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STORM OVER THE SUMMIT: A POLITICAL HISTORY OF SUMMIT COUNTY TO 1882

A Thesis

Presented to the

Department of History

Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Rodney L. Peck

August 1981

This thesis, by Rodney L. Peck, is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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5/26/81
Date

James B. Allen, Department Chairman

Typed by Suzanne Brady

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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CHAPTER I

THE SETTLING OF THE SUMMIT

The Laying of a Dual Social-Religious Foundation

Mormon Beginnings

Long before Mormons or Gentiles came to Summit County, Utah, the forces of nature were shaping its political future. The rugged canyons, the rich prairies, the forested hills, and the rich deposits of coal and precious metals assured that it would not be overlooked by either Mormons or Gentiles as they came west in the later half of the nineteenth century looking for new lives and homes.

In the county's earliest years, the homeless Mormons and the restless gentiles were attracted to the place by the potential of its rugged canyons. These canyons were strategically located along the major routes into Utah's heartland through Echo, Weber, East, Emigration, and Big, or Parley's, canyons. The pioneers of 1847 had thought to enter the Salt Lake Valley through Big, or Parley's, Canyon, but heavy undergrowth forced them back over Little Mountain and down Emigration Canyon along the route of the earlier Donner-Reed party. It was felt, however, that Big Canyon offered the better entry to the valley if only a decent road could be built. Mormon apostle Parley P. Pratt accepted the challenge and on 4 July 1850 celebrated the opening

of his "Golden Pass" toll road through Big Canyon, which quickly became known as Parley's Canyon.[1]

The construction of this road led to the first settlement in Summit County. Samuel Snyder, a well-to-do pioneer from New York, had assisted Pratt in building his road and had purchased his squatter's rights to the land in the high mountain valley over the summit from Parley's Canyon. Here in the little saucer-shaped valley Snyder settled, hoping to profit not only from the newly opened road but from farming and grazing the fertile mountain prairie land he found there. Others soon gathered with him over the summit from Parley's Canyon, and the thriving little village of Snyderville came into existence.

Gentile Beginnings

Summit County's second settlement, Gentile-originated Echo City, was also the result of immigration and trade coming through its strategic canyons on their way to Utah's heartland. Echo City's first resident, James Bromley, was a non-Mormon employee of the Missouri firm of Funk and Walker. In 1854 Bromley was sent by them to operate their Weber Stage Station at the junction of Weber and Echo canyons. By 1861 Bromley had acquired a Mormon wife and had been joined by several other families. These families, the majority

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[1]James Vaun Barber, "The History of Highways in Utah from 1847 to 1869" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1949), pp. 32-34. See also Milton L. Bennion, "Highway Development in Utah" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1932), pp. 51-52.

of which were Mormon, had come to farm, to raise cattle, and to trade goods and services to those passing by.[2]

When the transcontinental railroad was conceived and mapped through the great West, the same strategic location that brought Echo into existence made it a prime candidate for prominence as a rail center. In 1868 Brigham Young, Jr., and his associates, sensing its economic possibilities and perhaps with an eye to excluding further gentile expansion in Summit County, purchased the townsite, which belonged to Bromley.[3] Despite the efforts of its new owners, it never developed as expected. It was easier and more expeditious for the Church to connect Salt Lake City to the transcontinental railroad at Ogden by building a branch line through the numerous farming communities of Davis County than to build a line from Echo to Salt Lake City through the sparsely settled canyons and valleys of Summit County. Ogden was to be the junction city.[4]

Even the demand for coal, which led to the construction of a Church-backed railroad from Coalville's mines to Echo, did not contribute significantly to Echo's growth. The Union Pacific was more

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[2]Marie Ross Peterson and Mary M. Pearson, Echoes of Yesterday: Summit County Centennial History (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1947), pp. 72, 74, 80. Bromley's wife, Elizabeth Stevenson, became a Mormon shortly after her marriage to Bromley, and Bromley himself became a Mormon shortly before his death.

[3]Ibid., pp. 73-74.

[4]It was expected by Utah's Gentiles that Corrine, a city founded by them, would be the junction city because of its geographic advantages, but Brigham Young, the Mormon leader, offered property in Ogden to the Union and Central Pacific railroads for the building of shops and a depot. The railroads accepted, and Corrine, like Echo, became a small Mormon farming community. See Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968).

interested in protecting its lucrative coal business in Wyoming than it was in shipping Mormon coal over its lines. It left the local coal sitting on its sidings for months at a time. Deprived of its usefulness and its income, the line went bankrupt. It was then acquired by the Union Pacific Railroad. Other efforts to build a line from Summit County to Salt Lake City were also futile, and Echo was left as a small supply station on the Union Pacific rather than being built into a major rail junction.[5]

Thus frustrated, Echo City remained small, and most of its population drifted away or was absorbed by neighboring Heneferville. The little town did, however, contribute to the early growth of Summit County and gave it its first gentile citizenry. The speculation that surrounded Echo during the 1870s gave Echo a place in Summit County politics not otherwise justified by its size; and its Gentiles, when joined by those of its companion supply center at Wahsatch in the northern reaches of the county, led to a solid Liberal vote in the early 1870s, a premonition of the coming struggles of the 1880s.[6] It was the first political marshaling of

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[5]Clarence Andrew Reeder, "The History of Utah's Railroads, 1869-78" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1970), pp. 319-50. See also Edward W. Tullidge, Histories of Utah, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Press of the Juvenile Instructor, 1889), 2:131-32, for a differing account of the building of railroads in Summit County.

[6]Though the Mormons had the contract for building the Union Pacific Railroad from Echo to Ogden, J. F. Nounan, a non-Mormon businessman of Salt Lake City, had the contract above Echo. Consequently, Echo had a considerable non-Mormon population, as did Wahsatch, a little railroad station in the extreme northern reaches of Summit County, which was almost exclusively non-Mormon. See Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 263.

Summit County's people along social and religious lines rather than economic or national party lines.

Continued Mormon Growth

While Summit County's canyons were attracting its first settlers, the fertile lands of the Kamas Prairie in central Summit County had not gone unnoticed by passers-by. The small towns of this area began to develop as early as 1857 when Thomas Rhodes obtained a territorial grant of land there for grazing purposes. The grant was approved on the condition that he would take others with him to settle the place. He gathered twenty-five men to join with him in the venture, and a cattle raising business was begun. A stockade was built for safety, but continuing problems with the Indians and the approach of Johnston's army caused Rhodes and his associates to abandon their enterprise in 1858. By 1860 Rhodes and George Brown had returned to reestablish their grazing business. Although the growth of the Kamas area was slow, it was steady, and by 1880 the place contained more than a thousand people.[7]

Peoa, Wanship, and Hoytsville all came into existence about the same time as Kamas. The colonizing of these portions of Summit County, like those previously established in the county and elsewhere in the Mormon West, resulted from a combination of private initiative and Church encouragement and direction.

Wanship began in 1859 when Steven Nixon moved into the area. He was accompanied by his daughter Margaret and a young man named

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[7]Tullidge, Histories of Utah, 2:129-31.

Henry Roper. These were joined in 1860 by the rest of the Nixon family and others looking for a good place to locate.[8] It is not known precisely why the community was named Wanship, but it probably stems from the difficulties the colonists encountered in 1861 when three hundred Snake Indians encamped nearby and nearly exhausted the meager food supplies of the settlers. It is probable that the chief, Wanship, used his influence to prevent trouble between his starved Indians and the hard-pressed pioneers.[9]

Peoa was settled in 1860, when Brigham Young sent a group to colonize the place under the direction of David Rideout. Apparently the location of Peoa had been noted by W. W. Phelps in 1857 as a likely spot to settle. The name Peoa is derived from the letters PEOHA, which were carved on a log and which were supposed by Phelps to be the name of an Indian chief or perhaps an early trapper.[10] In any case, the H was dropped, and the town became known as Peoa. In 1862 Abraham Marchant was ordained presiding bishop of the area. He succeeded David Rideout as the local bishop of Peoa, and his ecclesiastical trust included Rockport, Wanship, and Kamas, each of which had its own local bishop. He retained this position until 1877 when Summit Stake was organized as part of the

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[8]Peterson and Pearson, Echoes of Yesterday, p. 210.

[9]Tullidge, Histories of Utah, 2:126.

[10]Peterson and Pearson, Echoes of Yesterday, pp. 188-89. Tullidge claims that the name came from the Indian word for marry (Histories of Utah, 2:129).

great priesthood reorganization that took place that year. He thereafter remained as local bishop of Peoa until his death in 1881.[11]

In the fall of 1859, Thomas Bradberry and his wife located their home in what became known as Unionville.[12] In 1861 Brigham Young sent Samuel P. Hoyt from Fillmore to build a gristmill and although it operated in Unionville only until 1867 when it was moved to Oakley, in the Kamas area, it added greatly to the importance of Unionville in its early years. Eventually the town became known as Hoytsville, in honor of the enterprising nature of its benefactor, Samuel P. Hoyt.[13]

In the summer of 1859, the continuing immigration of Mormon people into the Territory of Utah resulted in the establishment of a blacksmith shop near the present site of Henefer, Utah, just a few miles below Echo. William and James Henefer, having passed through the area earlier on their way to the Salt Lake Valley, saw the possibilities of plying their trade just below Echo Canyon. Here incoming wagons, worn from their long trip across the American midlands, could be repaired and put in good order for the arduous trip over the Wasatch Mountains into the Salt Lake Valley.[14]

In 1860 the Henefers were joined by Charles Richins and his growing family. The Richinses, too, had been impressed with the farming and ranching potential of the area. Their arrival resulted in the building of the first nonlog structure in the town. Originally built as a home, it rapidly became a rooming house for many whose

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[11] Ibid., p. 211. [12] Ibid., p. 150.

[13] Ibid., pp. 170-71. [14] Ibid., p. 48.

wagons were being repaired and for those moving into the area while their own homes were being built. Each year the Richinses added an addition until the home contained fifteen rooms and became known as the "Big House" to the many who rested within its walls.[15] Thus established, the town grew and became known in pioneer times as Heneferville.

Founding of Coalville

Coalville, which became the center of Mormon power in Summit County, also owed its existence to the traffic passing through Summit County's strategic valleys and to two chance discoveries.

The first discovery to which Coalville owed its founding was the fact that wheat would grow and mature in the area. William H. Smith hauled freight through the Coalville area to Fort Bridger from Salt Lake City. In the fall of 1858, when he pulled into the campground at Chalk Creek, he noticed that some wheat spilled from his wagon earlier in the season had grown and matured. Feeling that the place could be successfully farmed, he determined to move there. He took some of the matured wheat back to Salt Lake City and used it to convince some of his friends to join with him in farming at Chalk Creek the following spring. In the fall of 1859, they were joined by others, including members of the Wilde family, some of whom had come earlier with William Smith, and the Rees family.[16] It was not

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[15] Ibid., p. 50. See also Fannie J. Richins and Maxine R. Wright, Henefer, Our Valley Home (n.p.: Utah Printing Co., n.d.), pp. 45-50, for a detailed treatment of the "Big House."

[16] Henry B. Wilde became the presiding elder in Coalville and became bishop when a ward was organized in 1861 (Peterson and Pearson, Echoes of Yesterday, p. 92).

contemplated that any would remain in the area through the first winter, but Mr. Rees became ill, and he and his wife remained and became the first to winter in Chalk Creek.[17]

The second chance discovery that contributed to the founding and growth of Coalville was the discovery of coal. Thomas Rhodes, who had the territorial grant to graze the Kamas prairie, while hunting near Chalk Creek discovered an outcropping of coal. Excitedly, he dug some from the ledge with his knife and hurried back to Salt Lake City where he presented it to President Young. Whereas mining for precious metals had not been encouraged by Mormon leaders at this early date, the mining of coal, iron, lead, and other useful metals had been urged as a means of satisfying the immediate needs of the colonists and the building of the industrial capacity of the territory. Apparently President Young had offered a reward to anyone finding coal within a fifty-mile radius of Salt Lake City, and Thomas Rhodes hurried there with his coal in hopes of collecting it. Whatever the case, it was not until 1860 that President Young sent John Muir and Sam Fletcher to investigate. They did not find the Rhodes outcropping, but, while trailing a wounded deer they had shot, they found a large deposit at Grass Creek, a few miles from Chalk Creek. The coal was located in a ledge ten feet thick and occasioned the opening of what became known as the Old Church Mine. The Thomas Rhodes outcropping was rediscovered a little later and with other finds began attracting large

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[17]Ibid., p. 86.

numbers of men to dig the coal.[18] Chalk Creek became known as Coalville, and in the years to come it outgrew the smaller Mormon communities and became the metropolis of the county.[19] Its population and central location made it not only the county seat but also, following the organization of Summit Stake in 1877, the stake center as well. Its temporal and spiritual power were symbolized by a solidly built courthouse and an imposing stake tabernacle modeled after the Assembly Hall on Temple Square in Salt Lake City. It also contained a bishops' storehouse and a cooperative store allied with ZCMI in the territorial capital.

Coalville's preeminence among the cities of the county was challenged. In its early years Wanship was considered as the site of the county seat. Indeed, a county courthouse was to be built "at the point of the mountain near Sheriff Roundy's place."[20] But Coalville's size and vitality overcame the more desirable position Wanship had in sitting astride two major routes passing through the central part of the county to Salt Lake City.

Later Park City offered Coalville its most serious challenge for the location of the county seat. When the election was held,

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[18]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 223. Several dozen persons were called to the Coalville region in the spring of 1860. Improved roads were built, and scores of Church and private teams plied back and forth between Coalville and Salt Lake City throughout the sixties. See also Peterson and Pearson, Echoes of Yesterday, pp. 87-88.

[19]The name Chalk Creek was changed by common consent to Coalville on 7 May 1866, and it was by the latter name that the city was incorporated on 16 January 1867. See Tullidge, Histories of Utah, 2:41, 143.

[20]Minutes of the Summit County Court, 4 June 1867, Summit County Clerk's Office, Coalville, Utah.

the Liberal Party commanded a larger vote than did the People's, or Mormon Church, Party; but apparently Liberal Party members outside Park City, consisting mostly of estranged Mormons, closed ranks with their former coreligionists, and the county seat remained at Coalville. Leaders of Park City's Liberals could hardly forgive them. The defeat tarnished their dream not only of controlling Summit County politically but of making Park City the physical center of temporal power as well. The Mormons, licking their wounds at having lost control of the political offices in the county, must have felt some satisfaction in frustrating their plans and seeing the Liberal rulers of the county continue to hold office in the shadow of the Mormon tabernacle. As long as that was so, the dream of Zion and the kingdom of God on earth would remain alive.[21]

Founding of Park City

While the Mormons were claiming the arable land and looking for the metals of industry in Summit County and throughout the territory, the Gentiles, or non-Mormons, began looking for the precious metals. General Patrick E. Connor came to Utah in 1862 during the Civil War to guard the mails, a job that had been most recently performed by the territorial militia. Shortly after arriving, Connor became convinced that the Mormon leaders were "disloyal and traiterous to the core." He therefore set about to develop the precious metals

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[21]The first proposal to move the county seat from Coalville to Park City was in the form of a petition presented to the court on 4 March 1889. The proposition was placed on the ballot for the August election and was defeated (Minutes of the Summit County Court, 4 and 5 March 1889).

of the territory in an attempt to build the gentile population "to overwhelm the Mormons by mere force of numbers and thus wrest from the Church . . . the absolute and tyrannical control of temporal and civil affairs."[22]

Though some finds were made by the early 1860s, mining in general did not become profitable until the completion of the railroad in 1869. The finds were, however, encouraging, and the certainty of the railroad even before its completion spurred mining efforts.[23]

By 1868 some prospectors felt the search for precious metals in Little Cottonwood Canyon in Salt Lake County was becoming too intense and precluded the possibility of finding a bonanza on the west side of the Wasatch. These miners crossed over the summit from Little Cottonwood Canyon into Summit County. From this vantage point they could see the mountainous gulches leading to the humble beginnings of Snyderville and its environs, which were known as Parley's Park.[24]

Three soldiers from P. E. Connor's command at Fort Douglas are reputed to be the first to have made a claim, which led to the establishment and growth of Park City. These men, late in the fall of 1868, found an outcropping of yellow, metal-bearing quartz. Since it was late in the day and a storm was threatening, they marked their

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[22]Edward W. Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City (Salt Lake City: Starr Printing Co., 1886), p. 698.

[23]Dean Franklin Wright, "A History of Park City" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1971), p. 5.

[24]Ibid., pp. 1-5.

find with a red handkerchief attached to a stick stuck in the ground. It was not until the next summer that two of the soldiers returned. Finding their handkerchief still marking the place of their find, they named their rediscovered claim the Flagstaff. It was from this mine that the first ore shipments from what became known as Park City were made in July 1870.[25] Other finds were made, but it was the establishment of the fabulous Ontario mine in 1872 that breathed life into Park City.

Early in 1872 Herman Buden, James H. Kane, Rector Steen, and Augustus McDowell formed a partnership for finding precious metals. Nothing is known of Kane and McDowell, but Steen and Buden had been drawn to Utah from other parts of the West on "account of its being so mountainous" and by rumors of the fabled Emma mine. On 15 July 1872, in the afternoon,

> Budden [sic] was returning to camp from an unsuccessful prospecting jaunt, when his eye rested on a cropping jutting from the steep hillside. As he was passing, more from the force of habit than with value, he struck, with the head of his prospector's pick, the protruding knob, which was no larger than the crown of a man's hat. . . . The tired prospector had passed down a few feet, when it occurred to him that the broken rock had the appearance of chloride of silver. He retraced his steps, made a close examination, and rightly came to the conclusion that he had at last struck something that was worth "going down on." . . . He christened his find "Ontario."[26]

The next day, the partners filed their claim and began to develop it for sale. They offered it for five thousand dollars. At

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[25]Kate Carter, comp., Treasures of Pioneer History, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1952), 1:170.

[26]Edward W. Tullidge, Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine 2 (1881): 269, quoted in Wright, "History of Park City," p. 13. Wright notes that "Tullidge uses the 'Budden' spelling of this name while I have elected to use the 'Buden' spelling that appears in the Uintah Mining District records."

that time the wealthy, soon-to-be senator from California, George Hearst, was in Utah for the purpose of acquiring mining property. The Ontario claim was brought to his attention. He referred the matter to a colleague, Robert Chambers, who was already active in Utah mining. Chambers quickly saw the possibilities of the claim but was frustrated in his desires to obtain it when it became known who he was representing. Every time he visited the claim the price jumped. Not to be deterred, he obtained the services of George Monson, who on 24 August 1872 acquired control of the Ontario mine for Hearst and Chambers at a cost of twenty-seven thousand dollars.[27] From that time until 1897, when it was forced to close temporarily because of low silver prices and its increased cost of production, the Ontario mine was the lifeblood of Park City.

With the multiplying of mining activities in the area, others began to see a variety of business opportunities. Among them was George Gideon Snyder, a Mormon who moved to the present site of Park City in May 1872. He had long been associated with this part of Summit County, for his family had been among the original pioneers of the area. He had known this part of the county as Upper Kimball's or Upper Parley's, but on 4 July 1872 he raised a small, homemade flag and christened the nascent town Park City.[28]

Park City was fortunate in drawing a better class of men than most western mining camps. Although it had its rowdies and was generally scorned by its quieter Mormon neighbors, Wright concludes that

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[27]Wright, "History of Park City," pp. 14-15.

[28]Peterson and Pearson, Echoes of Yesterday, pp. 312-13.

> Park City was able to survive . . . because her forward-looking citizens . . . looked to the hills, not only for money, but for homes, and for a community in which they could raise their children. . . . For this reason, . . . Park City, which began as a typical mining town, survived, while other mining towns faded and disappeared.[29]

In that desire to succeed, Park City's rabid boosters sought political and cultural preeminence at the expense of Coalville and its Mormon counterparts throughout the county. It also complained bitterly at being taken for granted by Zion's gentile princes in Salt Lake City. This struggle for preeminence combined with the growing division of Summit County along social and religious lines to cause the bitter political battles between Mormon and Gentile in the 1880s.

Strangely, however, there were common bonds forged between Mormon and Gentile that transcended and often ameliorated the political strife. Gentiles were dependent upon Mormon farmers, ranchers, and lumbermen to feed their workers, build their mines, and take up the slack in the work force. Mormons were dependent upon the gentiles for the ready cash those sales and jobs provided. This exchange of goods for cash helped abolish the austerity from which many of the outlying agricultural settlements of Utah often suffered. Too, the common interests of mine owners in both Coalville and Park City, and theirs with the ranchers and farmers in the rest of the county, as well as the building of a railroad to carry their combined products to market, strengthened the bond between the disparate factions.[30]

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[29] "History of Park City," p. 196.

[30] The difficulty with the Union Pacific Railroad in shipping coal and precious metal from Summit County forced the consolidation

In 1882 the passage of the Edmunds Bill and its consequent disfranchising of a large part of Summit County's Mormons began to combine with the growing jealousy between Park City and Coalville's Mormon supporters to break the bond that had kept Summit County's politics fairly unified since the early divisions of the county along religious and social lines in the first years of the 1870s. This division was deeper than the first. It was between people who not only lived and worked in Summit County, as was the case earlier, but who called Summit County home in every sense of the word. No transients these. The division did not pass until the common economic needs of Summit County's workers and businessmen brought them together in the national parties. That did not happen until Summit County's Mormons were released from the necessity of maintaining control of local and territorial politics to preserve what they considered their right not only to practice their religion according to the dictates of their consciences but their right to exist, and until non-Mormons did not feel so completely threatened by the massive economic, social, and religious power of the Mormons.[31]

The political battles which arose from these divisions in Summit County were a bitter struggle between what became two evenly

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of many mines and encouraged cooperation among those not consolidated. These mines were owned and operated cooperatively by prominent Mormon and non-Mormon businessmen. See Tullidge, Histories of Utah, 2:521-27.

[31]Arrington concludes that because polygamy "provided a focus for uniting the diverse groups opposed to the spread of Mormonism . . . the Mormons themselves were forced to rally [around it] in defending their faith" (Great Basin Kingdom, p. 239).

matched antagonists. It was one in which the Liberal Party finally triumphed and declared their county to be "Utah's banner Liberal county." But it was also a battle in which the common humanity of man and the recognition of common interests in creating a better society were never completely submerged in the acrimony of the times.

It seems barely possible that had Summit County not been involved in the larger territorial struggle, the social and religious divisions among its people might not have created political parties based upon them, but rather might have permitted the absorption of the people directly into the mainstream of American politics.[32] But the lines were drawn, and Summit County became a political house with a dual foundation. It became a house divided against itself. The struggle between its competing foundations became inevitable, and Summit County became a participant in the political tragedy that was Utah in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[33]

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[32]Some form of political cooperation existed between the People's Party and leading Gentiles from Park City until 1887 when the Edmunds-Tucker Law so weakened the voting power of the People's Party that the Liberal Party carried the election of that year by 150 votes whereas the People's Party had carried the previous election by 200 votes. See Tullidge, Histories of Utah, 2:136-37.

[33]B. H. Roberts, the Mormon apologist, says, "It was a time of war--a struggle for community existence" (A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century One, 6 vols. [Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1930], 5:228). Richard Vetterli comments that "these incidents occurred during a particularly violent time . . . in American history. The Mormons were not just fighting an economic battle (or political) to be unkind to the Gentiles. They were fighting for their existence. . . . They were determined not to give up their homes and their businesses as they had been forced to do before. This was a fight for survival with no holds barred." (Mormonism, Americanism and Politics [Salt Lake City: Ensign Publishing Co., 1961], p. 572.)

CHAPTER II

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS: 1861-69

The County Organized

With the completion of Parley's Golden Pass and the beginning of the small but growing communities over the summit from Great Salt Lake County, the Utah legislature felt that it was time to organize the area politically. On 12 January 1854 Summit County was created. The action gave Summit County a place on the map of Utah, but it was really very little more than an extension of Great Salt Lake County, for it was attached to its larger neighbor for "election, revenue, and judicial purposes."[1]

By spring of 1861, however, nearly all the little Mormon settlements in the county had been made, and the steady, if small, increase in the population prompted the legislature to release the county from its dependent status and organize it as an independent entity. William P. Vance was appointed as probate judge and was empowered to appoint such other officers as necessary until the regular August elections could be held.[2]

Like many other outlying counties in the territory at the time, Summit County's first appointees to public office were from the prominent pioneers of the area. The selections were made in such

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[1]Tullidge, Histories of Utah, 2:134. [2]Ibid.

a way that each of the major population centers in the county was represented more or less equally among the three selectmen who were chosen to govern the county. Since most of Summit County's population lay in three general areas, the task seemed fairly easy. William Henefer was chosen to represent those living in the Echo Canyon area, and Jacob Truman was chosen to represent those living in the Kamas region. A. B. Williams was the third selectman and represented those in the Coalville area. The clerk, Charles Griffen, was also from Coalville.[3]

Another substantial pocket of population lay in the Parley's Park area over the summit from Parley's Canyon. This area, although the first settled, lagged behind the rest of the county in growth, but it was nonetheless taken into consideration when appointments and nominations were made. In this first organization, Parley's Park was honored by the choice of William H. Kimball as the county's first sheriff. The careful balancing of county officers, largely informal, was carried out with more or less exactness until after the political division of the people along Mormon/gentile lines in 1881.[4]

In preparation for its first election in August 1861, Summit County held its first political convention in Chalk Creek, now Coalville. The purpose of the convention was "to prepare a ticket composed of the names of various persons to be voted for at the election

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[3]Ibid.

[4]Tullidge suggests that this long established practice was responsible for the inclusion of non-Mormons on the People's Party tickets of the 1880s in Summit County (see Histories of Utah, 2:137).

this coming August."[5] At the convention Thomas Rhodes of Kamas Prairie was nominated as county representative to the legislature. A. B. Williams, William Henefer, and Jacob Truman, all of whom had previously been appointed to their positions by Judge Vance, were nominated as selectmen. The normal term of a selectman was three years with the election of one selectman each year. To put the system into operation, A. B. Williams was nominated for a three-year term while William Henefer and Jacob Truman were nominated to a two- and a one-year term, respectively. Mahonri Cahoon was nominated as sheriff, W. H. Smith as recorder, and H. W. Brizzee as school superintendent.[6]

Precinct officers were also nominated as follows: first precinct (Henefer area)--Abraham Hoge, justice of the peace, with Charles Richins as constable; second precinct (Coalville area)--James S. Lewis, justice of the peace, and Edmund Eldredge as constable; third precinct (Kamas area)--W. I. Huffaker, justice of the peace, with Orrin S. Lee as constable.[7]

The slate of officers nominated in June did not duplicate the earlier appointments, although the selectmen were the same. What opposition there was to the change, if any, is not known. Alma Eldredge, to whom researchers are indebted for what knowledge they

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[5]Alma Eldredge, "Reminiscences" [handwritten notebook copied from the original in 1935 by Ben Eldredge], 22 June 1861, Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

[6]Summit County Returns for 1861, Utah Territorial Election Papers, Archives of the State of Utah, Salt Lake City.

[7]Ibid.

have of the convention, says only that he "took part in the proceedings there."[8]

From later records of these political meetings, it appears that Summit County's first convention was made up of interested people from each of the county's three precincts. Some were chosen in a precinct convention, but others probably came on their own and were accepted as participants by those present. There was always great emphasis among Latter-day Saints on unity in all things political, social, and religious, and a common theme in many of the early conventions of which there is record is that of settling upon a candidate acceptable to everyone.[9] This aim was not always achieved, but it seems that in this first convention there were no serious disagreements.

On 4 September 1861 Robert Salmon, the newly elected county clerk, reported to Secretary of State Francis Wooten that John M. Bernhisel, the territory's nominee for delegate to Congress, and each of the county's officials had received all sixty-seven votes cast in the county on election day. Officers in the first precinct received eleven votes; officers in the second precinct received twenty-four votes; and officers of the third precinct received thirty-two votes. In each case the number of votes recorded for the victor represented the total number of votes cast in the election.[10] The

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[8]Eldredge, "Reminiscences," 22 June 1861.

[9]Examples of exhortations are found in the minutes of the political conventions recorded in the minutes of the Summit County court for 20 July 1868 and 16 March 1872. Such exhortations became especially common after the passage of the Edmunds Law in 1882.

[10]Summit County Returns for 1861.

vote was small and possibly not representative of the total number of potential voters in the county. John Woodhouse, clerk of the Beaver County Court, probably spoke for most of the territory when he reported to Secretary Wooten that "there was but a slack attendance of the voters and no opposing candidates named."[11] The rather informal convention process seems to have met the political needs of the people. Those who were interested were involved, and others, perhaps too busy or perhaps content to let others run their affairs, acquiesced in the choices made.

Thus, with little hint of the turbulent times to come, Summit County was organized and staffed to take her place among the counties of the territory.

Ripples in the Water

If the launching of Summit County as an independent entity in 1861 created little excitement at home, plenty of it was to be found elsewhere in the country as North and South engaged in awesome civil war. Though the thunder of its cannon was largely confined to the East, the war brought changes to Utah and sent ripples across the quiet political waters of Summit County.

The year 1862 dawned as a year of seeming opportunity for Utah and her people. Surely the United States, fighting for her life, would appreciate Utah's tendered loyalty and reward her with statehood. Accordingly, on 6 January 1862 mass meetings were held throughout the territory to elect delegates to a constitutional

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[11] Beaver County Returns for 1861, Utah Territorial Election Papers, Archives of the State of Utah, Salt Lake City.

convention. Summit County elected Thomas Rhodes, Henry Brizzee, and John Reese.[12] Rhodes and Brizzee already held public offices in Summit County. Rhodes had earlier been appointed to replace Vance as probate judge of the county, and Henry Brizzee had been elected as school superintendent of the county in 1861. There is no record of Reese's having previously held public office, but it is possible that as one of the founders of Coalville he might have held a precinct or town office.

On 3 March territory-wide elections were held. The new constitution and the official slate of officers for the intended state were approved without a dissenting vote in Summit County or elsewhere within Utah. The effort was in vain. Statehood was rejected, and an anti-polygamy bill was passed. The law provided for the punishment of bigamy with a fine and imprisonment. It also provided for the annulling of those acts of the Utah legislature which countenanced or protected the practice of polygamy. In addition it forbade any religious or charitable institution in the territories from possessing property valued in excess of fifty thousand dollars. The latter provision was directed at the Mormon Church and was intended to cripple its growing economic power over the territory. The law proved largely a dead letter, but it cast an ominous shadow over the future of Summit County and Utah.[13]

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[12]Summit County Returns for 1892.

[13]President Lincoln refused to take any steps to enforce the law. He is reputed to have compared the Mormon problem to that of a large hemlock stump: too solid to cut, too green to burn, and rooted too deeply to be dislodged. He therefore explained that he would leave it alone and plow around it. (Orson F. Whitney, History of

In addition to the excitement caused by these events, the people of Utah were further stimulated by the Morrisite War. On 6 April 1861 Joseph Morris, a disaffected Mormon, called for the "reorganization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." Morris had previously claimed revelation for the guidance of the Church. These revelations were, quite understandably, not well received by the leadership of the Church and most of its members. Being thus rebuffed, Morris and his followers retired to the mouth of Weber Canyon to build a fort and to wait for the coming of Christ, which was expected no later than 30 May 1862. His coming, they felt, would vindicate their leader and bring about a millennium in which the bounties of the earth would be provided without toil. In expectation of this event, they took no thought for future provisions and became quite militant. As their militance increased, they came to be viewed with considerable alarm by their Mormon neighbors.

The uneasy relationship between the fort and the surrounding inhabitants was broken in the spring of 1862. While the territory was busily preparing for their hoped-for statehood, William Jones, one of Morris's group, became disaffected and fled the fort. He was tracked down by Morris's militia and brought back in chains. His Mormon friends sought legal help in securing his release, and Chief Justice Kinney issued a writ of habeus corpus on 22 May. When that order was resisted, military action was resorted to. In the resulting

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Utah, 6 vols. [Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons Co., 1892-94], pp. 25-26.) Leonard Arrington asserts that the law of 1862 was not enforced because it was believed that "Mormon society would succumb to the 'March of civilization' which followed in the wake of the railroad" (Great Basin Kingdom, p. 255).

melee Morris and a number of his followers were killed. The effusion of blood and the challenge the Morrisites offered to the established eccelesiastical order no doubt added to the high excitement the Saints felt. Its effects were probably felt strongly in Summit County. Many of this county's earliest settlers had come from Weber County, and there was a well-traveled road running down the Weber River from Coalville and past Echo and Henefer to the scene of the conflict in the mouth of Weber Canyon.

The result of all this excitement in Summit County seems to have been a tremendous interest at the polls in the August election. Sixty-seven votes had been cast in 1861, but 139 were cast in 1862.[14] That was more than double the previous turnout. Rhodes, already serving as probate judge and having been elected to the constitutional convention, was now elected as the county's representative to the legislature. H. B. Wilde succeeded Jacob Truman as selectman, and W. H. Smith of Coalville was elected county clerk. The vote for the local officers is not known, for it was not included on the official transcript of the election sent to the territorial secretary. There were, however, 4 dissenting votes to Bernhisel's candidacy for delegate to Congress from the Territory of Utah. Who cast those votes is impossible to determine, but it is possible that they were cast in Echo where Bromley, in spite of his Mormon wife, often supported the Liberal cause in later years.[15]

In October 1862 another event occurred which would, in time, shake the very political foundations of Summit County. Colonel

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[14]Summit County Returns for 1862. [15]Ibid.

Patrick Connor of California had enlisted for service in the Civil War and was assigned to Utah with several hundred troops. His orders were to protect the overland mail routes and to keep the Indians in check. Rather than locate at old Camp Floyd, as expected, he moved north and located on the east bench of Salt Lake City were he could keep an eye on the Mormons below. Believing that Mormon leaders were "disloyal and traiterous to the core," he soon became a leader of those determined to wrest control of the territory from the Mormons. One wonders what the response of those in Summit County might have been had they foreseen the connection between Connor's coming and the building of Park City, with its subsequent challenge to Mormon political supremacy in Summit County in the decades to come.[16]

In any event, the previously still waters of Summit County had been stirred, and events had taken place in 1862 that would change the destiny of Summit County and Utah.

Business As Usual

If 1862 had been an upsetting year that had manifested itself politically with a large turnout at the polls, the year 1863 heralded a return to political participation that focused more on local affairs, the norm of Mormon politics in Summit County.

In March 1863 Ira Eldredge of Coalville was appointed by the legislature to replace Thomas Rhodes as probate judge, and Joseph

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[16]Colonel Connor was in Salt Lake City but three days before he communicated to his superiors that he was in a community of traitors. He apparently had some preconceived feelings or direction about the Mormons before coming that was not changed by his first associations there. See Vetterli, Mormonism, Americanism and Politics, p. 544.

Stallings was in turn appointed to fill a vacancy among the selectmen. Stallings served until 7 December when he was replaced by the appointment of Thomas Gibbons.[17]

In August Elias Asper, a Mormon with connections in both Echo and Coalville, was elected as a selectman, and Judge Eldredge was sent to the territorial legislature. The latter selection continued the early precedent of having the probate judge also serve in the legislature.[18]

Voter participation was almost nonexistent this year. Only seven votes were cast in the entire county.[19] This election, together with the frequent changes in the county court, shows the fluid state of politics in the fledgling county. There is nothing in the existing history of the county to indicate why such a light vote was polled. The best explanation seems to be that Summit County was still raw frontier, and there was little political agitation among the people. Most residents were probably too taken up ekeing out a living to be active politically. Further, their common membership in the Mormon Church gave them a homogenous view that precluded political opposition unless that common outlook was threatened. In 1863 there seemed no great concern. W. H. Smith, the county clerk, probably a little embarrassed at the poor showing he had to report to the territorial secretary concerning the election, simply says, "I would state this was only one precinct that an election was held in this county

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[17] Tullidge, Histories of Utah, 2:135.

[18] Ibid. See also Summit County Returns for 1863.

[19] Summit County Returns for 1863.

although election notices was posted as required by law."[20] From the size of the reported vote, it seems that only the candidates for office in the Coalville precinct voted.

That 1863 should be a year of almost no participation at the polls in Summit County is somewhat surprising considering the events of the year in the capital. Chief Justice Kinney, a non-Mormon, was elected as delegate to Congress from Utah Territory. Of all elective political offices, the position of delegate to Congress was most closely managed by Mormon Church leadership. The delegate was most particularly their voice in Washington, D.C. Kinney was a key figure in bringing the Morrisite affair to a head and had treated the Mormons fairly. It was this cooperation and mutual trust that led the anti-Mormon faction in Salt Lake City to denounce him to the administration in Washington, D.C., as being too pro-Mormon. President Lincoln, absorbed with the prosecution of the Civil War and anxious to avoid any further problems, saw this denouncement as an opportunity to appease both Mormon and anti-Mormon in Utah. To please the Mormons he removed Governor Stephen Harding. To avoid offending the Gentiles he also removed Chief Justice Kinney. Not wishing to lose the services of such an influential friend and trusting him to speak fairly for them in Congress, the Mormons elected Kinney as delegate to Congress in the fall of 1863.[21]

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[20] Ibid.

[21] See Vetterli, Mormonism, Americanism and Politics, pp. 584-86. See also Ronald Collett Jack, "Utah Territorial Politics, 1847-76," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1970), 2:101-5, for a discussion of the Church's influence in the election of Kinney.

Lincoln, in the meantime, appointed former Superintendent of Utah Indian Affairs James Doty as governor. Doty "was impatient of mere partisanship and rose above the petty smallness that disgraced other administrations."[22] Through his political and social savoir faire, he was able to reduce tensions between Mormon and Gentile factions. It is perhaps due to his ability and that of his successor, Charles Durkee, who also worked harmoniously with the territorial legislature, that political affairs in Summit County focused on local affairs, which excited less political participation in the county, until 1867 when affairs in Salt Lake City again boiled over the summit and agitated the political scene in Summit County.[23]

In 1864 Joseph Stallings and A. B. Williams were replaced as selectmen by George G. Snyder, who was later to play a leading role in the founding of Park City, and Jacob Huffman. Since only one selectman was elected each year, one of these men was appointed and the other elected, although the records do not indicate which was which.[24] In other political action during the year, H. W. Brizzee continued his political career by being elected to the legislature. His selection for that position broke the precedent of having the probate judge serve in the position and broadened the scope of political participation in the county, although most offices throughout this and the following decade were still held by a comparatively

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[22]Andrew Love Neff, History of Utah: 1847-69 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), p. 653.

[23]See Vetterli, Mormonism, Americanism and Politics, pp. 586-88, for a further discussion of governors Doty and Durkee.

[24]Tullidge, Histories of Utah, 2:135.

small coterie of politically active men. In December Clarence Jackson replaced W. H. Smith as county clerk.

In the August election at which Brizzee was elected to the legislature, 137 votes were cast with no opposition or abstentions. The size of the vote cast was only 2 less than that of the banner year of 1862 and seems to indicate that elections were held in all of the precincts and that after a year's lapse political proceedings were again being attended to.[25]

In March 1865 George Snyder, who had been made a selectman in 1864, was appointed by the legislature as probate judge to succeed Ira Eldredge. The county was also divided into six precincts and was attached to Salt Lake County for the purpose of electing representatives to the upper chamber of the territory's bicameral house. It does not appear that Summit County was officially represented in the choice of candidates for those positions. There was a full slate of nominees for county offices, including Alma Eldredge as sheriff, Stephen Nixon as treasurer, Orrin Lee as selectman, Alonzo Winters as surveyor and superintendent of the common schools, and Clarence Jackson as county recorder. There were also candidates for justices of the peace and constables in five of the six precincts. Orrin Lee and Jackson had been previously appointed to these positions, and it was evidently decided to continue them in office.[26]

In the August election Summit County polled a solid 225 votes. In spite of the lack of opposition on the ticket, at least one

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[25] Summit County Returns for 1864.

[26] Summit County Returns for 1865.

candidate, Alma Eldredge, expressed surprise that no one voted against him. It may never be known what kind of opposition Eldredge expected, for his memoirs give not the slightest hint. Perhaps he had done something which he thought would displease certain voters, or he may have expected someone to conduct a write-in campaign, for there was no other name on the official ballot.

The vote in each of the precincts indicates that if Alma Eldredge had no opposition there was at least some dissatisfaction with others of the candidates. In precinct two, ninety-five votes were cast for Alanson Norton for justice of the peace, but only thirty-seven were cast for Joel Lewis for constable. The difference in the vote indicates a sizable disapproval of Lewis.[28] In precinct five Newman Williams received thirty-one votes for justice of the peace as against John Turnbow's eighty-two votes for constable--another sizable protest. There were no candidates for justice of the peace and constable in precinct six, but apparently fifteen people voted for either county or territorial offices in the precinct. If the reasons for disapproval of the above candidates are not known, what is significant is that Mormons in early Summit County, even

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[27]Eldredge, "Reminiscences," 7 August 1865.

[28]Mormons in Summit County generally opposed the sale of alcoholic drinks. Two of Coalville's leading citizens, W. W. Cluff and Alma Eldredge, along with fifty-nine others, petitioned the county court to prohibit the granting of further permits to sell liquor. This petition was granted on 2 December 1867. Since Lewis was involved in the sale of liquor as early as 3 December 1866, it may be that his poor showing at the polls a year earlier, in 1865, was related to this issue since he was also a resident of Coalville. See Minutes of the Summit County Court for the above dates.

though homogenous and fairly well united, were capable of disagreeing in political matters and showing it at the polls.

In 1866 the boundaries of the county were further defined, and the county seat, which had previously been decided by the pleasure of the court and was usually held at Coalville, was located at Wanship, and plans were made to build a courthouse there.[29] Two more precincts were organized, making eight in all. The numbers of the precincts were dropped, and they were named: precinct one became Heneferville, number two became Coalville, number three became Wanship, number four became Peoa, number five became Kamas, number six became Park, number seven became Upton, and number eight became Hoytsville.[30]

In the August election W. W. Cluff of Coalville was elected to the legislature, and Martin H. Peck of Hoytsville was elected as selectman. In spite of the new precincts, the number of votes polled was only 3 more than in the previous year, 225 to 228.[31]

Incorporation of Coalville

On 16 January 1867 Summit County gained its first incorporated city, Coalville. Its govenment consisted of a mayor and five councilmen who had power to appoint a recorder, treasurer, assessor and collector, marshal, supervisor of streets, and other officers as deemed necessary.[32]

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[29]Minutes of the Summit County Court, 4 June 1867. See also Tullidge, Histories of Utah, 2:135.

[30]Minutes of the Summit County Court, 4 June 1866.

[31]Summit County Returns for 1866.

[32]Utah, An Act Incorporating Coalville City, Utah Session Law (1867), chap. 17, pp. 17-19.

The first election for city officers was held early in the year, probably on 25 February. Joel Lewis served as clerk of the election and on 4 March protested the results. His petition was presented to the county court and was set aside. The details of the complaint are not known. It is clear, however, that there were differences of opinion between Lewis and the majority of the majority of the voters in Coalville, for he was one of those who received less than half the votes cast for a companion officer in the previous year's election.[33]

Those elected as the first officers of the city of Coalville were W. W. Cluff, mayor; and H. B. Wilde, William H. Smith, H. B. Clemens, Ira Hinkley, and John Boyden, recorder, assessor, and collector; Alma Eldredge, city marshal; and John W. White, supervisor of streets. Also elected were two justices of the peace, Elias Asper and Jacob Huffman, whose election the county clerk, Reddin Allred, proudly certified to the territorial secretary by using the new county seal with the image of a bear in the center surrounded by the words "Summit County, Territory of Utah."[34] Of this election Edward Tullidge in his brief history of the county to 1888 says, "Thus were the supervision of the local interests of the settlement transferred from the bishop to the city council."[35]

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[33]Minutes of the Summit County Court, 4 March 1867. See footnote 28 above for a discussion of Lewis's poor showing at the polls.

[34]Summit County Returns for 1867.

[35]Histories of Utah, 2:144.

A Portent of Things to Come

The biggest political excitement in the Summit County of 1867, however, was the candidacy of William McGrorty, who challenged William H. Hooper as delegate to Congress. For over ten years, although there had been much antagonism between the two, the size and unity of the Mormon majority as compared to the non-Mormon, or gentile, minority who were dissatisfied with political affairs in Utah had made a political contest on election day unlikely. Since the founding of Utah under Brigham Young, the Mormons had moved toward occupying as much of the Great Basin as they could. This move was designed to ensure that the Mormons would form a majority and be the "old settlers" in as large an area as possible. This move was not born of vindictiveness, but rather was made to avoid the kind of social and political upheaval they had experienced in the East.[36]

Although the Mormons' particular form of colonization and the remoteness of the area they sought effectively excluded most Gentiles from the land, it could not protect them from federal appointees, merchants, lawyers, soldiers, miners, or railroaders. It was from these groups that the gentile minority was largely made.

By 1867 there were enough discontented Gentiles in Utah to venture an opposition ticket. A small group of them were in the habit of meeting in the office of Abel Gilbert to socialize and to talk over

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[36] In 1874 in a conference at Nephi, the organization of the united order was being urged as a means of driving both Gentile and apostate from the territory. President Young said that if the united order had been organized from the beginning, there would not have been a Gentile in the whole territory. See Minutes of a Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Nephi [typescript], 18 April 1874, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah.

common problems. At many of these meetings the state of Mormon politics was discussed, and in one of them, probably half in jest, for there was no possibility of winning, William McGrorty,[37] one of their number, was nominated to run for the office of delegate to Congress from the Territory of Utah.[38]

This office was chosen because it would draw national attention to the state of political affairs in Utah.[39] McGrorty's candidacy was proposed by Robert N. Baskin. Baskin had come to Utah in the later part of 1865 with the intention of going on to California to engage in the practice of law. His mind was changed when he met Thomas Hurst, another lawyer, who convinced him that with the coming of the railroad, mining would become a major industry and make Utah a good place to practice law.[40]

Baskin had not been in Salt Lake City long when he discovered the peculiar nature of Mormon jurisprudence. An act for the regulation of attorneys, section 2, read, "No person or persons employing counsel, in any of the courts of this Territory, shall be compelled by any process of law to pay the counsel so employed for any services rendered as counsel, before, or after, or during the process of trial in the case."[41] He also discovered that "no laws . . . shall be read,

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[37]This name is also spelled McGroarty.

[38]R. N. Baskin, Reminiscences of Early Utah (n.p.: Salt Lake City, 1914), p. 23.

[39]Ibid. Baskin says, "The main purpose of the contest . . . was to direct the attention of Congress and the nation to existing conditions in Utah."

[40]Ibid., p. 5. [41]Ibid., pp. 5-6.

argued, cited or adopted in any court . . . except those enacted by the Governor and Legislative assembly of the Territory, and those passed by the Congress of the United States when applicable."[42]

In addition, the probate courts of the territory had been given criminal and civil jurisdiction, and the offices of marshal and district attorney, chosen by a joint vote of both houses of the legislative assembly, were made the prosecuting officers of all cases arising under the laws of the territory.[43] Baskin also viewed the process of selecting men for jury duty as being subversive of the law.[44] The compound result of these laws was to make federal judicial appointees superfluous and the practice of law as known elsewhere in the United States almost nonexistent. These laws and measures were shaped by Mormon experience in the East, which had convinced them of the necessity of keeping a tight rein on the judicial process in order to preserve the peace they so ardently desired. Baskin asserts that these laws were passed to assure Mormon priesthood control of the territory and to protect the practice of polygamy.[45] Whatever the reason for these laws, it is easy to see why Baskin and his fellows in trade were quickly offended and early began to fight them.

McGrorty, who accepted Baskin's nomination by "stroking his long beard" and saying, "Barkis is willing,"[46] was a merchant who had

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[42]Ibid., p. 7. [43]Ibid., pp. 7-8. [44]Ibid., p. 8.

[45]Ibid. It appears that as pressure about polygamy from within and without Utah grew, this statement became true--if it was not at the time it was made.

[46]Ibid., p. 23. The phrase "Barkis is willing" is a quotation from David Copperfield, by Charles Dickens. In that story Mr. Barkis, a cart driver, is taking David to catch the stage coach he

at first sought Mormon political favor by attending their meetings and by being "loud in his professions of sympathy and friendliness for them."[47] The Mormons, however, soon discovered his hypocrisy and rejected him.[48]

The election of 4 February 1867 showed how futile the effort was. Out of 15,179 votes cast, McGrorty received but 105,[49] principally from the little town of Stockton, Tooele County, where gentile miners formed the larger part of the population.[50] His Mormon opponent, William H. Hooper, received all but 6 of the remaining votes.[51] An unheard-of 423 votes were cast in Summit County. All of them were for Hooper.[52]

As in 1862 Mormons in Summit County were distrubed by what they deemed a challenge to their ability to control their destiny. The tragedy of losing control, as had happened in the East, was not

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will ride on his way to attend school in another town. On their way Mr. Barkis asks David several questions about the romantic interests of his mother's cook, Peggotty. After discovering that she is not romantically involved, he asks David to write to her and tell her that "Barkis is willing." Mr. Barkis is interested in proposing marriage to Peggotty, but is somewhat bashful and wants David to act as a go-between for him. Dickens, who wrote the novel, was extremely popular in the United States, and the line, "Barkis is willing," would have been understood by a large part of the literate public both in 1867 when the event occurred and in 1914 when Baskin wrote Reminiscences in Early Utah.

[47]Roberts, Comprehensive History, 5:363-64.

[48]Ibid., 5:364. [49]Ibid.

[50]Dean R. Hodson, "The Origin of Non-Mormon Settlements in Utah, 1847-96" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1971), pp. 46-48.

[51]Roberts, Comprehensive History, 5:364.

[52]Summit County Returns for 1867.

to be repeated. To avoid such a recurrence, all but the busiest and least motivated Mormon could be brought to the polls. As if to accentuate this fact, only 174 votes were cast later that year at the regular August election in which territorial and county officers were elected. In this election W. W. Cluff, still serving as mayor of Coalville, was returned to the legislature, the regular slate of Salt Lake County nominees for the upper house of the legislature was endorsed, and Ross Rogers of Wanship was chosen as selectman. As in the February election, there were no dissenting votes.[53]

Further Growth of Political Processes in Summit County

In 1868 Summit County was emerging from raw frontier. Hoytsville had grown substantially. In 1866 settlers in the surrounding area had been counseled to move into that city for protection against the Indians. This concentrated growth began to give the city a look of permanence. Indeed, the home of its leading citizen, Samuel P. Hoyt, is described as being one of "Utah's handsomest and most durable residences."[54]

Coalville, the county's largest and only incorporated city, is described as having more than six hundred "enterprizing citizens" with "the most substantial and comfortable meetinghouse . . . in the territory."[55] Its thriving coal mines prompted one coal hauler to comment in a letter to the Deseret News that because of the need for

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[53] Ibid. [54] Deseret News, 27 January 1868.

[55] Ibid.

coal, Coalville was destined to "become a very important city in this territory."[56]

In 1867 county officials decided to build a courthouse to meet the needs of their growing county. It was to be built at "the point of the hill on the south side of Wanship near the residence of Sheriff Roundy."[57] It was never built at that location, for in 1869, W. W. Cluff, mayor of Coalville and representative to the legislative assembly, presented a petition by Arza Hinkley of Unionville and 170 others to move the county seat to Coalville. It was opposed by a counter petition from H. W. Brizzee and 140 others to leave the county seat at Wanship, but Coalville prevailed. The city's influence was such that the day after the petitions were received, the committee on counties recommended the Hinkley petition to the legislature. It was read the required three times and passed into law.[58] Coalville had clearly become the seat of power in the emerging county.

Echo, too, was growing. It is described in the Deseret News as "being in its infancy" but containing a large rock store, a post office, a telegraph office, a Wells Fargo station, and several Union Pacific Railroad buildings.[59] Its store was owned by the non-Mormon James Bromley, whose views did not always accord with those of his Mormon convert wife or her newly found coreligionists. He was

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[56]Ibid.

[57]Minutes of the Summit County Court, 4 June 1867.

[58]Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 3 February 1869, Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

[59]Journal History, 23 July 1868.

bolstered in expressing his feelings by the growing influx of non-Mormon railroad workers at Echo and its companion rail station at Wahsatch in the northern part of the county. That crowd had already grown so large and boisterous that in January 1869 Elias Asper and thirty others in the mouth of Echo Canyon presented a petition to have the Empire Hurdy Gurdy House in Echo abated. There was little debate on the matter at the county court. An order was signed to have Sheriff Taylor proceed with the abatement.[60]

It was probably these conditions, along with the candidacy of William McGrorty the previous year, that caused the county officials to include the minutes of their county conventions for the first time in the records of the Summit county court. Undoubtedly records of these conventions had previously been kept. As elsewhere in the territory, they may have been included with Mormon Church records, but if such were once available, they have since disappeared.[61] In any case, it seems probable that the growth of the county, the appearance of a population whose views and habits were not compatible with those of the Mormon majority, and the candidacy of McGrorty the previous year combined to prompt the county officials to make these minutes a matter of public record. It was hoped, perhaps, that this action would avoid any criticism of mingling church with state in their political functioning by outsiders and of "doing things in a corner" by their fellow Church members.

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[60] Minutes of the Summit County Court, 12 January 1869.

[61] In Juab County the minutes of the county conventions were recorded with the stake priesthood meeting minutes.

In any case, on 27 June 1868 the minutes of the county court announce the decision to hold the annual convention on 20 July at the schoolhouse in Wanship. It was suggested that each precinct hold its meetings 13 July to nominate local precinct officers and to elect delegates to the county convention.[62]

On the appointed day delegations from the several precincts met at the schoolhouse in Wanship at 1 p.m. Present were Henry Alexander from Wanship; Arza Hinkley, the probate judge from Unionville (Hoytsville); Charles E. Griffen from Coalville; Charles Richins from Heneferville; Abraham Marchant from Peoa; and Levi Langham from Kamas. The Park and Upton precincts were apparently unrepresented.[63]

On motion Abraham Marchant was elected chairman, and Thomas Bullock was made clerk of the convention. The chairman exhorted union in all nominations. The following were then nominated: William Hooper, delegate to Congress; W. W. Cluff, representative to Deseret and Utah legislatures; Orrin Lee, selectman; Thomas Bullock, recorder; Stephen Taylor, sheriff; A. K. Anderson, coroner; and Alonzo Winter, surveyor. The chairman then urged everyone to vote for Hooper for delegate to Congress and W. W. Cluff for representative to the legislature. The convention then adjourned sine die.[64]

The election was held 3 August 1868. Hooper received 469 votes. All others received 414 votes with the exception of Cluff, who received but 412 votes. The near unanimity in such a large vote reveals the underlying homogeneity of the people, which was weakened

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[62]Minutes of the Summit County Court, 27 June 1868.

[63]Ibid., 20 July 1868. [64]Ibid.

only slightly on the home front where issues and personalities were better known and more likely to be expressed. Also elected were precinct officers in all but the Upton district. No accounting is made in the official abstract of elections of the vote in each precinct, so the size of the vote and for whom the votes were cast in the precincts is not known. It is evident from the abstract, however, that not all nominees were in favor of their candidacy or wanted to serve once elected, for Clerk Bullock notes on the abstract sent to the territorial secretary that A. K. Anderson refused to serve as county coroner.[65]

Evidence that at least some town trustees were elected comes from the county court records of 8 September 1868 where Henry Alexander and Henry Reynolds, "having been duly selected by the people," were confirmed in their positions as trustees of the town of Wanship by the county court."[66]

Mormon concern with outside intrusion continued in 1869. The completion of the railroad in May brought an influx of notables to Utah.[67] The economic and political power represented by these visitors increased the uneasiness felt by most Mormons at the approach of the outside world. It was a world which, at times, had been more hostile than the harsh realities of colonizing the Great Basin with which they had been struggling for over two decades.

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[65]Summit County Returns for 1868.

[66]It appears that Wanship had also passed under some civil control and was no longer under the immediate supervision of its ecclesiastical hierarchy.

[67]See the detailed discussion of these visitors in Roberts, Comprehensive History, 5:275-88.

The most immediate threat was the Union Pacific Railroad Act which granted it alternate sections of land along its track except where such land was already occupied. Much of its road bed lay in Summit County where, as elsewhere in Utah, land titles had not yet been confirmed.[68] A United States surveyor was sent to that county to determine what land was already occupied and what could be given to the railroad. Alarmed, and no doubt under the direction of the School of the Prophets in Salt Lake City,[69] the Summit County court decided to "select a good man to go along with the U.S. surveyor." Apparently much land in Summit County was commonly used, and there was no clear ownership, for the court directed "the good man" "to make notes of each section and put down some of the oldest citizens names on each one in order to preempt the land and to secure it against claim jumping by the railroad and others."[70]

What direct effect these events had on Summit County's politics cannot be determined. Only the records of the county convention are available, there being no extant abstract of elections that year. The minutes of the convention reveal nothing unusual. The delegates met in Zion's Cooperative store in Coalville, the new county seat, at 1 p.m.[71] Represented were Wanship, by Jared Roundy; Heneferville, by James Henefer; Upton, by L. L. Randall; Unionville,

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[68]See Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 249. [69]Ibid.

[70]Minutes of the Summit County Court, 19 June 1869.

[71]ZCMI was established 24 October 1868 to counter the growing class of merchants, largely non-Mormon, who were seen as parasites upon the people. Allied local stores were established in every community by 1870. See Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, pp. 298-306.

or Hoytsville, by Alonzo Winters; and Parley's Park, by George Snyder. Peoa and Kamas were unrepresented.

George Snyder was chosen as chairman and Thomas Bullock as clerk. The following nominations were made: Brigham Young, governor of Deseret; George A. Smith, lieutenant-governor of Deseret; W. W. Cluff, member of the legislature to Utah and Deseret; John Rowberry, John Van Cott and Lewis Hills, commissioners to locate university lands; Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, Joseph A. Young, and William Jennings as councilors to the Utah legislature. On a county level Elias Asper was chosen as selectman; John Allan, treasurer and poundkeeper; John Boyden, superintendent of schools; Peter Broom, coroner; and Alonzo Winters, surveyor. The convention then adjourned sine die.[72]

Not much is known of the process by which the territorial candidates endorsed by this convention were chosen. It is obvious, however, that the territorial offices had previously been selected and given to the various county conventions for endorsement.

The Era of Good Feelings

As the 1860s drew to a close, it was clear that an era was drawing to a close for Utah and for Summit County. This decade had seen the county emerge from the raw frontier, and it had shown an increasing regularization and sophistication in its political affairs. The political machinery of the county, informal at first, came to function as a responsibility of the county court, which designated

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[72]Minutes of the Summit County Court, 26 July 1869.

the time and place of conventions and included the proceedings in their own records.[73] It was also a time of broadening political participation but a time in which, even at its close, one person could hold a number of important elective positions, which tended to centralize political power in the hands of a few. These few were not always ecclesiastical figures and many times could not be classified as "leading men," but for the most part they were the entrepreneurs of the county. They were men who had largely risen above the necessity of ekeing a living out of the earth and had established various business enterprises.

There were also few disputes among the people of Summit County that manifested themselves politically. Even the relocation of the county seat at Coalville seems to have raised no permanent ill will. It perhaps substantiates the claim of John Sharp in 1882 that "perhaps 90 percent of the Mormons . . . care little about politics so long as the government does not interfere with the labor of their homes."[74] Those issues which raised the greatest concern at the polls were those in which the specter of unfriendly political domination was raised. The Mormons' experience in the East had created a real fear of gentile control which eventually led to the sacrifice of the

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[73]Richard Kotter makes the following comment about the political machinery of Weber County: "Elections were highly informal affairs. The citizens gathered usually at 'early Candle light' to nominate and elect officers for the coming two years. Those elected were usually put into office by acclamation and also were retained in office from year to year. There was no mention of any political party or party affiliation at this early date." Summit County seems to have followed this same pattern. (Richard Kotter, "An Examination of Mormon and Non-Mormon influences in Ogden City Politics: 1847-69" [Master's thesis, Utah State University, 1967], p. 28.)

[74]Ogden Daily Herald, 28 June 1882.

principle of polygamy and a careful orchestration of the political substructure of the emerging state of Utah in the 1890s.

This era of good feelings was brought to a close by the completion of the railroad and the influx of a growing number of non-Mormons whose life-style and outlook was substantially different from those of its pioneer founders and by the increasing Mormon/gentile conflict over the summit in Salt Lake County where the same forces that were beginning to affect Summit County were much further advanced.

CHAPTER III

STORM CLOUDS AT THE SUMMIT: 1870-79

Prelude

By 1870 a complex web of events began to change the nature of politics in Utah and in Summit County. With the completion of the railroad and the establishment of a viable precious metals mining industry, the Gentile population of Utah was growing. Spiritual and temporal unrest among the Mormons threatened a considerable schism in their ranks, and the advanced state of political reconstruction in the South following the Civil War permitted war hero Ulysses S. Grant, now president, to turn his attention from barbarism's first relic, slavery, to polygamy, its second relic. The combined work of these forces and others was as a sudden change of temperature that brings clouds and colorful, but somewhat frightening, displays of thunder and lightning to a summer sky. As threatening as these forces were in the 1870s, they were but a prelude to a storm still waiting beyond the horizon. There would still be patches of blue in Utah and in Summit County, but for the moment the situation was extremely threatening.

Gentile Growth

In 1864 Colonel Connor had established the town of Stockton in Rush Valley where his soldiers, turned prospectors, had discovered

gold. Connor hoped that the town's growth would provide a Gentile counter to Mormon influence in Salt Lake City.[1] By 1867 it had developed considerably and provided a base for Gentile operations in the territory. Comparatively, it was small, but it provided most of the 105 votes cast for McGrorty, the Gentile candidate for delegate to Congress, that year.[2]

By 1869 Corrine, a second major center of Gentile population, had been established. It served as a terminal for supplies being shipped from Utah to the developing mines of Montana and Idaho. It was hoped by its promoters that the coming of the railroad would make it a commercial center that would eventually overshadow Mormon Salt Lake City in both size and importance. Dogged Mormon efforts to make Ogden the junction city and their subsequent efforts to build a branch line north through Cache County from Ogden ultimately destroyed those dreams, but in 1870 Corrine showed signs of succeeding, and gentiles flocked there in great numbers.[3]

The Beginning of Party Politics in Utah

The growth of Stockton and Corinne no doubt encouraged non-Mormons in the territory, but what really gave impetus to their political aspirations was the possibility of a sizable Mormon schism. A group of Mormon elders, having long since found themselves on what Mormons call "the road to apostasy," became enamored of spiritualism

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[1]Hodson, "Origin of Non-Mormon Settlements in Utah," pp. 39-49.

[2]Roberts, Comprehensive History, 5:364.

[3]Hodson, "Origin of Non-Mormon Settlements in Utah," pp. 55-71.

and fancied their call to a "New Movement." This movement would restore the freedom and spirituality which they thought was being lost by Mormon involvement in temporal things under the direction of Brigham Young. These "Godbeites," as they became known, expected to be joined by thousands of other Latter-day Saints experiencing this same feeling of oppression.[4] With this expectation appearing to them as a distinct possibility, they joined hands with Baskin and other politically minded Gentiles in an attempt to free the people of Utah from what they felt to be the tyranny of Mormon priesthood dictation. Though the religious side of their movement quickly foundered, their political maneuvers bore fruit.[5]

Meeting on 9 February 1870 in the Masonic Hall in Salt Lake City, this combination held a caucus and organized what became the Liberal Party of Utah.[6] They elected a member of the New Movement, Eli B. Kelsey, as chairman and proceeded with the work of nominating a slate of candidates for the Salt Lake municipal election to be held 14 February 1870, just five days away. Their slate of nominees included Gentiles, members of the New Movement, and a few loyal Mormons. The Mormon nominees were not present at the meeting and had no opportunity to accept or decline the nominations, but their names were included in the hope of attracting enough of the orthodox Mormon vote to elect at least a portion of their ticket and "to make

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[4]Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, p. 428.

[5]Ibid., p. 429. Tullidge was a member of the New Movement and sympathetically relates their hopes and aspirations throughout this portion of his book.

[6]Ibid.

their coalition party a political entering wedge into the Mormon Church."[7] Having laid their plans they agreed to reconvene the following night in the old Walker Brothers' store to have their work ratified by a mass meeting of the people.

Hoping to attract as many adherents as possible to their infant political organization, they posted signs advertising the meeting throughout the city:

> Come one, come all. A full meeting is desired, and as the subject is one of general interest to all classes of our citizens, we hope there will be a crowded attendance. We want to see a good ticket nominated for city officers and the occasion is one in which every citizen should be interested.[8]

Taking a cue from the wording of the poster, the Deseret News of 10 February 1870 noted the meeting and asked for a "crowded attendance." Large numbers of Mormons did attend. Their numbers forced the doors open early, and there were hundreds who were not able to get inside. Gleefully they seized control of the meeting and proceeded to reorganize the infant party in their own image. Kelsey was replaced as chairman by Colonel Jesse Little. E. L. Sloan was elected secretary, and Mr. Grimshaw was made reporter. Colonel Little called for nominations, and one by one the men who had been chosen by the caucus of the night before were replaced by the choices of "the people." These choices duplicated those made by the regular caucus of Salt Lake citizens at the Tabernacle on 29 January 1870.[9]

What motivated the takeover of the infant Liberal Party is not known. Eli B. Kelsey and his associates charged the whole affair

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[7] Ibid. [8] Ibid., p. 430.

[9] Deseret News, 31 January 1870.

to the interference of Mormon Church authorities, and those involved claimed they were acting as private citizens.[10] What probably really happened is that the whole affair was planned by Mormon political leaders who wanted to show the new party's leadership just how futile their efforts would be.[11]

Evidence that the takeover was done at least partly in fun is found in the Deseret News on the day following the spirited affair. It says:

> We are happy to say that there was a very fine attendance of our citizens at the February 10th mass meeting. . . . The gentlemen whose names appear on the People's Ticket . . . were nominated and agreed upon with the greatest enthusiasm. The business having been accomplished, the citizens disbursed [sic] in the best of humor, being satisfied that they had nominated men who would do their duty, the popularity of the candidates being unequivocably manifest.[12]

Orson F. Whitney, a member of the ruling council of the Mormon Church and involved in the politics of the time, also claimed that the whole affair was a joke.[13] But if it was, it is clear that Kelsey

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[10]From the beginning of Utah's territorial history, this distinction had been a major point of contention. Gentiles perennially complained of priesthood tyranny and despotism in political matters. Mormons replied that the Church and state were separate and that the charge of Church control was given "color" only by virtue of the fact that all worthy males in the Church, who were of proper age, held the priesthood. It was only natural, they said, that capable men holding high Church positions would also be chosen by the people for important civic positions. A typical example of this defense in later years was given by George Q. Cannon, a member of the Church's First Presidency, in asserting his right to sit in Congress as Utah's territorial delegate. His defense is presented in detail by Tullidge in his History of Salt Lake City, p. 831.

[11]Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, p. 429.

[12]Deseret News, 11 February 1870.

[13]Orson F. Whitney, History of the Church, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons Co., 1892-94), 2:284-86 passim.

and his associates did not view it as such. They were left choking in anger at the events of the evening.[14]

Many students of Utah political history assume that this coup d'etat marked the beginning of the Mormon Church's People's Party as it did the founding of the Liberal Party. This is true only insofar as it tended to formalize the already functioning political machinery of the Mormon people. Whitney, in his History of Utah, says:

> Some might maintain that up to that time [the establishing of the Liberal Party] no People's Party existed here. . . . This, however, would be correct only in part since there was a fully functioning political organization--the People's Party in all but name--extant in the territory from the beginning.[15]

In 1887 leaders of the People's Party claimed that it had functioned since 1847. In a booklet entitled Address and Instructions of the Territorial Central Committee dated 4 April 1887, they claim that "your representatives have governed and controlled the territory in your interests faithfully since 1847. They have been true to the trust reposed in them. They are entitled to your confidence and support."[16]

It was, however, a claim that could only have been made in retrospect, for it is clear that politically minded men in Summit County did not consider themselves a part of any organized political party. There the political machinery seems to have functioned as a

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[14]Brigham H. Roberts, another politically involved Mormon, at a later date, 1930, claimed that the takeover was indefensible from any view point and was to be regretted (Comprehensive History, 5:308).

[15]2:384-86.

[16](Salt Lake City: n.p., 1887), n.p.

part of the civil government from at least 1868 to 1877. By the latter year events had forced a rethinking of the political situation and the assertion of ecclesiastical concern and the formal establishment of the People's Party in that county in August 1881.

Gathering Clouds in Salt Lake City and at the Nation's Capital

Leaders of the infant Liberal Party were given a boost in March 1870 by the arrival of newly appointed Governor J. Wilson Shaffer. In 1868 Secretary of War Rawlins visited Utah and determined that it was as much in need of reconstruction as the recently conquered South. "Casting his eye over the best of war comrades to find the man most fit for the work, he determined to select Shaffer."[17] President Grant, who was as anxious to stamp out the "second relic of barbarism" as he was the first, appointed Shaffer with the promise that he might use military force to bolster any action he deemed necessary to Americanize the territory.[18] Following his arrival in Utah, Shaffer quickly joined hands with Baskin, Maxwell, and others whom Roberts designates as the "Utah Ring."[19] "Never after me, by God," he is reputed to have said, "shall it be said that Brigham Young is Governor of Utah."[20]

He lived only seven months after his arrival, but he gave strength to the emerging anti-Mormon political movement and caused

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[17] Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, pp. 479-80.

[18] Roberts, Comprehensive History, 5:318.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City, p. 480.

continual alarm among the Mormons as he collided belligerently with the established order in Utah.

Shaffer's term and that of his successor, George L. Woods, as well as that of Chief Justice McKean, who arrived in Utah late in 1870, were affected by a complex set of values that were forged by the events that led to the creation of the Republican Party and that had precipitated the breakdown of normal democratic give and take and had resulted in the outbreak of open hostilities between the North and the South.

This same urgency moved legislators in the nation's capital to consider the Cullom Bill. Inspired by the laws governing the reconstruction of the South, this bill would have made all probate judges, justices of the peace, notaries public, and sheriffs appointees of the governor. The selection of jury panels would have been placed in the hands of the United States marshal and the district clerks. The power of the probate courts was to be severely curtailed. The bill also provided for the seizure and disposal of the property of convicted or fugitive polygamists and empowered the president of the United States to send armed forces to Utah to enforce it if necessary.[21]

The Cullom Bill failed to pass the Senate, but its passage by the House and its serious consideration in the Senate undoubtedly contributed to the aggressiveness of Shaffer, Woods, and McKean in their terms of office.[22]

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[21] Congressional Globe, 41st Cong., 2d sess. (1869-70), pp. 1367-69, quoted in Vetterli, Mormonism, Americanism and Politics, p. 597.

[22] Roberts, Comprehensive History, 5:323-26. Something of the feeling underlying McKean's aggressiveness is revealed in the following

The desire to eradicate the "second relic" also led to a discussion in the nation's capital of the granting of female suffrage as a way to break the political strength of the Mormon Church, which was upholding polygamy.[23] It was felt by some that the women of Utah, granted the franchise, would use it to destroy plural marriage, to which it was assumed they were opposed. When Utah's delegate to Congress, William H. Hooper, expressed his approval of the bill, and the Mormon newspaper in Salt Lake City, the Deseret News, reported favorably on its passage, its sponsors reconsidered the bill and dropped it. But the suggestion had been made, and the territorial legislature, sensing its political advantages, granted it. It is certain that the Mormon legislature understood that it would strengthen their position at the polls and perhaps gain for them the sympathy of the growing women's suffrage movement nationally.[24] It became law in February 1870, having been signed by Acting Governor S. A. Mann. The passing of the bill irritated Governor Shaffer, but

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statement of Judge McKean to Louis Dent, also a judge and a brother-in-law to President Grant. "Judge Dent, the mission which God has called upon me to perform in Utah, is as much above the duties of other courts and judges as the heavens are above the earth, and whenever and wherever I may find the local or federal laws obstructing or interfering therewith, by God's blessing I shall trample them under my feet." (Edward Tullidge, Life of Brigham Young, or Utah and Its Founders, quoted in Roberts, Comprehensive History, 5:448.)

[23]Roberts, Comprehensive History, 5:323-24.

[24]Men outnumbered women in the territory, especially among the non-Mormon element. Giving women the franchise would add significantly to potential Mormon voting power. Gentile recognition of this fact led to the eventual repeal of female suffrage in Utah in 1887.

he was still in Washington, D.C., urging the passing of the Cullom Bill and was unable to do anything about it.[25]

A Brief Squall at the Summit

Summit County officials could not have been unaware of the political turmoil in Salt Lake City or failed to have felt some excitement over the prospect of female suffrage. They must also have been aware of local Liberal activities, but if they were, there is no hint of it in the minutes of their county convention held 13 July 1870 at Coalville. Bishop Alonzo Winters, delegate from Unionville (Hoytsville), was selected as chairman and Wanships Ross Rogers was selected as clerk. Others present were Henry Reynolds from Wanship, R. Jackson Reddin and John Allan from Coalville, Bishop Abraham Marchant from Peoa, Charles Richins from Heneferville, and Jacob Huff from Upton. Kamas and Parley's Park were unrepresented.

William H. Hooper was nominated as Summit County's choice for delegate to Congress; John Van Cott, John Rowberry, and Lewis Hills were ratified as candidates for commissioners to locate university lands.[26] Orrin S. Lee was nominated as Summit County's representative

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[25]Roberts, Comprehensive History, 5:326.

[26]The process by which Summit County's politicians were notified as to who to nominate for territorial positions such as the delegate to Congress and the commissioners to locate university lands is not clear. Summit County's convention was held 13 July and that of Salt Lake County, which was the political power center of the territory, was held 16 July where the nominating committee selected these same names. Obviously the names for these positions had been selected earlier in some fashion and submitted to the county conventions for approval.

to the legislature, and Ross Rogers was nominated as selectman.[27] Charles Griffen and William Reynolds were selected as nominees for the offices of sheriff and coroner, respectively, to round out the ticket.[28]

Though no details of its organization are available, there was apparently a local Liberal Party organization in Summit County. James E. Bromley of Echo was nominated as a commissioner to locate university lands along with William Jones and E. T. Brown. George Maxwell was the Liberal nominee for Utah's delegate to Congress. Joseph Foster of Heneferville was nominated as representative to the legislature.[29] H. C. Wallace was nominated as a candidate for the office of selectman, and Thomas Dobson was nominated for the office of sheriff.[30]

The election of 1 August reveals a sizable gentile presence in the county at Wahsatch. It also reveals an interesting split in the Mormon vote at Heneferville and Coalville, but fails to show much

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[27]William W. Cluff, who had served faithfully in this position previously, was serving as the president of the Mormon Church's Scandinavian mission. An example of Summit County's support for such men is found in the minutes of the Summit County court for 6 June 1870. It is recorded there that W. W. Cluff's taxes were remitted for the year because he was on a mission. See also Roberts, Comprehensive History, 5:89.

[28]Minutes of the Summit County Court, 13 July 1870.

[29]Joseph Foster remained active in Liberal ranks throughout the party's existence. A former Mormon, it seems probable that he was one of those converted in 1864-65 when the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints sent a mission to Utah to reclaim the "Brighamites," as they referred to the Mormons who followed Brigham Young to Utah.

[30]Thomas Dobson had formerly been constable of Coalville but had been asked to resign in January 1870 for nonperformance of duty. See Minutes of the Summit County Court, 5 January 1870.

of a feminine presence at the polls. If the number of votes cast in Wahsatch is an accurate indication if its size, it was among the largest centers of population in the county.[31] It seems more likely, however, that it served as a place to vote for gentile workmen along the Union Pacific tracks in that part of the territory and included many more than were actually living in the place. In any case, 181 votes were cast in the Wahsatch precinct for George Maxwell, the Liberal candidate for delegate to Congress. The number of votes cast for other Liberal candidates ranged from a low of 106 for selectman candidate H. C. Wallace to a high of 169 for William Jones as a commissioner to locate university lands. Mormon candidate for delegate to Congress, William H. Hooper, received only 2 votes in that precinct while other Mormon candidates received none.

The Liberal vote elsewhere in the county was limited to seven votes cast for James Bromley in Heneferville precinct, which included Echo, and one vote for George Maxwell in Wanship and Parley's Park.[32]

If, however, the Liberal ticket caused no major concern among Mormon voters, the candidacy of Orrin S. Lee and Ross Rogers did. Forty-five Heneferville voters scratched the name of Lee for legislative representative and voted for Coalville resident, John Allan, for the office. Forty-eight residents of the same precinct scratched the name of Rogers for selectman and voted for fellow townsman, Charles Richins. Only fifteen persons in the precinct voted for Lee, and only twelve voted for Rogers. Clearly these two regularly chosen

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[31]There were 181 votes cast at Wahsatch compared to 173 at Coalville, which was the largest Mormon town in the county.

[32]Echo was James Bromley's hometown.

candidates were not acceptable to the voters of the Heneferville precinct.

What caused the split at Heneferville may never be known, but it seems possible that it may have developed shortly after the county convention and as a result of the choices made there. Charles Richins, who drew the larger part of the split vote at Heneferville, was a delegate to the convention, and it may be that his candidacy was a protest against the fact that Heneferville seems not to have had a selectman to represent that part of the county since the county's first election when William Henefer served in that capacity. Orrin Lee had served two consecutive three-year terms as selectman, and the protest vote over that issue may have been directed at him.[33]

A small rift also developed at Coalville over Lee's candidacy. There five people scratched his name for legislative representative and voted for fellow townsman Alma L. Smith. There was no corresponding split in Coalville's vote in the race for selectman. This, with the fact that a split developed over Lee's candidacy in more than one town in the county, may indicate that Lee's personality or his views were involved in his lack of popularity as well as the selectman issue. It seems possible that only the Mormon penchant for unity and the presence of a Liberal ticket in the field prevented the protest from being even larger. In any case, the issue was serious

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[33]The terms were those of 1865 and 1868. Ross Rogers's candidacy resulted in a person from Wanship serving in the capacity of a selectman for three consecutive terms.

enough that it led the regular county convention of 1871 to reject Lee as a nominee for office.[34]

It is hard to determine the size of the female vote in this first election, though it seems to have been small. Four hundred sixty-nine people voted in the election of 1868, which is the last election for which returns are available for comparison. Eight hundred people voted in 1871. This represents a sizable increase, but it can be largely attributed to the gentile vote at Wahsatch, which did not play a role in the 1868 election. If the 181 votes at that place are deducted from the total of 802 votes cast in the 1870 election, there is an increase of 152 Mormon votes. It is difficult to tell how many of these 152 votes are a result of increased Mormon population in the county or how many may simply be the result of more people voting because of the excitement surrounding this election as compared to that of 1868. It appears, then, that the female vote was very small and did not differ significantly from that of their male counterparts.[35]

Patches of Blue in the Sky at the Summit

The brief squall of 1870 was quick in passing, and there were patches of blue appearing in Summit County's political sky. The

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[34]Minutes of the Summit County Court, 22 July 1871.

[35]M. R. Werner, Brigham Young, quoted in Vetterli, Mormonism, Americanism and Politics, p. 592. Werner says: "When the franchised women of Utah did vote, they voted as their husbands, thus forming a powerful political advantage to the Mormon Church in Utah." It appears that at this early date the women in Summit County did not add significantly to the voting power of the Mormons.

gentile presence at Wahstach was fading as the need for construction workers along the railroad subsided and the problems in Salt Lake City seemed to pose no immediate threat. Still, there were clouds on the horizon to the west at the capital. The county convention in 1871, chagrined and perhaps alarmed at the split in the Mormon vote the previous year, determined to close ranks and settled upon candidates who were acceptable to all. It was apparently not accomplished without some disagreement, but unity was the watchword and the nominees' appeal to the electorate was paramount.

The regular county convention met 22 July at Coalville. It was called to order, and the following delegates were certified to participate: Upton, Jacob Huff; Coalville, Henry Evans; Unionville (Hoytsville), Bishop Alonzo Winters; Rockport, John Holtin; Peoa, Bishop Abraham Marchant; and Heneferville, Charles Richins. Wahsatch, Wanship, and Parley's Park were not represented. On motion Jacob Huff was made chairman, and Thomas Bullock became the secretary. It was voted that the four councilors for Summit, Salt Lake, and Tooele counties and the three commissioners to locate university lands on the regular ticket in Salt Lake County be the nominees of Summit County for the same offices. It seems fairly clear from this comment and from previous action that Salt Lake County's choices for these offices were routinely accepted by the outlying counties and that they, at least at this time, had little or no choice in those nominations except to ratify them at their own conventions.

County nominations followed. Orrin Lee, whose candidacy in 1870 resulted in the split vote at Heneferville and Coalville, was nominated as selectman by John Holtin of Rockport. Bishop Alonzo

Winters of Unionville countered by nominating Ward E. Pack from Rockport. There is no discussion in the minutes of how it was decided that Pack should be the nominee, but his is the name that appears on the finished ticket. It is likely that Lee's candidacy was rejected by a majority of the convention because of his poor showing at the polls the previous year and that Rockport resident Ward E. Pack was a good compromise candidate. In any case, the convention was not willing to risk dividing the people politically and sought a more acceptable candidate.[36]

Other officers nominated at the convention were Charles Griffen as surveyor and Benjamin Miles as coroner. At the convention's end, two notices of election were given to each representative present to be posted in his district, and copies were sent to those districts unrepresented at the convention for similar posting.[37]

The general abstract of votes for 1871 reveals a fairly consistent vote for the regular nominees. There was 1 vote cast at Wanship for the Liberal slate of nominees for councilors to the Utah legislature and 2 at Heneferville. At Wahsatch 42 votes were cast for the Liberal slate of councilors, but only 2 were cast for the Liberal slate of commissioners to locate university lands. In

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[36]County court minutes indicate that Pack was serving on the county court as early as 31 July 1871, before the election but after the convention. It is probable that because of his nomination he was chosen to fill in for Elias Asper, a selectman, who was ill. On 8 August, after the election, Orrin Lee was tendered a note of thanks by the court for his service, and Asper was back serving on the court by 4 September.

[37]It seems to have been the custom to post such notices in the post offices of the communities. The Park City Record later complained of this practice and demanded that such notices be printed in its pages.

addition to the Liberal vote at Wahsatch, there were 6 votes cast for each of the People's ticket candidates for territorial office. The Liberal vote at Wahsatch shows a heavy falling off and reflects the passing need for railroad construction workers in that part of the county. The lack of any real threat from that area probably contributed to the general falling off of the vote. Only 435 votes were cast in all, 34 fewer than in the election of 1868 before the passage of female suffrage. It should be noted, however, that this total does not include any vote from Parley's Park, for that had not been reported to the county clerk by 14 August, when the abstract was made up.[38] It is doubtful that the returns from that area would affect the total much as only 31 votes had been cast there in 1870 and only 3 were cast there in 1872.

No figures are available for the county's local races, but it seems safe to say that the split of 1870 was not repeated.

A Try for Statehood

Judge McKean's crusade against the Mormon menace heated up in October 1871 when Brigham Young was arrested for "lewd and lascivious" conduct. His lawyers made a motion to quash the indictment, but Judge McKean, who had proceeded in his affairs as if the Cullom Bill had been passed, denied the motion and declared that the "real title [of this case] is Federal Authority versus Polygamic

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[38]This information appears on a note from county clerk Thomas Bullock on the general abstract of the vote of Summit County submitted to the territorial secretary on that date. See Summit County Returns for 1871.

Theocracy . . . a system is on trial in the person of Brigham Young."[39] He was, however, overruled. Meanwhile, as an earlier challenge to legal procedures in Utah resulted in the Supreme Court's Englebrecht decision, which undid most of the work McKean had done and resulted in President Young's release. The action brought a sigh of relief from Salt Lake County's Mormons, if not from those elsewhere. The situation was disturbing enough, however, that the Mormons decided to make another try for statehood. Accordingly, in January 1872 the Utah legislature called for an election of delegates to a state constitutional convention.[40]

Summit County responded to the call by holding a convention on 27 January at the county seat in Coalville.[41] Present were Edmund Eldredge and Henry Evans from that city, Henry Reynolds and Henry W. Brizzee from Wanship, John M. Malin from Rockport, and Samuel Williams representing both Kamas and Peoa. Bishop Alonzo Winters was also present. Apparently no formal caucus was held at Unionville to select a delegate, but Bishop Winters was accepted by those present and took part in the proceedings.

The convention was organized by calling H. W. Brizzee as chairman and Thomas Bullock as secretary. The first ballot resulted

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[39]Roberts, Comprehensive History, 5:396.

[40]Roberts gives two reasons for the attempt at statehood: (1) The aggressive action of Shaffer, Woods, and McKean had divided the gentile population; and (2) It was by no means certain that the Republicans could capture the United States presidency in the coming election. It was hoped that the Republicans would see an opportunity to win Utah's three electoral votes by making the territory a state. See Roberts, Comprehensive History, 5:458-59.

[41]See Minutes of the Summit County Court, 27 January 1872.

in the choice of W. W. Cluff and George G. Snyder as two of the three delegates. Cluff's choice was unanimous, but Snyder won by a bare majority. The selection of the third delegate resulted in a tie between Samuel Atwood and Ward E. Pack. A second ballot broke this tie, and Atwood joined Cluff and Snyder as the county's delegate to the constitutional convention.

In March a second convention was called in Summit County to choose officers for the proposed state.[42] At this convention the precincts were represented as follows: Coalville, Alma Eldredge and Henry Evans; Wanship, Henry Long and Miles Batty; Rockport, Henry Seamons; Peoa, Samuel Williams; Kamas, John L. Brasher; Parley's Park, Charles A. Harper; Heneferville, Charles Richins; and Upton, Charles Stacey. Bishop Alonzo Winters was again present without credentials but was seated as a delegate and made chairman of the convention. Thomas Bullock was called upon to serve as clerk. Frank Fuller was nominated as representative to Congress for the new state, and Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, William Jennings, and Charles Hempstead were nominated as senators to the Deseret assembly.

Of greatest interest is the detail given in the minutes of the convention to the selection of a representative to the Deseret legislature, which was a local choice, as opposed to those above which were ratifications of previous choices made in Salt Lake County. Alma Eldredge nominated W. W. Cluff to the position. His motion was seconded but not carried. J. L. Brasher then moved that the voting be by ballot. The motion passed, six votes to four. Henry Long then

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[42] Ibid., 16 March 1872.

nominated George G. Snyder. A ballot was taken in which Cluff received five votes to Snyder's six. At this point Alma Eldredge suggested that someone be nominated on whom the entire convention could agree and withdrew his nomination of Cluff. Ward E. Pack was then nominated. He received nine of the eleven votes, but since the vote was still not unanimous, Alma Eldredge was nominated for the post. Eldredge received only six votes, so his name was withdrawn. After further duscussion W. W. Cluff was put back in nomination. On this ballot he received all but one vote, so he was declared the official nominee, and the convention adjourned sine die.[43]

In connection with this bid for statehood, there was also an abortive attempt to organize Utah's politics along national party lines. The attempt must largely have been confined to small groups of people from Salt Lake Valley. Summit County's chief politicians were apparently not involved. In fact, it seems plausible that party preference was not even discussed among them. In 1891, after the dissolution of the People's Party, two of Summit County's most active politicians, who had been close associates for many years in the pursuance of their Church callings as members of the Summit Stake presidency, discovered they had conflicting political interests. W. W. Cluff, the stake president, asked Alma Eldredge, his first counselor, to join him in establishing a Democratic Club. Eldredge replied that even though he identified with the People's Party on local matters, he had always identified with the Republican Party on national issues.[44] Eldredge then joined hands with many Park City

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[43]Ibid. [44]Eldredge, "Reminiscences," 2 July 1891.

Republicans and helped establish that party in the county. In 1898, after Utah achieved statehood, Eldredge ran for the office of Representative to Congress from Utah on the Republican ticket against Democrat and fellow Church member Brigham H. Roberts. He was beaten by only five thousand votes.[45] It seems apparent that Utah's long territorial status, which denied it participation in the nation's affairs, and the storm over what Mormons felt was a threat to the right to worship freely under the First Amendment, retarded the normal development of the national parties within the territory. In Summit County it appears that local issues and the supposed necessity for unity within the Mormon Church on political affairs precluded the discussion of national issues to the extent that even such close associates as Cluff and Eldredge did not know each other's national political preference.

Blue Skies at the Summit

There are no records of the regular county convention's being held in 1872, but one seems to have been held that resulted in the choice of Charles Richins of Heneferville as selectman. The county court minutes show him functioning in that position as of 8 October 1872, and earlier, on 9 September, the minutes record the tendering of a note of thanks to Elias Asper for his service as a selectman. Apparently the split vote of 1870 had been recognized. Heneferville was

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[45]Roberts, Comprehensive History, 5:464-67.

now represented by a selectman in the court. What other local officers were nominated and elected that year is not known.[46]

The August election resulted in the election of the regular territorial People's ticket. There were only 2 Liberal votes cast in the county at the Heneferville precinct.[47] No vote at all was recorded at Wahsatch, indicating that the population of that precinct had been depleted with the completion of railroad construction in that area. The 477 votes cast in Summit County were distributed among the precincts as follows: Coalville, 141 votes; Unionville, 66 votes; Wanship, 71 votes; Upton, 16 votes; and Rockport, 24 votes. Compared to previous elections, that of 1872 cannot be considered a big year and again, there is little way of knowing how many of the votes cast were by women. It is only certain that the female vote did not differ from the male vote.

Again in 1873 there is no record of a county convention's being held, but the general abstract of elections for the year indicates that there were local candidates for justices of the peace, constables, fence viewers, and school trustees. The general falling off of the vote in 1873 seems to indicate that there was little excitement about political affairs that year in Summit County. Only 258 votes were cast, compared to 477 in 1872. Of those, 49 votes were cast in Coalville as compared to 141 the previous year. No vote

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[46]The general abstract of elections for the year 1872 shows only the results of the election of territorial officers. It includes the Summit County representative to the Utah legislature.

[47]Echo was included in the Heneferville precinct, and the two votes cast here for the Liberal Party were probably cast by James Bromley and Joseph Foster.

at all was reported in Unionville; 29 votes were recorded in Peoa as compared to 49 the previous year. Kamas dropped from 74 to 42; Parley's Park dropped to 5 from 9; Upton decreased two, from 16 to 14; and 52 votes were cast at Wanship, compared to 71 the year before. The only increases for the year were recorded at Heneferville and Rockport. Heneferville increased from 27 to 33, and Rockport increased from 24 to 30. The slight increase of votes at Heneferville may possibly have been due to the candidacy of Joseph A. A. Bunot, a resident of the Heneferville precinct, for the office of territorial surveyor. There was a scattering of scratched ballots in the precinct elections for justices, constables, fence viewers, and school trustees, but no more than two in any single race.

The Storm Abroad Thickens

On 1 December 1873 President Grant, determined to counter the effects of the Englebracht decision in Utah, petitioned Congress for legislation to accomplish the judiciary revolution that McKean had failed to Achieve. By 22 June 1874 the legislation, known as the Poland Act, passed both Senate and House of Representatives and was signed into law. It gave United States district courts exclusive civil and criminal jurisdiction and limited the probate courts to matters of guardianship, divorce, and estate settlement. It also abolished the offices of territorial marshal and attorney general. Jury lists were now to be drawn by the clerk of the district court and the probate judge.[48]

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[48]It was assumed that this arrangement would result in the alternate drawing of Mormon and gentile names for jury duty.

The passing of the Poland Act marked the beginning of the end of Mormon ability to fight off the inevitable. The Manifesto, releasing Mormons from the practice of polygamy, would not come until 24 September 1890, but the handwriting was on the wall. A nation was determined to put an end to such an anomaly within its moral fabric. It would not endure the existence of the second relic of barbarism any more than it had endured the first, and Utah, barring divine intervention, could not escape. In 1874, however, the handwriting was not seen so clearly. Mormons in Utah were satisfied that the Englebrecht decision and the defeat of the Cullom Bill held a promise of better things to come. If there were better things to come, the present could be endured.

Encouraged by the passage of the Poland Act, Utah's Gentiles made strenuous efforts to push their newly won advantages. Tooele County, which P. E. Connor had labored to make a gentile stronghold, fell into Liberal hands and became the first county in Utah to function under their control. Mormon incumbents charged fraud, but Justice McKean ordered them out of office, and Tooele County stayed under gentile control until 1879 when a new voter registration law helped put the county back in Mormon hands.[49]

In Salt Lake City strenuous efforts were made by the Liberals to capture the city government. Here there were three tickets entered in the field: the regular Mormon ticket headed by D. H.

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[49]Whitney's History of Utah, 2:742-43, claims that five hundred illegal votes were cast in the gentile precince of Jacob City alone. Overall it was claimed that twenty-two hundred ballots were cast in a county where there were no more than fifteen hundred eligible voters.

Wells for mayor; a Working People's ticket sponsored by conservative non-Mormons headed by Mormon William Jennings for mayor; and the Liberal ticket headed by Joseph R. Walker. This third ticket suggested to managers of the Liberal Party a strategem for taking control of the election. The result was a new ticket headed by William Jennings for mayor with two other names from the Working People's ticket, five from the pro-Mormon People's Party, and the rest from the Liberal ticket. The name of the new party's ticket was the "People's Ticket," and the ballot itself was made to look almost identical to that of the regular People's Party ticket. On election day many people were confused by the ballot, but in spite of the effort, the regular ticket prevailed 3,948 to 1,677.[50]

In the August territorial election between George Q. Cannon and R. H. Baskin, the Liberals also made strenuous efforts to capture that office. Maxwell, former candidate for that office and now United States marshal,

> employed a large number of United States deputy marshals and sent them to the polls "to see that no citizen was hindered in freely casting his vote" this under the act of Congress known as the "bayonet rule" or "force act" passed by Congress during the "reconstruction period"-- . . . which granted United States Marshalls . . . special powers on election days.[51]

The regular election officials took a different view of the matter and refused to vacate their responsibilities during the day. Riots

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[50]Tullidge claims that this same strategem had been used in Ogden and Weber County elections, with the opposition ticket running Aaron Farr against Franklin D. Richards almost carrying the day (History of Salt Lake City, p. 609). See Whitney, History of Utah, 2:743, for election results.

[51]Roberts, Comprehensive History, 5:377.

threatened; Mayor Wells was roughed up and put under arrest, but to no avail. Cannon won, 22,260 to 4,513, with a ratio of four votes to one vote for R. N. Baskin in Salt Lake City.[52]

Continued Blue Skies at the Summit

Less than a month after the passage of the Poland Act in 1879, the regular county convention was held in Coalville. Present were Robert Salmon and Alma L. Smith of Coalville, Jared Roundy and Thomas Meagen of Wanship, Ephraim Green and J. H. Black from Rockport, Bishop Abraham Marchant of Peoa, James Woolstenhulme and John Pack of Kamas, and Charles Richins of Heneferville. Alma Smith was chosen as chairman, and Robert Salmon was elected as clerk.[53]

On a territorial level, George Q. Cannon was ratified as the county's candidate for delegate to Congress, and John Van Cott, Lewis Hills, and John Rowberry were accepted as the county's candidates for the offices of commissioners to locate university lands.

On the local level Ward E. Pack was nominated as representative to the legislature. Elias Asper was chosen as probate judge. James Woolstenhulme was nominated as selectman with Edward Allison as sheriff, Henry Evans as treasurer, and Charles F. Miller as county commissioner of common schools.[54]

Evidence of the county's increasing political sophistication is found in the convention's decision to allocate each precinct's

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[52]Ibid., 5:379.

[54]Unionville was also represented, but the name of the man representing them is not readable. It may have been Samuel P. Hoyt.

[54]Minutes of the Summit County Court, 30 July 1874.

representation at the convention on the basis of the number of votes cast in the previous election. Each precinct casting fewer than 50 votes was entitled to one delegate. Those precincts casting from 50 to 100 votes were allocated two delegates. Three delegates were given to those precincts casting from 100 to 150 votes with one additional delegate granted for each 50 votes thereafter.[55]

The motion was submitted to the county court on 7 September 1874 and was approved. The court then examined the number of votes cast in each precinct and granted representation to the county convention based upon the following returns: Coalville, 155 votes; Heneferville, 29; Upton, 52; Unionville, 54; Wanship, 75; Parley's Park, 33; Rockport, 23; Peoa, 58; and Kamas 106 to account for the total of 585 votes cast in 1874.[56] This allocation resulted in the selection of seventeen delegates to the convention the following year.

The decision to allocate the representation to the convention on the basis of the number of votes cast may have been a move on the part of the Mormon majority to protect their political interests. It will be noted that there had been a considerable increase in the number of votes cast in the Parley's Park precinct. Most of the upsurge could probably be attributed to the non-Mormon growth in Park City. Since each precinct was at liberty to choose its own delegates to the county convention, it could have been assumed by Mormon politicians that Gentiles would now participate in the regular political processes of the county and be represented in the choices made in nominating the county ticket. This participation would

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[55]Ibid. [56]Ibid., 7 September 1874.

presumably obviate the need for a separate gentile ticket and would assure, at least for the present, that Mormons would control the convention, and hence the county's political offices.

The allocation may also have been an outgrowth of the struggle within the county to represent each of its parts fairly. It will be remembered that in 1871 there had been a sizable split in the Mormon vote, which had probably stemmed from the same issue. The allocation may also have resulted from a simple decision to increase participation in the county's political processes. In any case, it represents a significant step forward in the political growth of the county.

The fact that the convention felt it necessary to submit their allocation resolution to the county court for approval and implementation confirms the idea that Summit County's Mormon politicians considered the convention and its nominating process an integral part of the county government and subject to it so far as its decisions were concerned. It also tends to support the contention that Summit County's Mormons did not consider themselves a part of any organized political party. If this is true, then 1874 and 1875 represent high water marks in their integrated system for, from this point forward, the convention and the nominating process became more independent until it achieved full autonomy in 1881 with the formal establishment of the People's Party in Summit County.

If the anticipation of gaining more delegates to the county convention for their particular precinct brought out large numbers of voters in 1874, it failed to do so the following year. Where 585 votes had been cast the previous year, only 401 were cast in 1875.

Perhaps, after all, the lack of any burning local issues and the fact that the county government in general assisted rather than interfered with the labor of the county's resident obviated the need for competition between the precincts for delegates. Of the 401 votes cast, only 6 were for the Liberal slate of commissioners to locate university lands and only a scattering of 13 were cast for other than the regular candidate for the legislative council.[57]

Summit County's political skies seemed truly blue, but changes, of which the Poland Act was only the harbinger, were in store. Local issues would combine with religious and social differences to make the later half of the 1870s a time of change at the summit.

A Brief Lull in the Storm Abroad

In 1873 Brigham Young's wife Ann Eliza Webb sued for divorce. On 25 February 1875 Young was finally brought before the court to defend himself. The court was embarrassed by either having to recognize his plural marriage in order to justify Eliza's claims for support or having to deny the marriage and deprive Eliza of her case. Sidestepping the legal ramifications of the case for the moment, Justice McKean ordered Brigham Young to pay counsel fees for Eliza. On advice from his own counsel, Young refused and was summarily ordered to pay a fine of twenty-five dollars and spend twenty-four hours in jail. The action brought an outpouring of sympathy toward the aging prophet, and McKean's arrogance led to his dismissal from

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[57] Summit County Returns for 1875.

office five days later for "fanatical and extreme conduct . . . and by several acts . . . which are considered ill advised, tyrannical and in excess of his powers as judge."[58]

In October 1875 President Grant, perhaps shaken by McKean's aggressiveness, visited Utah. As he was greeted by hundreds of Mormon Sunday School children, he commented, "I have been deceived."[59] It may be that President Grant recognized the possibility that he was being deceived earlier. In December 1874 he had appointed Governor Axtell to replace Governor Woods. Axtell was not pro-Mormon, but his attitude toward the Mormons had been tempered by his friendship with William H. Hooper, with whom he became acquainted during the latter's tenure as Utah's delegate to Congress. Axtell was not accepted by Utah's rabid anti-Mormon coterie. He was dubbed Bishop Axtell, and the outcry against him became so strident that on 8 June 1875 President Grant replaced him with Governor George W. Emery. Emery, too, fell into disfavor with the rabid fringes of Utah's gentile political establishment, but President Grant held his ground, and Emery remained governor.[60]

President Grant's visit to Utah and the appointment of Governor Emery brought comparative peace to Utah's political heartland throughout the latter half of the 1870s. Governor Emery, though not pro-Mormon, was looked upon as being fair by his Mormon co-workers. The spirit of cooperation that developed between Governor

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[58]Roberts, Comprehensive History, 5:447. [59]Ibid., 5:505.

[60]Emery fell into disfavor almost immediately by granting George Q. Cannon a certificate of election as delegate to Congress. Former Governor Woods had refused to do so.

Emery and the territorial legislature brought several changes in political procedure that improved the situation for both Mormon and non-Mormon in Utah. Chief among these measures was a bill providing for a secret ballot and the preelection registration of voters.[61] There was also a bill passed providing for the presence of judges from the minority party at the polls.[62] These laws helped mollify gentile charges of priesthood control over voters from the Mormon Church and provided an assurance to non-Mormons that their votes were being fairly counted. They also helped to assure Mormons that transients, who were largely non-Mormon, would not be permitted to control the outcome of the elections, something they felt had occurred in Tooele County in the election of 1874.

Increasing Clouds at the Summit

But if the later half of the 1870s represents an improvement in Mormon political affairs generally, it was a time of escalating problems in Summit County. There, most political warfare before 1876 was on account of itinerant railroad workers or was related to political issues in Salt Lake City and elsewhere. The year 1876, however, marked an end to affairs as usual in Summit County. In that year lowly Parley's Park began to flex its political muscle. One of its residents, George G. Snyder, appeared on a ballot in opposition to the regular county nominee, Samuel Atwood. Snyder received 343 votes to Atwood's 572. It appears that many, if not most, of the votes for Snyder were cast by Mormons. Only 6 Liberal

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[61] Roberts, Comprehensive History, 5:602. [62] Ibid., 5:602-3.

votes were cast in the previous year's elections, and only 136 votes were cast for the Liberal ticket in the next election. In addition, only 38 of those voting in the election of 1876 failed to cast their ballots for the Mormon slate of commissioners to locate university lands.[63]

Whether any attempt was made to gain Snyder's nomination at the regular county convention is not known, but his participation in previous county conventions and his solid standing in the Mormon Church seem to affirm that it was and that he was rejected in favor of Atwood.

It appears that Parley's Park, long the least developed and politically recognized area of the county, was determined to obtain the representation due its rapidly growing population. Snyder was the best man, and the office of legislative representative was the best office to gain this recognition. Snyder was well identified with the pioneer founders of the county in Snyderville and was considered a leading man in the Mormon Church. These qualifications, in addition to his participation in the founding of Park City and his association with its gentile miners and merchants, made him acceptable to all classes of citizens within the county. His broad background seemed to make him an ideal representative of the county's needs. But Parley's Park was denied the recognition. Most Mormon voters stayed with the official county ticket.

The reason for Snyder's rejection by the convention and/or the voters may never be known. It seems only certain that it was not

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[63]Summit County Returns for 1876.

for religious reasons. In 1877 Snyder was chosen as the first counselor in the newly created Summit Stake. The best explanation seems to be that the older, more established areas of the county were not willing to have such an important office slip from their control. Wild and wooly Park City on the county's western fringes was not a proper place and must not be permitted to gain political advantage over the more proper and longer-established areas in the county's heartland. This quest for political dominance between Park City and the rest of the county merged with the social and religious differences at home and the national struggle over polygamy to form the basis of the bitter political struggle of the 1880s.

The Great Priesthood Reorganization of 1877

With "death knocking loudly at his door," President Young labored restlessly during the last five months of his life to reorganize the Church's governmental structure.[64] Earlier, in June 1875, President Young had taken a major step in that direction by assigning proper seniority to members of the Twelve.[65] In 1876 he had taken a further step by announcing that Salt Lake Stake held no "center stake" authority over any of the others.[66] By 1877 he was recommending that the Twelve be removed from offices of local

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[64]William G. Hartley, "The Priesthood Reorganization of 1877: Brigham Young's Last Achievement," BYU Studies 20 (Fall 1979):1.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Ibid., p. 5. Salt Lake Stake previously held jurisdiction over one-third of Utah's Church membership, including those living in Salt Lake, Summit, Davis, Tooele, Morgan, and Wasatch counties.

leadership and placed in positions of general leadership in the Church.[67] Local presiding bishops were relieved of their assignments with the announcement that there was no such thing as a presiding bishop except for Bishop Edward W. Hunter in Salt Lake City.[68] Further, in 1877, a series of stake conferences was held to regularize their organization and practices and bring them into conformity with the revelations of God. In addition, new stakes were created in areas of the territory where the population justified greater organization than had previously existed.

The reasons for such feverish activity in reordering the government and structure of the Church was stated by President Young. Its purpose was to "more completely carry out the purposes of Jehovah" by giving

> greater compactness to the labors of the priesthood, to unite the Saints, to care for the scattering sheep of Israel . . . who acknowledge no . . . fold, . . . to understand the standing of everyone calling himself a Latter-day Saint, and to consolidate the interests, feelings, and lives of members of the Church.[69]

Hartley, in his study of President Young's work, suggests that political concerns may also have led to the actions he took. He points out that Francis M. Lyman, though not a resident, was made president of the newly reorganized Tooele Stake to help win that

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[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid. Both W. W. Cluff and Abraham Marchant had been serving as presiding bishops over portions of Summit County and were herewith released. Marchant was retained as local bishop of Peoa, and Cluff became the president of Summit Stake.

[69] In Journal of Discourses (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-86), 19:43; Brigham Young to Willard Young, 23 May 1877, quoted by Hartley, "Priesthood Reorganization of 1877," p. 11.

county away from the gentile control under which it had been operating since 1874.[70] He also suggests that the reorganization of Beaver Stake was in part to "terminate Mormon political handholding with gentiles."[71] Indeed, it appears that Summit Stake may have been organized, at least in part, to help it cope with gentile growth in Park City and to create a greater unity among the various regions of the county, which had split on occasion over matters of political representation and recognition at conventions and on election days.

In any case, Summit Stake was organized 7 July 1877 with William W. Cluff as stake president, George G. Snyder as first counselor, and Alma Eldredge as second counselor.[72] Cluff and Eldredge were from Coalville, and Snyder was from Park City. At its organization the stake contained ten wards, 482 families, and 2,448 people.[73] Its creation consolidated Coalville's position as the county's leading city by adding a spiritual tiara to its civil and economic crowns. During the 1880s Coalville's triple crown was challenged by an eager Park City. It won economic hegemony from Coalville, but it never became large or powerful enough to usurp its civil or spiritual preeminence.

Its organization seemed to have no immediate impact upon the political situation. The abstract of the August 1877 elections shows that 552 votes were cast for the regular county ticket with no more than five votes variation among the candidates. The gentile vote for

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[70] Ibid. [71] Ibid.

[72] Eldredge, "Reminiscences," 8 July 1877.

[73] Hartley, "Priesthood Reorganization of 1877," p. 27.

the year was 136 with about five votes variation in its distribution among the candidates.[74] By 1878, however, political concerns were being taken up by the newly created stake. On 14 May President Cluff urged the brethren present at a stake priesthood meeting "to be united in their efforts [to] select the best men at their caucus meetings as delegates to the county convention."[75] Again, in August, just before the election, he "spoke long and earnestly upon election and convention matters."[76]

If President Cluff had been worried about the outcome of the upcoming election, he need not have been. Only 25 votes were cast for the opposition in the race for the county's seat in the territorial legislature. Regular candidate Ward E. Pack received 426 votes, and Park City's Liberal, Robert Wadill, received 25. It was a comparatively small vote for both sides and may indicate that the opposition Liberal ticket represented only a small fringe of Liberal boosters that excited little interest either among Park City's Gentiles or among the Mormons. The November election aroused even less interest. There were 330 votes cast for regular candidate George Q. Cannon, as compared to 8 for Robert N. Baskin. Robert Wadill, still searching for an office, garnered another 8 votes for delegate.[77]

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[74]Summit County Returns for 1877.

[75]Minutes of the Summit Stake of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 14 May 1878, Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

[76]Ibid., 3 August 1878.

[77]Summit County Returns for 1878.

A Year of Change at the Summit

As the August election of 1879 approached, it was apparent that many had not understood the new direction President Cluff was giving with regard to political matters. In a priesthood meeting held 2 August 1879 the bishops expressed some confusion about what their role in politics was. Bishop Salmon of Coalville asked if it were the "right of a Bishop to call a caucus in his own ward," and Bishop Richins of Heneferville said he thought "the nominations ought to be made in priesthood meetings." Bishop Reynolds of Wanship concluded that this talk "ought to have been done three months ago." Other bishops claimed that "the Bishops ought to know what is doing" and "it is the right of the Priesthood to know who to put in nomination," but the remarks of two others make it clear that even politically minded bishops had not been paying much attention to the "right of the priesthood" in political affairs. Bishop Richins, long active in the political life of the county and a former selectman said that "he couldn't find out what officers were to be elected," and Bishop Alexander Stanley of Parley's Park commented that he "hand't heard anything about a convention."[78] These comments seem to make it crystal clear that in Summit County, at least, civil government was truly a secular affair and that it was and had for some time been generally run by a small coterie of politically minded individuals.

President Cluff's closing remarks at that critical August meeting signaled a clear intention to change political affairs in

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[78]Minutes of the Summit Stake, 2 August 1879.

Summit County. No longer would a small coterie of individuals be permitted to direct affairs there. He told the bishops that it was their "plain duty" to "watch over everthing in your wards, religious, social and political." They were to know, he continued, "the qualifications of every man" and "make suggestions" and be interested in "suitable men." He concluded by declaring that these things "were of more importance in Summit County than anywhere else. You all hold the priesthood and know your duty.[79]

Things were still fairly peaceful at the Summit politically, but the religious, social, and economic differences among its Mormons and non-Mormons were hardening behind regional jealousies within the county. Park City would not forever be denied, nor would the older Mormon areas of the county give way. The power struggle in Salt Lake and the national campaign against polygamy joined with local issues to intensify the battle. Political activists in Park City were armed with legal weapons forged in the nation's Congress, giving them greater ability to assail the Mormon majority with increasing success. The Mormons were strengthened by the great priesthood reorganization of 1877 and the creation of Summit Stake. Both sides girded for the battle, determined to hold or seize the power necessary to sustain their way of life. The storm, nearly thirty years in the making, was about to break in all its fury over Utah and the summit.

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[79]Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

THE STORM BREAKS: 1880-82

The Calm Before the Storm

The clouds that were gathering in the late 1870s both at home and abroad continued to gather and intensify in 1880. In Summit County, Park City's rapid growth gave Mormon leaders cause for concern. They feared the creation of a new "Tooele Republic." In 1874 non-Mormons had used their numerical advantage in certain precincts to win political control of Tooele County. Their administration ruined the county's finances. By 1879, when the county was brought back under Mormon control through the strenuous efforts of the Mormon leaders there, the county scrip was valued at less than fifteen cents on the dollar.[1]

Previous Liberal efforts in Summit County had not posed much of a problem. The combined Mormon strength of the county was more than sufficient to offset the pockets of Liberal strength. It also appears that the custom of including Gentiles in the county convention and giving them an occasional place on the regular ticket sapped the Liberal appeal even further. By 1880, however, Park City was claiming 552 registered voters.[2] This figure represented a sizable

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[1] Salt Lake Daily Herald, 28 October 1882.

[2] Minutes of the Summit Stake, 9 July 1880.

increase over previous years and posed a real threat to Mormon control where only 555 votes had been cast for the regular ticket in 1879. Feeling a surge of strength, Park City's Liberal leaders decided to break from the regular convention and "sail under their own colors."[3]

Faced with the possibility of a "Tooele Republic" in their own county, Church leaders in Summit County began to pursue their political affairs with a new vigor. Using the newly created Summit Stake as an effective vehicle of communication and direction, President Cluff intensified his concern with political matters by using stake priesthood meetings to determine not only who would attend the county convention but who would be put in nomination for the various offices. Such political orchestration was planned carefully. Decisions of this kind were not made without adequate representation from each of the wards. When such representation was not present at regular meetings, special meetings were called.

Such meetings partook of as much or more of the democratic background of their leaders as of the autocratic nature of priesthood dictation. On 30 June 1881 President Cluff intended to take up the "case of the next election," but could not because there was not adequate representation from the wards of the stake and it was felt to be "unwise to nominate a person today."[4] It was decided that each ward "should send the best men as delegates to the convention" and that if the matter were taken up "in council" with "each expressing his feelings," the matter of elections could be gotten at correctly."[5]

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[3]Minutes of the Summit Stake, 30 June 1880.

[4]Ibid. [5]Ibid.

To accomplish this objective, it was suggested that President Cluff send letters "to each bishop to explain what is wanted from him."[6]

The letter was sent 6 July. It indicated that each bishop was needed to transact "important business at Coalville on Friday next . . . at 1:00 p.m. without fail."[7] Those receiving letters were Robert Jones of Heneferville, Elias Asper of Echo, Chester Staley of Upton, Alonzo Winters of Hoytsville, Jared Roundy and Henry Reynolds of Wanship, James M. Malin of Rockport, Abraham Marchant of Peoa, Alonzo Stanley of Parley's Park, George Pace of Silver Creek, and Samuel Atwood of Kamas. Most of these men were bishops, and nearly all had been active in Summit County politics in the past. In addition to these, there were "a few others" who were invited by President Cluff.[8]

The meeting convened on 9 July. Only Heneferville failed to send its representative. President Cluff opened the meeting declaring, "There are men present who know what is best for the people: and "We are to consolidate on the county officers to be presented in the caucus meeting [county convention]." He continued, "If we can agree on the man, you can go back to your several wards . . . and have a guide to go by" in your local caucuses so that "at the polls we can all be unanimous and not allow the transient bummers to get power as was done in Tooele. . . . We must take in view those who are competent and who the people will vote for."[9]

Thomas Bullock read over a list of officers to be elected 2 August 1880, and Samuel Atwood moved that the list be taken up "in

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[6]Ibid. [7]Ibid. [8]Ibid., 9 July 1880. [9]Ibid.

its order." Jared Roundy commented that the Liberals were "talking of running George G. Snyder for Judge and Ward E. Pack for selectman." He commented further that "Snyder wil get the votes in Park City, and the Josephites. . . . We have got to be lively."[10]

Ward E. Pack, second counselor in the stake presidency, said he "would not accept the [Liberal] nomination" It was then moved and seconded that "Ward E. Pack of Kamas be the nominee for Probate Judge of Summit County." The move was seconded and carried unanimously.[11]

The office of selectman was then discussed. It had previously been determined that Parley's Park, Peoa, and Kamas were entitled to have one of their number serve as selectman.[12] After some discussion the venerable Samuel P. Hoyt, now living in Kamas, was nominated. His nomination was seconded, and carried unanimously as the meeting's choice for the office. The nominations continued, taking each office "in its turn" until the ticket was completed.

During the discussion of the other nominees, Ward Pack warned that each man selected would have to be "very exact in filing and recording" for his office. Alma Eldredge, President Cluff's first counselor, added that "I have known where a man made a mistake and it changed the pace of things to a great degree."[13]

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[10]Ibid. Josephites were members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, which had been formally organized with Joseph Smith III as president in 1869. Several formal efforts had been made by that church to convert the Utah Mormons. None of these efforts was very successful, but a few "in every ward" in Summit County had been affected or converted. It was to these that Jared Roundy was referring.

[11]Ibid. [12]Ibid., 30 June 1880.

[13]Ibid., 9 July 1880.

A close look at the finished ticket indicates that although half of the twelve nominees chosen at the meeting were from the county's largest Mormon city, Coalville, the others were fairly well distributed throughout the county. This fact and the determination that it was the turn of Parley's Park, Kamas, and Peoa to have a selectman this year, shows that the old gentlemen's agreement between the population centers was still a potent force in Summit County politics. There was also a balance between Mormon and non-Mormon candidates. Park City had been granted two places on the ticket in the persons of W. I. Snyder and A. J. Moore.

A week following the special meeting the Park Mining Record, briefly under the control of H. L. White, urged Park City residents to vote for the Liberal ticket to avoid having their taxes used to build "temples, tabernacles, and increasing the church funds" and to "gain a foothold in territorial matters."[14] It appears, however, that the inclusion of W. I. Snyder and A. J. Moore on the regular ticket, along with the general acceptance of the Mormon candidates, took the wind out of the Liberal sails.

On 5 July, only a few days before the meeting was held and before the Park Mining Record fell into White's hands, its editor, James Schupback, said, "As far as we are able to learn, basing our knowledge principally upon their actions as public officers . . . we are inclined to believe there will be no opposition [to the incumbent officers] this year." He followed with high praise for Judge

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[14] Park Mining Record, 18 July 1880. The Liberal convention was held 9 July, the same day Summit Stake's leaders met to discuss who should be nominated at the regular county convention. See Minutes of the Summit Stake, 9 July 1880.

Elias Asper, Clerk Robert Salmon, and Sheriff E. M. Allison, all of whom were Mormons in good standing. It also suggested that George G. Snyder be continued in his office as selectman.[15]

After the election and after the Park Mining Record fell back into the hands of its original owner, the paper stated that although all the returns were not in as yet, "Sheriff Allison is re-elected and W. I. Snyder has been elected as there was no opposition."[16] It also declared that "Robert Salmon . . . has been re-elected to the office of County Clerk as the opposition, if any, was not very strong."[17] The Record's earlier statement seemed to reflect the truth that there were few among the rank-and-file voters who were dissatisfied with the political affairs in the county. More than two hundred of them in Park City had not cast their ballots.[18] Perhaps what was true of Mormons in early Utah was also true of the Gentiles. If the labor of their homes was not disturbed, they cared little about who ruled. It seems apparent that in spite of a local

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[15] Park Mining Record, 5 July 1880. George Snyder was not continued in his office as selectman as he had been excommunicated from the Mormon Church on 9 August 1879 and was no longer acceptable to them as a political officer. The reason for his excommunication is not known, but Jared Roundy's comment at the stake priesthood meeting held in Coalville on 9 July 1880 about Snyder's receiving the Josephite votes indicates that Snyder may have joined that sect. See Eldredge, "Reminiscences," 9 August 1880.

[16] Park Mining Record, 7 August 1880. [17] Ibid.

[18] Jared Roundy had reported to his brethren assembled in priesthood meeting that Park City had 552 votes, 300 more than the previous year (see Minutes of the Summit Stake, 9 July 1880). The Park Mining Record reports the number of votes cast for officers in the precinct was 634. Each voter had two votes, so by dividing the total by two it is possible to determine that approximately 312 people voted in Park City. That number is 240 short of the number previously claimed. (See Park Mining Record, 7 August 1880.)

fringe of Liberal backers the Gentiles, like the Mormons were generally satisfied with the representation they were receiving. The year 1880 was, in spite of the brief rippling of the water by Liberal leaders in Park City and the Park Mining Record, the calm before the storm. The accommodation of Mormon and non-Mormon was working, but events in 1881 would leave it in shambles.

The Storm Breaks Abroad

The November 1880 election of Utah's delegate to Congress seemed to seed the clouds hanging over the territory's political arena. It served as a catalyst to bring the hitherto disparate forces at work in Utah and the nation's capital together in an all-out effort to eradicate the "second relic."

The contest between Mormon George Q. Cannon and Liberal Allen Campbell was never in doubt, but the margin by which Cannon won was impressive. The vote was 18,568 for Cannon and 1,347 for Campbell.[19] Campbell's share was far fewer than had been expected and cooled his desire to contest the election on grounds that Cannon, who had been born in England but who later became an American citizen, was not entitled to the office because of a defect in the naturalization process. His fellow Liberals insisted that he challenge the election, and Governor Murray issued him a certificate of election on the ground that Campbell was the only qualified candidate and hence the legal delegate from Utah.[20]

Early in 1881 Cannon announced his intention to contest the certification of Campbell and went to Washington where he presented

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[19]Roberts, Comprehensive History, 6:7. [20]Ibid.

a copy of Campbell's certificate to Clerk Adams of the House of Representatives. Adams, seeing that Cannon had indeed received the majority vote, enrolled Cannon as the delegate from Utah.[21] Cannon, however, was never seated. The forces blocking his right to sit in the House carried the debate on through the spring of 1882.

In his annual messages of December 1879 and 1880, President Hayes had urged legislation to put an end to polygamy in Utah by curbing Mormon Political control in Utah. In 1879 He proposed that "the rights and privileges of citizenship . . . be withheld or withdrawn from those who . . . violate or opposed the enforcement of teh law on polygamy."[22] In 1880 he recommended the abolition of territorial government.[23] It was his first suggestion that was eventually embodied in the Edmunds Bill, which became law on 4 March 1882. It defined polygamous living in a way that struck directly at Mormon plural marriage and provided fines and/or imprisonment for those convicted. It excluded polygamists from jury duty, vacated all election and registration offices, and provided for the president of the United States to appoint a commission to oversee electoral matters in Utah.[24]

The passage of the Edmunds Act was no doubt spurred as a means of putting an end to the debate over whether or not to seat Cannon as territorial delegate from Utah. As an admitted polygamist,

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[21]Ibid., 6:15-16. [22]Ibid., 6:21-22. [23]Ibid.

[24]Ibid., 6:44 (full text published in the Park Mining Record in February 1882).

Cannon was barred by law from holding the seat, and Congress declared it vacant as neither Cannon nor Campbell was qualified to hold it.[25]

The Founding of the People's Party at the Summit

Meanwhile, 1881 began as a quiet, progressive year for Summit County. In February it had been joined with Morgan, Wasatch, and Uinta counties as a council district entitled to one member in the upper chamber of the Territorial legislature. In July a convention was called to nominate a man to fill the position. Jared Roundy, Alma Eldredge, Samuel F. Atwood, John Malin, and Charles Richins were elected as delegates to represent Summit County. All of these men were ecclesiastical leaders in Summit Stake and were drawn from the high council, stake presidency, or bishoprics. All were previously active in Summit County politics and were knowledgeable men with some degree of political finesse. Their selection as delegates is the first recorded account of representatives from Summit County being involved in the choice of a councilor to represent them in the legislature and indicates a further refinement and regularization of the political machinery through which Summit County functioned. It is no surprise that W. W. Cluff, long active in ecclesiastical and political affairs and previously a member of the upper house, was selected as the candidate. He had no opposition at election time in spite of the urgings of the Park Mining Record, which had once again changed hands and become a strident voice that later greatly facilitated Liberal efforts in the county.[26]

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[25] Ibid., 6:46.

[26] Park Mining Record, 16 July 1881.

By August the impending passage of the Edmunds Bill with its threatened disfranchisement of polygamous Mormons stirred Liberal banner-wavers and galvanized the already functioning Mormon political machinery into the formal establishment of the People's Party of Utah. Alma Eldredge, ever in the forefront of Summit County's politics, described the founding as follows:

> There is intense excitement in . . . Summit, Salt Lake, and Weber Counties. An element among the gentile people . . . have called mass meetings in said counties and organized a political party under the name of Liberal.
>
> The political situation became so strenuous in Summit County that a few of the residents in each precinct in the County convened and organized a political party to be . . . termed People's Party.[27]

Eldredge's announcement of the founding of the party in Salt Lake County could only have referred to a revitalization of the party there and in Weber County, for there had been a previously functioning party under that name in these counties since 1870. But in Summit County, and perhaps throughout the rest of the territory, his announcement seems to have had greater truth. Indeed, Eldredge, who had been active in the political affairs of the county from the beginning, would have known the status of political affairs there, if not elsewhere. It is clear that even though the political machinery of that county had come under increasingly close Church scrutiny since the organization of Summit Stake in 1877, the stake leaders, including Eldredge, did not consider themselves a political party. It seems true, however, that by August 1881 all that remained to formalize the party was to take the official action Eldredge describes. Such seems to account for the birth of the People's Party in Summit County. Under

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[27]Eldredge, "Reminiscences," August 1881.

the new organization, the Mormons in Summit County developed a superb political machine that continued to carry the day far past the ability of its previous efforts and against ever greater opposition. Indeed, it never really ceased to be a potent force in Summit County, even after the Liberals gained a majority. It was well organized and disciplined. Its strategy of including gentile participation, plus the generally accepted excellence of its administrations, kept it in power long past the point where it had any reasonable opportunity to be so.

The Rain Falls

Early in 1882, commensurate with the renewed political activity in the county spurred by the passage of the Edmunds Law, the Liberal League reorganized itself and initiated new members. In an effort to create interest and focus the attention of its members and others on the peculiar problems of the territory, it scheduled a debate to be held at its next meeting. The topic of discussion was "Resolved, that women ought to be allowed to vote in the States and Territories."[28] Just two years earlier there had been an attempt to disfranchise the women of Utah by having the law of 1870 repealed on the grounds that it was discriminatory.[29] The attempt had failed, but it was well known that if the law could be repealed it would deprive the Mormons of a great many more votes than it would the Gentiles and help even the balance between the two factions. It was an effort that continued until the Liberals succeeded with the passage

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[28] Park Mining Record, 11 February 1882.

[29] Deseret News, 6 October 1880.

of the Ednumds-Tucker Law in 1887.[30] The debate in Park City, however, was never held because of a heavy snowstorm.[31] Nevertheless, it was the beginning of a constant effort on the part of the gentile opposition in that city to unite themselves in an effort to gain control of the county.

Still, if the gauntlet had been thrown down with the passage of the Edmunds Law and the rains of bitter competition were beginning to fall, there was still some sharing of the umbrella among the antagonists in Summit County. The Record, which was the voice of Summit County's Liberals, had not as yet become as strident as the Liberal voice of the Salt Lake Tribune in Salt Lake City, which many Mormons simply would have nothing to do with. Apparently the Liberals of Park City were not ready for total war, and cooperation between Mormon and non-Mormon was still possible. For instance, in March the Record warmly congratulated Mormon representative to the legislature, Samuel F. Atwood, for obtaining a matching grant from the territorial legislature to repair the road from Park City to Fort Thornburg. It urged the selectmen and citizens of the county to raise an additional thousand dollars to repair the road before an alternate route to the fort and its reservation through old Fort Bridger could be approved, thus depriving Summit County of much valuable business. It ends by stating, "We have no doubt but that in our next issue we can state

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[30]Roberts, Comprehensive History, 6:146.

[31]Park Mining Record, 11 February 1882.

that the additional $1,000 has been raised, as the people of Summit County are bound to see the thing through."[32]

In the same issue of the Record was an article that heralded the bitterness to come. The article was copied from the Salt Lake Tribune and accused W. W. Cluff, president of the Summit Stake and a councilor in the upper chamber of the territorial legislature, of saying, "Any women who would refuse to sign that petition [a petition protesting the passage of the Edmunds Bill] was no better than a common Salt Lake prostitute, and the men who would refuse to sign it visited the houses of prostitution in Salt Lake City every time they went there." Following the copied article was an invitation to President Cluff to correct the article if it were not true.[33] In the next issue President Cluff did correct the article. He denied that there was any truth to the accusation at all. He added that he had seen the article in the Tribune but had not thought to answer the charge, "but seeing the spirit of fairness with which you referred to the report, I felt that it was just to you as well as to myself to deny the accusation."[34]

In March notices were posted throughout the county calling for the election of delegates to a county convention in Coalville for the purpose of sending a representative to a territorial convention to frame a state constitution in preparation for petitioning Congress for statehood. The Record complained that no one would see it in the post office and that it ought to have been printed in its pages.[35] No

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[32]Ibid., 4 March 1882.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid., 11 March 1882.

[35]Ibid., 18 March 1882.

doubt, but old habits were hard to change. Such notices had been posted in Summit County since there had been post offices to put them in. In addition there was really very little hope that anyone of influence in Park City would support such a move anyway. The Record went on to suggest that the town committee appoint six delegates to attend the county convention to oppose such a move.[36] The convention was held 1 April, and W. W. Cluff, Ward Pack, and Alma Eldredge, all members of the Summit Stake presidency were chosen to represent Summit County at the territorial convention.[37] If the Park City town committee took any action on the Record's suggestion, Alma Eldredge takes no note of it in his memoirs nor is any followup reported in the Record's pages.

On the same date the county convention was held, the Record reported the passage of the Edmunds Bill. It urged the selection of Utah Gentiles as commission members as "we do not want any disappointed office seekers, political hoo-doos or rascals" or "the Edmunds bill might as well be repealed." The article also denied that the bill was passed "to suppress the Mormon Church as an organization" but to suppress "a great evil."[38]

But if the Record and its Liberal backers were not immediately to bring changes to Summit County, the passage of the Edmunds Bill did. On 17 March Samuel P. Hoyt resigned his position as selectman because of "ill health and old age," and Charles Richins resigned

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[36]Ibid. [37]Eldredge, "Reminiscences," 1 April 1882.

[38]Park Mining Record, 1 April 1882.

because of the "press of business."[39] No one was deceived by the official reasons. The Record reported the resignations as being the "order of the day" where "incumbants are blessed with a surplus of wives."[40] Not ones to desert the field, the Mormon county court immediately replaced the departed polygamists with monogamists. The rights of the majority would be maintained at all costs. W. W. Cluff, already serving as a councilor in the territorial legislature, and Ward E. Pack, Jr., son of the probate judge who was second counselor to President Cluff, were chosen as selectmen to replace Hoyt and Richins.[41] This quick action prevented Governor Murray from appointing Gentiles to fill the positions under the Hoar Amendment. The newly appointed incumbents did not vacate their positions when the August election was not held because the Utah Commission had not provided for it. Governor Murray challenged the action of the incumbents, but by the time the court action was taken to the Supreme Court, the eight-month time limit for such appointments imposed by the amendment had expired and the monogamist Mormons continued to hold their jobs.

If the Mormons in Summit County managed to hold their own under the blast of the Edmunds Law, the Gentiles in Park City were sore afflicted. The failure of the Utah Commission to arrange for the August election also prevented the Park City people from conducting

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[39]Minutes of the Summit County Court, 17 March 1882.

[40]Park Mining Record, 8 April 1882. Ward E. Pack, Jr., was shortly sent on a mission, but he was replaced by John Pack, Jr., another Mormon monogamist. See Minutes of the Summit County Court, 24 April 1882.

[41]Park Mining Record, 8 April 1882.

their first election as an incorporated city. As early as 13 May, the Record was expressing concern about whether the commission would arrive in time to conduct the election.[42] On 24 June the Record gave a sigh of relief and under the headline, "We breath easier" told of the appointment of the Utah Commission. "The August elections will now be held at the time prescribed by law. Our citizens can now look about them for their . . . corporation officers. . . . The matters of importance will be attended to . . . then why shouldn't we breathe easier?"[43]

The sigh of relief was premature. The commission did not arrive in time to arrange for the election, but Park City's anxiety was greatly relieved by the action of the Mormon county court. Judge Pack granted Park City the right to hold their election. The Record gratefully declared, "Judge Pack knew our defenceless condition and being possessed of a noble, generous disposition, felt that as long as our request was within the bounds of the law, it ought to be and should be granted."[44]

The day set for the election was 5 August. All other elections in the territory lapsed, but Park City conducted an all-out election for her municipal officers. The vote revealed the volatile political nature of that community. A regular ticket had been gotten together at a town convention much like those held by Park City's Mormon counterparts throughout the county, but an opposition ticket showed up on election day. Quite unexpectedly two polls were opened

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[42]Ibid., 13 May 1882. [43]Ibid., 24 June 1882.

[44]Ibid., 22 July 1882.

in the city instead of the one that had been planned. The second was set up at the residence of J. L. Street when the judges at the first poll did not show at the appointed time.[45] Over this confusion the Record shrugged its shoulders and said of the two polls, "One of them is legal. Which one?"[46] In the end it did not matter, for the election was declared illegal and had to be repeated. But the Mormon administration had proved sensitive to gentile needs, and less politically motivated non-Mormons there were satisfied. Again the umbrella was shared against the rains of divisive and hateful political antagonism.

The November election for territorial delegate to Washington was another matter. The Utah Commission had arrived and made the necessary provisions.[47] Although eight Mormons, nine apostates, and seven Gentiles composed the registration officials for Utah's twenty-four counties, the Park Mining Record voiced its dissatisfaction with the ones chosen for Summit County. "One of our oldest and most influential citizens [probably George Snyder] claims he is acquainted with very nearly all the deputy registrars, and he says that nearly all of them are Mormons." The article continues:

> In every settlement of this county there are Liberals . . . and why the commissioners should make the appointments without first consulting Liberal interests is a matter of mere conjecture. They came here for the purpose of Americanizing Utah, but we cannot see how it is to be accomplished in the manner they are now proceeding.

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[45] Territorial law provided that in case the regularly appointed judges did not show, new judges could be appointed by the first six electors at the poll.

[46] Park Mining Record, 22 July 1882.

[47] Ibid., 2 September 1882.

Further, the Record complains, "a number of the registrars will pay one tenth of their earning . . . into the Mormon tithing fund. What further argument is necessary to prove that the Mormon Church is running the machinery of the opposition?"[48] It was a specious argument, but it was indicative of the hardening of the Record's political arteries. It was becoming more like its counterpart in Salt Lake, the Tribune.

How many voters in Summit County were disfranchised by the oath of registration prepared by the Utah Commission is uncertain. It must have been taking its toll, for in October at a People's Party ratification meeting in Wanship, President Cluff warned that they were "differently situated now than in the past and it behooves us in our present circumstances to take more interest in politics."[49]

The November vote in Summit County to elect Utah's delegate to Congress showed how truly President Cluff had spoken. Liberal candidate P. T. Van Zile won a one-vote victory over People's Party candidate, John T. Caine. Caine, of course, was in no danger of losing the election in the territory, but the fact that a Liberal could score a one-vote majority in one of the larger counties of the territory was indeed a shock. The voting strength of the little Mormon towns of Summit County, sapped by the provisions of the Edmunds Law, was no longer equal to Park City's 601 votes unless strenuous efforts were made. There were, of course, Liberal voters elsewhere in the county, especially at Echo where Van Zile received 24 votes to

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[48] Ibid., 9 September 1882.

[49] Deseret News, 24 October 1882.

Caine's 20. There were also Mormon voters at Park City where Caine had received 29 votes, but county-wide, the final tally stood at 684 for Van Zile to 683 for Caine.[50]

While Summit County's Mormons were shocked into temporary silence, Mormons elsewhere were trying to understand what it meant to the future of the territory. If they were worried, they tried to be optimistic.

The Salt Lake Herald suggested that the Liberals would probably elect a representative to the lower house of the territory and some county officers. It warned, however, that it might be a victory better lost as the administration in Summit County was very efficient and a Liberal administration might compare very poorly.[51]

Moses Thatcher, one of the Church's Twelve Apostles, predicted a future gentile majority in the territory. It would, however, be a majority that would look to the Mormons for protection in their civil liberties.[52]

Interested onlookers elsewhere could not see that anything had changed. The Omaha Bee yawned and predicted that the Liberal majority would not last because "blood was thicker than water" and the disfranchisement of the polygamous Mormons would certainly raise the sympathy and support of their monogamous counterparts.[53]

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[50]Ibid., 17 November 1882. The election returns are reported by precinct from Summit County.

[51]19 November 1882.

[52]Utah Journal, 5 December 1882.

[53]Quoted by the Ogden Daily Herald, 23 November 1882.

In 1882, then, the rains began to fall in the vales of Summit County. It was the beginning of a renewed flurry of political challenges made possible by the passage of the Edmunds Bill. The Mormons formally organized the People's Party to cope with the newly revitalized Liberal Party. The first contest between the two resulted in a Liberal victory. The win was narrow, but it galvanized the faithful of both persuasions. The Liberals saw light at the end of the storm and fought to reach it. The Mormons saw only more storm clouds ahead. It would be a dark and rainy season. But the Saints had passed through such before. Perhaps, if they were faithful enough, if they worked hard enough, somewhere in the dark clouds ahead there would be a clear sky. Always there had been such in the past.

The stage was set for the rest of the 1880s. Mormon leaders in Summit County marshaled their forces and continued to win, but by narrowing majorities. There continued to be fusion tickets, and splits in the Liberal ranks deprived the Liberals of many expected victories. But Summit County was no longer solid for "the people." The cracks in its dual foundation were widening, and the Edmunds-Tucker Law eventually resulted in its becoming the "Liberal's banner county."

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

That Summit County should suffer political conflict was inherent in its position and resources. Lying as it did across the major routes leading to the population and power centers of the territory and having a diversity of natural resources, it drew both Mormon and non-Mormon within its boundaries.

These people were separated by life-styles that touched upon deeply held moral values, and peace in the county was maintained only so long as the Mormons retained a large majority. As the gentile population grew and as federal intervention further balanced the disparate factions through laws which limited Mormon political participation, the struggle for control of the county heated up and merged with the larger struggle that had already emerged in the more cosmopolitan areas of the territory and in the nation over polygamy and priesthood political control.

It seems evident from this study that the Mormon teaching of unity in all things was the guiding principle of Summit County politics. Its political system operated in such a way as to enhance the achievement of that goal. Single nominating conventions were held under the auspices of the county government, making that process one of civic responsibility rather than one associated with political parties. Conflicts over issues and candidates were settled within

the closed walls of the convention rather than being fought in the open, and Mormon teachings on unity were referred to in urging those with differences to solve them so that the decisions of the convention would be unanimous. Under this system no extended campaigns or debates were held to divide the citizenry.

Political unity was also enhanced by the practice of recognizing each of the county's major population centers by granting them representation in the governing of the county. This practice was pursued throughout the entire period and included the granting of such representation to the Gentiles from Park City even after the formal establishment of the People's Party in 1881.

Such unity on the part of the Mormons in Summit County was not disturbed by the granting of female suffrage in 1870, and, indeed, the granting of such suffrage seemed to have little effect at all in the county's politics until the passage of the Edmunds Bill when the female vote became critical to the maintenance of Mormon political control.

That such a high degree of political unity should prevail was also due to the homogenous nature of the county's residents. Its people were found by familial and religious ties that provided a common base for most activities within the county, including political action. In addition, it appears that many of its people were involved in similar or interrelated economic activities and that their training in cooperative enterprise lent itself to the kind of unified politics practiced there.

It also appears that there were few political activists on the county's ledger of political stars. Perhaps the system itself

was responsible for the limited number of candidates, but it seems more probable that the people were simply content to let these individuals, many of whom also held positions of ecclesiastical trust, govern them politically as well.

As comprehensive as political unity among the Mormons of Summit County was during this period, it did not go without challenge. In 1870 and 1876 there was considerable opposition to the regular candidates on election day. Both outbreaks were apparently caused by violations of the gentlemen's agreement that granted representation to each of the population centers. The size of the opposition and the quickness with which these breaches were healed is an indication of the importance of balanced political representation as a factor in Summit County's politics.

This study also suggests that although the People's Party may have been extant in the county from the beginning in all but name, its formal establishment was a result of three major factors. The first of these was the growth of a large, gentile minority in Summit County at Park City. By itself this growth was not sufficient to disrupt the unified nature of Summit County's political system, for its representative nature included them and seemed to satisfy most of them.

This non-Mormon growth and the threat the Church faced from politically active Gentiles elsewhere in the territory, however, may have led to the establishment of the Mormon Summit Stake in 1877, which became a second important factor in the evolvement of the People's Party in the county. It seems clear that prior to its establishment, the incomplete nature of ecclesiastical organization

in the county left political matters largely in the hands of the county court. The new stake provided a vehicle for closer ecclesiastical scrutiny and concern with political affairs in the county, although its involvement seems to have been covert and suggestive in nature.

The third and immediate factor leading to the establishment of the People's Party in Summit County was the impending passage of the Edmunds Bill. The possibility of the disfranchisement of a considerable number of Mormon voters in the county as well as the forced retirement of many of the county's leading Mormon politicians, coinciding as it did with the gentile growth in Park City, demanded a closer concern with the political process if rule friendly to the Church and its practice of polygamy was to be maintained. What had been done covertly and by suggestion previously must now be done openly and directly but not by the Church. Even to the Mormon mind of 1881 such would have been a violation of the separation of church and state. Hence, the People's Party was established as an ostensibly independent political party to express the will of Summit County's Mormons.

This study also suggests that the political processes of Summit County passed through two distinct phases during the time studied and was entering a third phase at the close of the period studied. The first, lasting until 1877, was a period in which the political process was largely in the hands of the county court. The second period, lasting from 1877 to 1881, was a period of transition in which the Church exercised an increasing concern with political affairs within the county. The third phase, beginning in 1881, was

a period in which the Church members and leaders expressed their political will through the People's Party.

Apart from its intrinsic and historical value, this study is important because it presents a significant view of the dynamics of political accommodation and polarization. It is hoped that this study will give Utahns a better understanding of their political heritage that will enable them to build a better future for all.

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STORM OVER THE SUMMIT: A POLITICAL HISTORY OF

SUMMIT COUNTY TO 1882

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to gain a more complete understanding of Mormon politics in territorial Utah by studying the growth and development of the political process in Summit County to 1882.

The study suggests that the county was governed by a relatively small but growing group of politically minded men, many of whom also held positions of ecclesiastical trust or who were among the pioneers of the area. The study also suggests that the Mormon teaching of unity in all things and fair representation among county offices from the county's major population centers were the governing principles of Mormon political action and that any violation of the second principle usually affected the first principle, resulting in opposition on election day. Additionally, the study suggests that the granting of female suffrage in 1870 did not materially affect the county's political outlook. Finally, the study suggests that the establishment of the Mormon Summit Stake in 1877 and the passage of the Edmunds Law in 1881 were significant factors in the evolving of the People's Party as the vehicle for the expression of Mormon political will.

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