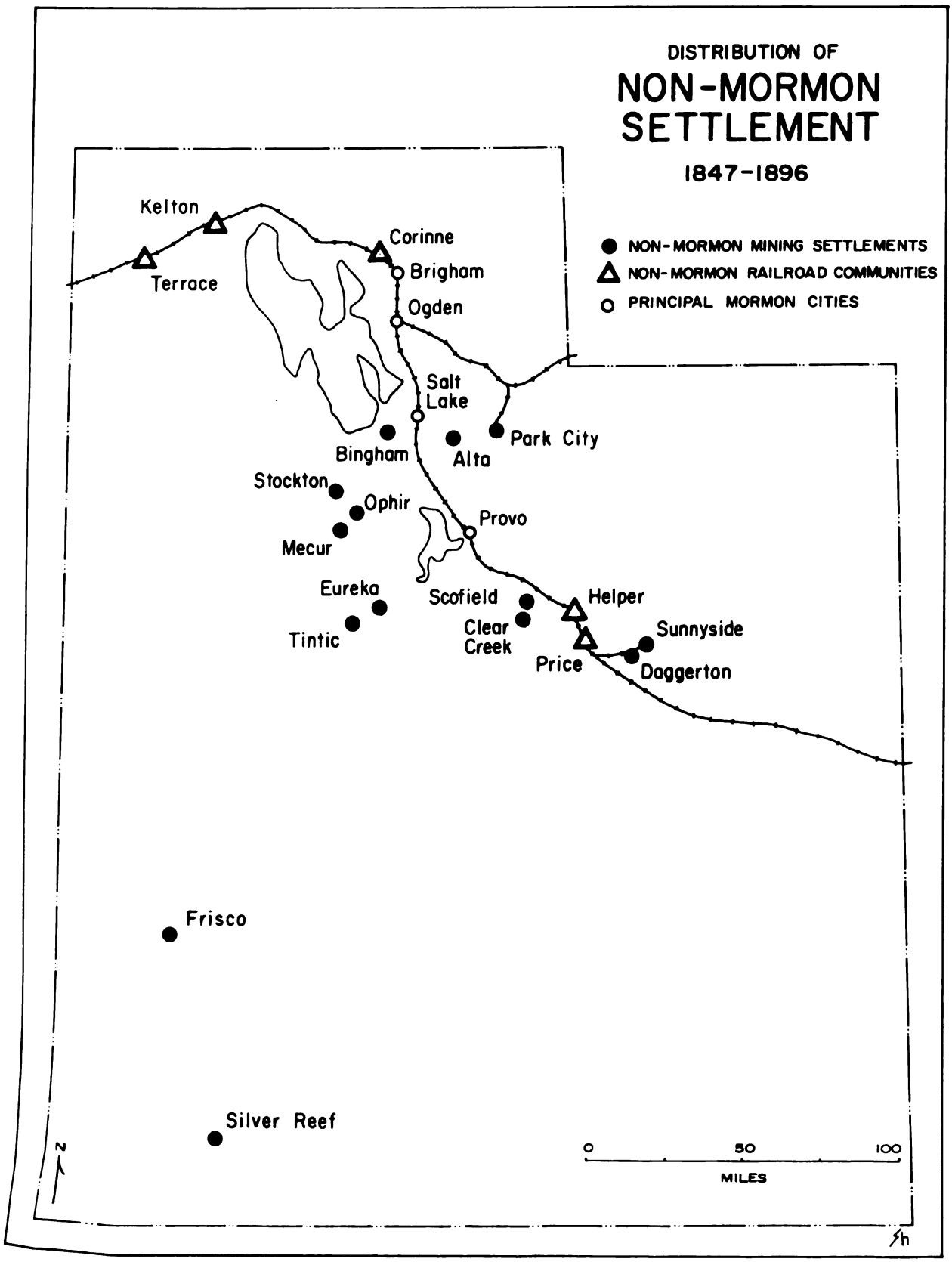
DISTRIBUTION OF
NON-MORMON
SETTLEMENT
1847-1896
NON-MORMON MINING SETTLEMENTS
NON-MORMON RAILROAD COMMUNITIES
PRINCIPAL MORMON CITIES
Kelton
Terrace
Corinne
Brigham
Ogden
Salt Lake
Bingham
Alta
Park City
Stockton
Ophir
Mecur
Provo
Eureka
Tintic
Scofield
Clear Creek
Helper
Price
Sunnyside
Daggerton
Frisco
Silver Reef
N
0
50
100
MILES

Figure 28

non-Mormons centered around Salt Lake City.[29]

Secondly, the transcontinental and the Denver and Rio Grande Western railroads became Gentile swaths cutting through the Mormon region.[30] Both railroads prompted new non-Mormon settlements (Figure 28). In particular, the Denver and Rio Grande Western was not only instrumental in causing railroad towns like Helper to be established, but also most of the coal mining towns along its route.

Important factors that helped to attract Gentiles to the Mormon culture realm were the establishment of the army garrison at Fort Douglas, the coming of the railroad and the development of mining. However, the most significant development of non-Mormon settlement came as a result of the combination of the railroad and development of mining.

One way to indicate the impact that non-Mormon settlements had on Utah is to analyze the political and economic intrusions made by the Gentiles. Prior to 1865 the opposition of the Gentiles to the Mormons was more verbal than anything else, but as a result of the railroad and mineral developments after that date the non-Mormons became a substantive force in the economic and political life of Utah.

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[29]Brightman, in his article "The Boundaries of Utah," has suggested that if the conflict had not centered upon Salt Lake and instead on periphery areas of the state the boundaries of Utah would have been much different. He also claims that the concentration of non-Mormon mining communities near Salt Lake strengthened the Wasatch Oasis as an agricultural core.

[30]Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region," p. 211.

One reason for the increase in Gentile opposition was the establishment of Corinne. Prior to 1870 there was no organized political party that opposed the Mormons. The impetus for the first Gentile political party, called the Liberal Party, came as a result of Corinne.

In 1870 a few members of the Mormon church, under the leadership of William Godbe, became dissatisfied with the church's economic policy. In 1869 the group was excommunicated from the church. In February of 1870 this small group, along with federal officers and other Gentiles, held a convention to nominate candidates for Salt Lake City offices. However, an unfriendly mob disrupted the meeting and no nominations were made.

The party then approached the citizens of Corinne to gain their support. At that time Corinne refused to give its support claiming that the movement was a church affair and not a political issue.[31] Despite these warnings the Godbeites remained a part of the party. On July 16, 1870 the party held a convention in Corinne to nominate a candidate to congress. The convention split into two groups: the Salt Lake City Gentiles who supported their own candidate and the Corinne faction who supported theirs. The Salt Lake City group prevailed and the candidate was entered in the August election. The Liberal Party was overwhelmingly

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[31]Utah Daily Reporter, August 10, 1870.

defeated even though Corinne supplied nearly 60% of the total Party vote.[32]

The convention of 1872 was also held in Corinne, but the leadership of the Party came from the Salt Lake City Gentiles. However, the results of the election justified the leadership because the Salt Lake City Gentiles cast about ten times as many votes as did Corinne.[33]

From 1872 on Corinne's significance as a political power began to decline. The town's inability to develop into a thriving economic city manifested itself in the political arena as well. Nevertheless, Corinne made some cultural contributions.

The Gentile movement to establish free public schools in Utah received its greatest support from the city of Corinne.[34] Very early in the life of the community plans were made for schools which were to be founded as free public institutions maintained by taxation.[35] Finally, in 1872 Corinne city officials organized and began the first free public school in Utah.

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[32]Salt Lake Herald, August 3, 1870.

[33]Jameson, "Corinne: A Study of a Freight Transfer Point in the Montana Trade, 1869-1878," pp. 279, 281.

[34]Ibid., p. 252.

[35]Ibid.

According to Anderson[36] the citizens of Corinne also planned the first large scale irrigation system in the west. As early as 1870 they addressed a Memorial to Congress, giving plans for diverting the waters of the Bear River over the valley for irrigation. Had the request been granted the history of Corinne might have been different. In line with the policies of its anti-Mormon feelings and the fact that it was a Gentile stronghold the reason given for the above proposal was as follows:

> It is the only place where a truly American Community can be brought into permanent and successful contact with the Mormon population whose feet have trodden, and who hold in their relentless grasp, every other valley in Utah.[37]

Also in 1870 the suggestion was made that the Territorial Capital be moved to Corinne. This suggestion must have been made in Congress, for the New York Herald printed the following:

> Out of pure regard for the morals of our unsophisticated Army Officers, Congress proposes removing the Capital of Utah from Salt Lake City to Corinne, Utah which containing but few Mormons, is deemed a fitter place to put the Military corps in.[38]

Another significant area of Corinne's impact was in the establishment of non-Mormon churches in the town. The

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[36]Anderson, "The Gentile City of Corinne," p. 150.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid., p. 151.

Presbyterians, Methodist Episcopals, and Episcopalians formed organizations and built churches in Corinne. As previously mentioned the Methodist Episcopal Church was the first non-Mormon church building in Utah. Other church groups existed in Corinne but none had enough support to build places of worship.

So Corinne, despite its short life as the "Gentile Burg on the Bear," did influence the cultural life of Utah. Because of Corinne's noted accomplishments it is no wonder that its Gentile beginnings still linger in the minds of many Utahans.

The Mormon-Gentile conflict of the past is still apparent on the landscape of Salt Lake City. The Central Business District developed along a dualistic spatial pattern which vividly reflected the social and economic conflict.[39] At the north end of the Central Business District stands the Mormon Temple, Church Office Building, Hotel and Department Store; whereas four blocks to the south the Gentiles built the Newhouse Hotel, the Keith and Judge Buildings and Auerbach's Department Store. It is evident that much of the capital used to build the Gentile part of the district came from the non-Mormon mining communities, particularly Park City.

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[39]Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region," p. 212.

Park City inhabitants who made fortunes in mining left very little wealth for the benefit of the settlement. Instead they invested their money in the development of Salt Lake City. Such buildings as the Kearns and the Keith were built by Thomas Kearns and David Keith respectively; both prominent mining magnates of Park City. Another Park City miner who made a fortune hauling ore, Ezra Thompson, built what is now called the Tribune Building. Simon Bamberger, who took over the ownership of the Daly-Judge mine in 1899, built an electric railroad to transport passengers between Ogden and Salt Lake City. Colonel Ferry gave land to Westminster College and money to build Ferry Hall at that institution. The Judge family is known in Salt Lake City by the Judge Building, and the Dalys by the Moxum Hotel. Many of the old mansions on South Temple Street are monuments to these mining kings.[40] In fact, the Utah State Historical Society is housed in one of these mansions, which was the former home of Thomas Kearns and later became the Governor's Mansion.

Because of the financial status of some of Park City's mine owners they played an important role in the political life of Utah, especially after statehood in 1896. One key figure was Thomas Kearns who was elected to the United States Senate in 1901 and held that office for two terms. Another was Simon Bamberger, who became Governor of the State.

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[40]McPhee, "Vignettes of Park City," p. 143.

The three non-Mormon communities; Stockton, Corinne, and Park City are still in occupance. Park City, however, is the only one that has retained a majority of non-Mormons. It has also weathered some rough economic slumps. Today the town is a popular ski resort in the winter and tourist attraction in the summer. Stockton and Corinne's populations are mainly Mormon and both towns have imposing Mormon Churches.

The development of the mineral industry in Utah can be attributed largely to the non-Mormons. The significance of this development was stated as follows:

> It should also be remembered that the mining industry itself precipitated much of the subsequent industrial development of the territory. There was not only the stimulus to the economy from the investment in the mines, but also the demand this created for various factors of production. The demand for labor initiated a new chapter in history of immigration and colonization--it disciplined immigrant and local labor power to cooperative industrial effort. The workers were paid wages, wages were spent for the produce of farms and mills; and thus the demand for labor stimulated the spread of a market economy. . .
>
> Then there was the demand--for real capital--for picks and shovels, mules and mine haulage cars, wagons and wheelbarrows, dynamite and drills. The initial impetus of investment in mining led in widening arcs to increments of economic activity over the entire local economy. There was a wave-like profusion of many kinds of enterprises, and the horizons of local commerce were broadened.[41]

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[41]Arrington, "Abundance From the Earth," pp. 218-219.

Non-Mormons thus made substantial intrusions into the culturally compact territory of the Mormons. The leaders of the Church even recognized and tried to combat these intrusions by promoting Church financed businesses and exhorting the people through sermons. One Apostle of the Church, Abrahm H. Cannon, told the people that:

> If our Utah people (Mormons) do not awaken to the situation, one of these days, after their Rip Van Winkle sleep, they will peep out and see all these valuable resources taken up and operated by outsiders. Eastern capitalists and foreign capital will do for us what we ought to unite and do for ourselves.[42]

To a certain extent the Mormons had been asleep; consequently, the non-Mormons were able to gain an economic foothold in the Mormon culture area of Utah.

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[42]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 400.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Utah has been known primarily as the area where the Mormons settled and built their kingdom. The Mormons had established themselves agriculturally throughout the Intermountain West. They had created a unique settlement pattern and had a remarkably strong cooperative religious organization. Into this cohesive culture came a small yet increasing number of non-Mormons. They brought with them many religions and values, but a common goal; a hunger to break the economic, political and cultural control that the Mormons held over the area. The process of non-Mormon settlement in Utah is one of conflict resulting from the intrusion of a minority into the culture realm of the Mormons.

Non-Mormons began moving into Utah in response to economic factors. At first the movement centered around Salt Lake City where Gentile businessmen were able to make substantial profits selling their goods to willing Mormon buyers. However, the real impetus to non-Mormon settlement came as the result of three factors: (1) movement of federal

troops into Utah, (2) completion of the transcontinental railroad and (3) discovery and development of mineral resources.

Mining for precious metals was not pursued by the Mormons who were interested in establishing a permanent society based on agriculture. It was not until the army came that systematic exploration for minerals took place. For army troops to be engaged in the exploration of minerals with the specific goal of trying to break the economic control of the Mormons was unparalleled in the history of the West.

One outcome of the army's discovery of minerals was the establishment of Stockton, the first non-Mormon settlement in Utah. It was unique among mining towns of the West for two reasons: (1) it was surveyed and lots were laid out before settlement took place and (2) it was founded by officers of the army troops stationed in Utah. Despite extensive planning and investment Stockton's mines were not large producers and its cultural impact was not as significant as other Gentile settlements.

Five years after Stockton was founded the transcontinental railroad was completed through the northern part of Utah. The railroad not only helped to break the isolation of the region, but it also helped accelerate mineral development. With non-Mormon settlements being established along the railroad it soon became a Gentile swath cutting through the

Mormon region. The most prominent railroad town was Corinne, which became known as the "Gentile City of Utah." Its political and cultural impact was short-lived and by 1895 Corinne had been transformed into a sleepy Mormon agricultural village.

Of greater significance to non-Mormon settlement in Utah was the mining town. Perhaps the best known in the state was Park City. Its beginnings were much like those of other mining towns in the West where important discoveries brought a rush of miners to the scene, but organization of the settlement did not take place until much later. The Park City mines became major producers of silver and gold and much of the capital that came from them was used in building many business structures in Salt Lake City.

The concentrated areas of non-Mormon settlement were directly correlated to mineral discoveries and the railroad. Two spatial patterns were evident in the distribution: (1) there was a cluster of settlements within a 100 mile radius of Salt Lake City and (2) there was a pattern of settlements scattered along the transcontinental and the Denver and Rio Grande Western railroads. This distribution resulted in contact and conflict between the Mormons and non-Mormons.

The struggle between the Mormons and Gentiles centered chiefly around the desire on the part of the Mormons for unity and the Gentiles for diversity. Brigham Young had united the Mormons in establishing a self-sustaining agricultural and manufacturing society. On the other hand, the

non-Mormons were able to gain control of the mineral resources of the territory. They abhored the control of the church and sought to break its power through opposition towards polygamy. Eventually the non-Mormons were successful to a large degree in breaking the economic and political power of the Mormon Church.

The non-Mormon settlements in Utah injected cultural variety into the Mormon realm. The Gentile town with its heterogeneous, mobile and volatile population was quite alien to the Mormon way of living. The contrast between the two types was immediately recognizable and despite some convergence they remain today easily distinguishable from one another.

Despite their insignificance in numbers, non-Mormons justly deserve a much higher position than they normally have been given in the chronicles of Utah history. Perhaps the fault has been that writers have concentrated on the Mormon-Gentile conflict to such an extent that they have neglected the spatial and cultural impact that non-Mormon settlement has made upon the landscape of Utah. It is hoped that this study has helped to fill that void.

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