A Community Study of Social Change in Goshen

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A COMMUNITY STUDY OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN GOSHEN

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
OF
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

BY
CLARK S. KNOWLTON

1948
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Reasons For Choice of Subject

During the last two years, the author in the course of fulfilling class requirements in the Department of Sociology made a series of investigations into the social, economic, and political aspects of several towns and villages in Utah and Idaho. As a result, an interest developed in the process of social change within the social structure. Therefore, as a thesis problem, a community study of a small Mormon village analyzing social change in the institutions and mores was selected.

Selection of Village for Study

For the subject of the study it was decided to use a small homogenous Mormon village, located in Utah County, and having a population of less than one thousand. It should be so isolated from the main currents of county trade and travel as to permit the development of a distinct community personality. Goshen fulfills these requirements. It has the special advantage of being one of the oldest villages in the county. It is quite distinctive also in that it has had contacts with non-Mormon groups engaged in mining activities.
through most of its history.

Statement of Problem

The problem may be stated thus: What changes have taken place in the social structure of Goshen since its foundation? It will be the purpose of this thesis to analyze the workings of social change in Goshen. There will be no attempt made to discuss the theory of social change.¹

Previous Work in the Field

As thinking men of every nation and age have pondered over the problems of social change, there has come into existence an extensive and ever expanding literature on the subject. Just a beginning has been made in the social study of the Mormon community. Hunter has traced the history of Mormon colonization,² and Nelson has treated the social origins of the Mormon village³ and has made social surveys and community studies of Escalante, Ephraim, and American Fork.⁴ Bradford


²Milton R. Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer, (Independence: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1945.)


⁴Nelson, Brigham Young University Studies, 1-4, (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1925-1938.)
completed an intensive study of Salem, and the Utah Experiment Station has issued an excellent series of bulletins on social and economic conditions of Utah counties and communities.6

Organization of Thesis

To better facilitate the treatment of data, the thesis is divided into eight chapters. The first, second, and third are concerned respectively with the definition of the problem, the physical environment, and the social development; the fourth, fifth, and sixth, with population, economic structure, and social organization; the seventh with the processes of social change; and the eighth with general conclusions and recommendations for further study.

Sources of Information

Information for this thesis has been gathered from church, county, state, and municipal records, from unpublished manuscripts and diaries, and from personal observations and interviews. Every family in Goshen was interviewed with the exception of ten (.7% of the total number of families in the village).

A schedule used to collect data was drawn up after

5 Dwight Sanderson, Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1942.)

consultation with the Department of Sociology. A copy of it and of the thesis outline may be found in the appendices.

Definition of Concepts

The main sociological concepts used are defined below. Other concepts used will be defined in the particular chapters in which they are introduced.

Community.--The terms community, town, and village are used interchangeably to refer to Goshen. No other meaning is intended.

Concept.--A sociological concept is the abstraction of the meanings of an entire group of specific facts about human interaction.\(^7\)

Church.--This term without qualifying adjectives means the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, commonly called the Mormon Church.

Cultural Traits.--The simplest functional units into which a culture is divided for purposes of analysis.\(^8\)

Cultural Pattern.--The arrangement or configuration of the culture traits and culture complexes that make up a

\(^7\)Emory S. Bogardus, *Contemporary Sociology*, (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1932.)

\(^8\)Henry P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1944.)
particular culture at any given time.\(^9\)

**Institution.**—An enduring, complex, integrated, organized behavior pattern through which social control is exerted and by means of which the functional social desires or needs are met.

**Mores.**—Traditional definitions of the basic social structures and relationships of society that a given society regards as essential to its stability at a given time and place.\(^11\)

**Social Change.**—The social structure is subject to incessant change, growing, decaying, finding renewal, accommodating itself to every variant condition and suffering vast modifications in the course of time. This process of change is called social change.\(^12\)

**Social Organization.**—The organization of a society into sub-groups, including in particular, those based on differences in age, sex, kinship, occupation, residence, property, privilege, authority, status, etc.\(^13\)

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\(^9\)Ibid., p. 83.

\(^10\)Ibid., p. 157.

\(^11\)Ibid., p. 199.


\(^13\)Fairchild, op. cit., p. 287
Social Structure.--The established pattern of internal organization of any social group. It involves the character of the sum total of the relationships which exist between the members of the group, with each other, and with the group itself. It is the total body of culture of a society or group into constituent elements such as folkways, mores, cultural complexes, institutions, and beliefs.  

Status.--Position of an individual or group in the community. It represents the position of an individual or group with relation to the total society. It is the rating that one is given by other members of one's group or by society in general.

Submarginal.--Under the minimum allowing adequate economic return.

14Ibid., p.293.
16WCD, Webster's Collegiate Dictionary.
CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

General Description

From Santaquin on the main state highway, the road to Goshen runs through a series of sere brown hills to enter the valley of Goshen. The eastern lid is green with the scattered farmsteads of Genola made fruitful by water from the Strawberry Irrigation Project. From here the terrain drops sharply through salt grass pastures and white patches of alkali reaching to the edge of the community itself to the dusty oasis of Goshen and continuing westward it then rises slowly to the somber dull-gray and brown of the East Tintic Mountains. The relief is strongly marked by the crest of the range attaining an altitude of over eight thousand feet above sea level and thirty-five thousand feet above the valley floor.17

The valley of Goshen is a long open depression cradled between the sharply eroded East Tintic Range on the West and

17 George Warren Tower, and George Otis Smith, "Geology and Mining Industry of the Tintic District, Utah, 19th Annual Report (1887-98), Part III Economic Geology, U. S. Geological Survey. (Still one of the most authoritative reports on the geology of the Tintic District.)
the first low foothills of the Wasatch Mountains on the east. From the north, the valley gently rises from the shores of Utah Lake to a transverse spur of the East Tintic Range extending circular shaped south, north and eastward around the valley.

It is a typical Great Basin valley more or less filled with gently sloping alluvial deposits derived from the surrounding mountains. The central area of the valley is covered with hundreds of feet of silt and clay deposited by ancient Lake Bonneville of which Utah Lake is a present day fresh water remnant. The valley, as is true with most Great Basin Valleys, represents a down faulted portion of the Great Basin.\(^\text{18}\)

**Climate**

The climate is arid to semi-arid. The mean annual precipitation for Elberta (four miles from Goshen in the same valley with similar conditions) is 10.66 inches over a thirty-five year period. For comparison, the mean annual precipitation records for several near by towns are here-in included. Santaquin seven miles from Goshen has a mean annual precipitation of 17.67 inches.

The summer months of June, July, and August are the

\(^{18}\text{Ibid.}\)
months of least precipitation, and spring and winter are the periods of highest precipitation. Most of it in winter is in the form of snow.

The mean annual temperature at Elberta over a thirty-four year period is 68.5, varying from a maximum of 109 to a minimum of -29. Santaquin has a mean annual temperature of 61, with a maximum of 103 and a minimum of -19. At Provo, the mean annual temperature is 72.1 with a maximum of 110 and a minimum of -35.  

Sunny weather predominates during the year with frequent cloudy days in winter and early spring. Winds of high velocity seldom occur, but hot drying winds of moderate velocity are quite common in summer. Fogs occur infrequently generally lasting very short periods of time during the summer months. Thunder showers are common during the summer and are sometimes accompanied by hail, which at times causes minor damages to crops. Low humidity prevails during most of the year. No evaporation reports are available for the area, but evaporation over most of the state is high. At the Sevier Bridge Dam, fifty-five miles south, the evaporation averages about sixty inches annually. The average growing season

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enjoyed by Goshen is one hundred and thirty-four days (from the last killing frost in the spring to the first killing frost in the fall). 20

**Natural Resources**

**Water.**—The major portion of the water supply as is typical of most Utah communities is derived from snow falling on the higher elevations. The snow fall begins to accumulate in late October or early November and starts melting on the watershed in April. The snow fields act as storage reservoirs of water precipitation, and melting releases it for culinary and irrigation uses in summer. 21

The largest source of water is Currant Creek, the only perennial flow of water in the valley. Currant Creek forms the lower end of the Salt Creek drainage. Salt Creek rises on the eastern slope of Mount Nebo in the Wasatch Range and flows in a southwesterly direction to Nephi. Here it takes a northerly course and as Currant Creek passes through the hills into Goshen valley, finally draining into Utah Lake. 22

The water is stored in the Nebo Reservoir located at

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21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.
the head of Currant Creek Canyon. The reservoir is fed by large springs near Mona and by return seepage of water from Salt Creek through the meadow lands in lower Juab valley which are irrigated by water from Salt Creek. Currant Creek receives water by release from the reservoir augmented by a flow of water from springs in the canyon. About 15,000 acre-feet per year can be depended on in nine out of ten years.23

The water rights on this stream as with many streams in Utah are legally quite complicated and are still in a process of adjustment. Prior water rights are owned by the Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company as they were the first to use the water in 1857. Before the construction of the Nebo Reservoir in 1897 by groups interested in bench lands near Elberta, Goshen used all the water. Because of the reservoir and interference with the primary rights, much friction developed between Goshen and Elberta which finally led to litigation. The state courts by the Morgan and Hanson Decrees in 1913 and 1929 appointed a commissioner to administer the stream. Goshen is guaranteed a specified flow of water for each month in the year. Any surplus is

23 Ibid.
turned over to Elberta. Goshen is not permitted to store water in the reservoir. This issue still creates considerable friction between the two communities. 24

Recently Salt Lake City filed suit against all the water users on streams normally tributary to Utah Lake including the users of Currant Creek water. This matter is still before the courts, but, as all water is now legally appropriated in Goshen with none reaching Utah Lake, the Goshen people feel little concern.

The Goshen Irrigation and Canal Company distributes water according to shares held by its members. There are 1,400 shares of Class A stock and 280 shares of Class B stock. One share of Class A irrigates an acre, and one share of Class B irrigates five acres. Class A water is delivered during the whole growing season and Class B water in the fall and spring. There is a total of 4,200 acres irrigated. 25

A flow of water from a number of hot springs near the eastern rim of the valley provides the other source of supply. These springs emerge at the base of a steep limestone ridge and have a total annual flow of about 5,800 acre feet. This water contains some sodium chloride and is slightly injurious to vegetation. It is controlled by the Goshen Warm Springs Irrigation and Canal Company and is used to

24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
irrigate inferior land such as pasture and meadow.\textsuperscript{26}

In Utah, population concentrates where mountain waters meet the desert valley soils. Without irrigation water, many of the towns and villages of Utah could not exist. To illustrate this one might examine the population density studies of the Wasatch Front which information was obtained in 1941 before the increase of population in this area growing out of industrialization encouraged by war activity. From Santaquin in the south to the northern end of Cache County on the north, an area from two to ten miles wide by one hundred and sixty miles long, containing about one thousand square miles or \(1.2\%\) of the total land area of Utah has a population density of three hundred and thirty-eight persons per square mile, while in the state as a whole the population density is only 6.2 per square mile.\textsuperscript{27}

Soils.—Sloping up from the shores of Utah Lake is a soil called the Salt Lake Loam containing considerable quantities of very fine sand. This formation is from one to two feet thick. It is underlain by coarser sand and has very poor drainage. Its origin is lake sediments considerably modified by wind

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{27} U. S. Department of Agriculture, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 193
and stream erosion. Most of it is alkaline and good for pasture only.  

The whole central area of the valley is covered with the Jordan Loam, a loamy soil three feet in depth and underlain by a stiff tenacious clay. This is the best agricultural soil in Goshen and like the rest is derived from lacustrine deposits modified by stream and wind action.

Small areas of Salt Lake Sand consisting of egg shaped particles occurring six feet or more in depth are found in dunes along the west side of the valley. They are derived from the break up of a lime hardpan and are without agricultural importance.

A land classification map of Utah County reveals that there is no Class One land (good farming land) near Goshen except for several small areas along the banks of Currant Creek. There is some Class Two, (fair farming land) but most of the land is non-arable classified as Class Four, (abandoned land) Class Five, (range land) and Class Six (waste land).


29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.
Most of Goshen valley falls into two vegetable zones. The valley floor is within the Salt Deseret Schrubs Zone which is marked by shadscale, greasewood, and kochia with shadscale as the dominant species. The soils in this zone are fine textured alkaline soils which indicate regions in which agriculture is carried on with difficulty.31

The other zone is the Northern Deseret Shrubs and Pigmy Forest Zone which takes in roughly areas in elevation ranging from four thousand to five thousand feet above sea level and is characterized by sage brush and on the heavier alkaline soils by rabbit brush. Sage brush usually indicates valuable agricultural land.32

In summary, most of the land around Goshen is submarginal because of waterlogging, alkali precipitation, and lack of irrigation water. Much of the fairly good land is useless, since it is above the high line canals. The range land has been moderately to severely damaged by erosion caused by overgrazing.33

32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
CHAPTER III

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF GOS:EN

Characteristics of Mormon Colonization

The Mormon settlers were characterized by a remarkable willingness to follow those placed in authority over them. Their system of colonization developed a group of strong leaders and a people who with intense fervor attempted to carry out the advice of their superiors. It was this intense unity and cooperation which helped to make Mormon colonization one of the most successful, thoroughly organized, and systematically executed colonial projects in the history of the United States. 34

The dominant figure throughout the colonization period was Brigham Young, the second President of the Church. Lines of authority led from his office through divisional leaders to the most remote settlement. It is impossible to over-estimate his influence over the members of the Church.

34 Hunter, op. cit., p. 55.
They obeyed him, respected him, admired him, and what is more, loved him. His word was respected as law through the Great Basin, and he watched over and worked for the welfare of his people scattered throughout its arid spaces.

When he visited a colony, it was a day of rejoicing and celebration. Throngs hovered about his carriage to encourage him to stay longer in their villages. Very few leaders in the history of America have been so intensely adored as was Brigham Young. He still lives in myth and legend in the cities and towns that he founded.

During the early and most active periods of Mormon colonization, Church leaders divided the areas selected for settlement into divisions over which strong men often members of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles were placed with responsibility to colonize. Under them were bishops of wards and presidents of stakes. The bishops were the men who actually pioneered the establishment of colonies. Usually before each group left Salt Lake City, President Young selected a man of experience and with a marked degree of leadership to ordain as bishop.

The bishops directed the people in their spiritual and

35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
material activities. Under their direction cities were built, lands divided, roads and bridges built, canals excavated, land irrigated, churches established, and the work of colonizing was carried on.\textsuperscript{38}

As the colonies multiplied about a key settlement within a particular area, an outstanding leader was chosen as stake president to preside over the settlement and its satellite villages. He and his two counselors acting under the direction of central Church Authorities governed the Saints and ministered to their needs.\textsuperscript{39}

When a new colony was to be founded, its membership was carefully selected. Groups of families were called as missionaries to settle the new area. The colonizers went with the understanding that they were to remain in the new colony until released by the Church. When a settlement was firmly established, many of the successful pioneers might be recalled to lead other groups to new colonies.\textsuperscript{40}

A balanced company of industrial and agricultural workers was always organized. Brigham Young's policy was to see that each colony was provided with the various craftsmen needed to make the colony self-sufficient.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., p. 59.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., p. 61.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., pp. 61-62.
Most of the Mormon communities were laid out on a common pattern based upon the "Plat of the City of Zion" first proposed by Joseph Smith, the founder of the Church. The plan called for a rectangle one mile square divided into blocks of ten acres. Each block was surveyed into half-acre lots, allowing twenty houses to the block. The streets were eight rods wide and intersected each other at right angles.  

Colonization of Utah Valley

On March 23, 1850, President Young and several other high Church authorities decided to lay out a city in Utah Valley to be called Provo. Fort Utah supplying the nucleus for the settlement had been established a year before. Several groups of colonists were sent from Salt Lake City to reinforce the original settlers and assist in founding Provo. A new site was selected two miles up the river from the fort on higher ground.

The settlement prospered as industries developed rapidly, and more immigrants arrived from Salt Lake City. Textile mills, grist mills, tanneries, potteries, cabinet shops, and fisheries provided employment and cared for the needs of the inhabitants. As there was then no

43Hunter, op. cit., p. 221.
outstanding Church leader living in Provo, the inhabitants petitioned Brigham Young to place Apostle George Albert Smith in charge of the settlement of Utah Valley.\textsuperscript{44}

Within a year American Fork, Lehi, Pleasant Grove, Springville, Payson, and Alpine were all colonized under the direction of George Albert Smith thus filling the northern part of the valley with thriving settlements. Also in the same period of time, colonies were established on all the important canyon streams in Utah Valley south of Provo. Besides Springville, Spanish Fork was colonized. In 1851, Palmyra, Salem and Santaquin were occupied.\textsuperscript{45}

From these colonies, herds of cattle and sheep were driven under guard to graze in the neighboring valleys. One of the prominent men of Payson, Phineas W. Cook, noticing the apparent richness of Goshen valley sought permission of Brigham Young to colonize it.\textsuperscript{46}

\textbf{History of Goshen}

Cook, one of the experienced pioneers of the Church came west with Brigham Young's own family and helped settle Salt Lake City. From there he was called to pioneer the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[44]Ibid., p. 223
\item[45]Ibid.
\item[46]Ibid., pp. 224-225
\end{footnotes}
settlement of Payson. Within a short time, he led a group to Little Berry and upon the establishment of the settlement obtained permission to return to Payson. In 1857, he colonized Goshen and in 1860 was recalled back to Salt Lake City and sent in 1863 to colonize Bear Lake Valley. 47

In the fall of 1857, Cook with a small party started to build a dam across Currant Creek. The next spring twenty-five families were sent to Goshen by Church Leaders from Salt Lake City, Provo, Payson, and Pleasant Grove. The group constructed a small fort of mortar, rock and poles in the bottom lands two and a half miles northwest of the present village. Dugouts were excavated for homes. The location was damp, and as the people suffered much from disease, they named their colony, "Sodom" to express their feelings toward fever, dampness, and bad water. 48

There was little Indian trouble, as the pioneers followed the admonition of Brigham Young that it was cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them. In 1859 the old fort was abandoned. Part of the inhabitants settled in a new site

47 "Biography of Cook", Prepared by the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, (Salt Lake City, 1946).

48 "History of the Tintic-Santaquin Stake", unpublished manuscript in the Church Historian's Office, (Salt Lake City).
on a sand ridge two miles west-northwest of the present village to get away from the swamps. They named their cluster of adobe houses "Sandtown". Another group from the fort moved across the creek several hundred yards southwest of the fort, and called their settlement "Mechanicsville". However, many of the people left the valley in disgust and immigrated to Cache Valley, northern Utah. 49

In 1858 news of the coming invasion of Johnston's Army to put down an imaginary rebellion among the Mormons against the Federal government reached Goshen. Men were mustered into the militia to defend mountain passes and raid government supply trains. Others were called to evacuate families from Salt Lake City, to Goshen. Some of the families stayed in Goshen strengthening the colony and bringing a new spirit of courage and enterprise. 50

Johnston's Army established a permanent camp in Cedar Valley, twenty-five miles from the Goshen settlers. At first hostility and fear were felt toward the soldiers, but the high prices paid by the army for food, forage, and timber and high wages for workers attracted the villagers. Grain and potatoes sold at twelve dollars a bushel, hay and straw at

50 Ibid.
twenty-five to thirty dollars a ton, and workers were paid in horses, mules, wagons, cloth, and other needed items. The whole population in time became dependent upon the camp. However, the influence was not altogether to the good, as the habits of the soldiers found ready imitation among the younger people.51

The camp gave the people of Goshen their first ready cash as well as a steady market. Prosperity derived from the commerce between the Army and the settlers saved the colony from much suffering and perhaps from actual disintegration, as the inhabitants before the formation of the post were leaving at the rate of a few families each year.52

In 1860, Cook was replaced by Bishop John Price, brother-in-law to Brigham Young, who served as their bishop for thirty-two years. As discontent was still rife, and the people were scattered over the valley in small hamlets, Price chose a central site on the bottom lands four miles from modern Goshen and called the inhabitants together. They slowly moved into the new colony from Mechanicsville and Sandtown except for several families who immigrated to Payson and Provo. The new


52 Ibid.
settlement was named, Lower Goshen after Goshen, Connecticut, birthplace of Cook.  

One of the main immigrant roads to California ran west of Utah Lake through Goshen and then south. Although the Saints were forbidden to traffic with the immigrants, much trade went on. The immigrants traded tired horses, mules, furniture, cloth, and wagons for grain, forage, and fresh animals. Goshen was an outpost settlement and much went on that was not known to the Church Authorities.

Camp Floyd was closed in 1861, and the troops marched east to participate in the Civil War. It is of interest to note that General Albert Sidney Johnston, who accused the Mormons of treason, was killed as a Confederate general fighting against his country.

The sudden withdrawal of the troops enabled the inhabitants of Goshen to buy goods at very low prices. But the closing of the camp destroyed their market, and plunged the village back to subsistence farming. Suffering increased and criticism of the Church Leaders began. Bishop Price finally went to Brigham Young for advice.

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53 Huff, op. cit.
54 Information gathered from interviews with the oldest residents and from several diaries of the original settlers.
55 Hunter, op. cit., pp. 342-349.
56 Louisa Jensen, "history of Goshen", Unpublished manuscript in author's possession.
President Young promptly came to the village. He looked the valley over carefully followed by all the people in their wagons. Standing on the present school site, he lectured them severely on their frequent moves, their murmurings, and their rebelliousness. They were told to stay in one place. He said, "Your chickens have been moved so many times that every time they see a wagon they just turn over and stick their feet in the air to be tied for another moving." 57

The Church Surveyer laid out a new plat, and the people were called to settle there and build up a flourishing settlement. They were promised "that the Lord would bless and prosper them if they obeyed his commandments and followed their leaders". 58

Little by little one family after another moved its cabin or adobe home to the new townsite. At first they called it New Town, then Newton, and finally renamed it Goshen. Danish and English immigrants were sent to Goshen from Salt Lake City to strengthen the colony. But almost as fast as

58 Jensen, op. cit.
new families came others left for Cache Valley and other colonies.  

In 1863 several small businesses were established. A sulphur refinery commenced operations. Magnetite iron ore was discovered, and plow points, shovel heads and hoes were made. One of the later settlers opened a general store, and little by little the village began to progress.  

In 1869 lead silver ore was discovered in the East Tintic Range, and miners flocked into the mountains. No sudden rush developed, as there was no railroad south of Salt Lake, and ore had to be hauled there for shipment. However mining camps grew up around the principal strikes, and Goshen supplied them with meat, grain, hay, and labor.  

People moved in from Provo and other communities to engage in commerce with the miners. A business center began to form around the general store with the building of a blacksmith shop, a livery stable, another general store and a clothing store for women. In 1872 a smelter and a boarding house were constructed. In 1874 two ore furnaces were added, and in 1876 a leaching plant was built. The smelter, furnaces,  

59 Jensen, op. cit.  
60 Ibid.  
61 "History of the Tintic-Santaquin Stake", op. cit.
and leaching plants failed but provided employment for several years.  

Farmers began working in the mines in winter to augment their income. Other farmers developed large dairy and beef herds to supply the camps. Stores were opened to provide goods and services with thrifty Mormon storekeepers making large profits. Teams and men hauled ore and worked in the mines. The population of Goshen began to increase rapidly, as men and their families moved into the village to set up businesses or to mine.

To supply furnaces, coke ovens opened up at Homansville furnishing more employment. The Utah Southern Railroad came south from Salt Lake City to Provo and into Juab County. Ore was then hauled through Goshen to a terminal at Payson. Ore production increased rapidly.

As the town prospered, cultural and athletic clubs were organized. A local ball team gained prominence as one of the best in the territory. Two bands, one a fife and drum band and the other a brass band, played at the musicals, dances, and town celebrations besides serenading the villagers in the early dawn and long evening hours. Saloons were opened soliciting patronage from both Mormon and non-Mormon. In

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62Ibid.
63Jensen, op. cit.
64"History of the Tintic-Santaquin Stake", op. cit.
1891, the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad built a line through Goshen from Springville to the mining area. It connected Goshen with the settlements to the east such as Payson and Provo. 65

In 1880 a conflict over water rights developed with the community of Mona in Juab County, and many of the leading citizens of Goshen were excommunicated from the Church because they refused to accept the advice of Church Authorities over a proposed water settlement. The matter went to court and Goshen won. Some of the excommunicated men later returned to the Church, but many became quite bitter and created considerable dissension against the Church Authorities. 66

The period from 1890 to 1900 was the most prosperous period that Goshen has ever known. With many small industries such as a sorghum mill, a sulphur refinery, grist and rolling mills, creameries, a steady market for agricultural products, and a continued high level of employment, Goshen expanded rapidly. The inhabitants had visions of becoming one of the principal communities in Utah County. Families moved in from other towns, and new homes and stores were built. The local people began to accumulate money, and many of the inhabitants became quite wealthy. 67

65 Jensen, op. cit.
66 Ibid.
67 Ibid.
Soon after the turn of the century, Mormon colonization began to flow into the Big Horn Basin, Wyoming; into Alberta and Saskatchewan, Canada; and into southern Arizona. As the local land became waterlogged and crusted over with alkali, a large immigration of farmers took place to the new areas. Other men, merchants and storekeepers, moved to Provo, Salt Lake City, Payson, and other areas to provide their families with better educational and social surroundings. Between 1900 and 1910, the population decreased over 30%. The village entered into a slow decline.

From 1910 to 1920 the population slowly recuperated and increased, as miners moved in to take the place of farmers who had left. In a sense it was a population replacement of one group by another.

In 1918, the village was incorporated to build a culinary water system. Several hotels were built. Dairies sprang up to sell milk and cream to the mining camps and in the eastern communities. An electric light plant was built by a local merchant who also established a milling company and a cinema. Sugar beets were planted on the alkaline soils.

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68 Ibid.
69 Statement by the village schoolteacher.
and helped raise the income of smaller farmers. Large herds of beef cattle were built up on the public domain. The First World War, with its inflated demand for food brought prosperity and over-expansion.\textsuperscript{70}

The deflation of 1920 depressed prices for agricultural products slowly eroding away the economic base of the business and industrial center of Goshen. About this time an all weather highway was completed by the State which drained off local trade to the larger commercial centers. The depression of 1930 was the crowning blow that almost completely destroyed the whole business class in Goshen except for several garages and grocery stores. From an independent trade center, the village declined to a dependent hamlet. Once the train scheduled regular stops every four or five hours, now it has become a "Whistle stop" with the local depot being sold to one of the farmers. Goshen up to the present has never recovered.\textsuperscript{71}

In the thirties several mines on the east side of the Tintic Range around Dividend, a mining camp, increased

\textsuperscript{70}Related to the writer by several persons interested in local history.

\textsuperscript{71}See Polk's Directory of Utah County for the past twenty years.
production drawing into Goshen mining families replacing the business men and farmers who had left. From almost a pure agricultural and trade center, Goshen developed two main occupational groups, farmers and miners. The latter live in Goshen but center all their interests around the mines. Goshen to them is a residential suburb.\textsuperscript{72}

Today Goshen is a small rural village of farmers and miners. Alkali and water-logging have destroyed much of the land basis. As a result Goshen has turned to cattle in an attempt to utilize the flooded land as meadow and pasture. Others are going into the mines or moving away. During the war, there was a tremendous immigration of the young and old to the industrial centers. Much of that loss has not been made up, although many families are now returning to seek employment in the mines.\textsuperscript{73}

The constant drainage of families has left Goshen without much leadership. A result of the loss of leadership and vision can be seen in the refusal of Goshen farmers to buy the bench lands and water rights of the Elberta Project offered to them by the Department of Agriculture. The land

\textsuperscript{72} Interviews with fifteen leading miners and farmers.

\textsuperscript{73} Interviews with municipal officers.
is the best land in the valley, and both the Mormon Church and the Government tried to get them to buy. But under the leadership of conservative cattlemen and older farmers, the people refused to buy. A banker in Spanish Fork bought up the proffered land and water and is now making large sums through renting the land as large scale farms. As water is constantly in short supply, he has brought court action several times against Goshen to obtain more water on the charge that water is being used to irrigate inferior land that could support many families at Elberta. 74

74 Interviews with an official of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture.
CHAPTER IV

POPULATION

Ethnic Groups

Today the population of Goshen is quite homogenous. Most of the families by now are related to each other through blood or past inter-marriage. The basic ethnic amalgam is English, Danish, and Welch. Forty percent of the schedules gave English as their main line of descent, 17% Danish, and 11% Welch. Other groups represented are Scotch 9%, Irish 8%, Swedish 7%, Pennsylvania Dutch 5%, and German, French, Swiss, and Indian each below one percent.

Origin of Population

Table 1 presents the place of birth of the population of Goshen by heads of household and their spouses. The farmers and merchants are combined under the title "Farmer" while the miners and other manual workers have been placed in a second category titled "Miner".

The group headed "Utah County" includes all those born in Utah County excluding those born in Goshen. In the category, "State of Utah", falls all those born in Utah outside of Goshen and Utah County. The category, "Other
States", includes also several individuals born in a foreign country, those being not numerous enough to warrant a special category.

The homogeneity of the population is indicated by the fact that 60% of the men and 40% of the women were born in Goshen, and by the small percentages born outside of Utah. As Goshen is a mining and agricultural village, men outnumber women of native birth. Many women have been brought into the community through marriage. There seems to be very little inbreeding. Farming is more stabilized than mining, and Table 1 reflects this in the larger number of farmers than miners born in Goshen. The miner total is not as large as it would have been if many of the miners were not the descendants of local farmers.

The distribution of Goshen population into different categories as shown by Table 2 is quite interesting. In general, it follows the pattern of Utah County except that there is a higher percentage of dependent children up to fourteen years of age in Goshen than in Utah County. The significant drop in category "15-24" reflects the loss of young adults migrating upon completion of high school or the attainment of the legal age (18) for leaving school. If this category could be broken down into five year periods, the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Born in Goshen</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miner</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Born in Utah County</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miner</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Born in the State of Utah</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miner</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Born in Other States</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miner</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION
OF GOSHEN, UTAH AND OF UTAH COUNTY
ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groups</th>
<th>Goshen</th>
<th>Utah County</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 5</td>
<td>12.09%</td>
<td>11.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-14</td>
<td>23.06%</td>
<td>22.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>18.98%</td>
<td>20.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>15.04%</td>
<td>14.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>12.65%</td>
<td>11.07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>7.03%</td>
<td>8.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>6.04%</td>
<td>6.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 65</td>
<td>4.92%</td>
<td>5.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Not Reported</td>
<td>0.19%</td>
<td>0.10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

heavy loss of the young between twenty and twenty-four would be more evident. For the age group twenty-five to thirty-four years, Goshen slightly exceeds the average for Utah County reflecting the number in this age group that work at the mines. For the age group fifty-four to sixty-four years Goshen again lags behind the county indicating prior migrations. The age group above sixty-five is slightly less in Goshen. Some of the aged leave Goshen for larger centers to live with or near their children.

### TABLE 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE AND SEX RATIO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 5-14 15-24 25-34 35-44 45-54 55-64 over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male 369 42 84 76 61 46 29 19 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female 342 44 84 59 46 45 21 24 19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 indicates age distribution by sex. In it the heavy percentages in the dependent age categories can be easily noted. Males predominate in the village by about 5%. This dominance is pronounced from age group fifteen to thirty-four, fifteen to twenty-four (12%), and twenty-five to thirty-four (14%). Male predominance in Goshen indicates the basic agricultural and mining nature of the village, as these types of communities are characterized by male
predominance. There is a tendency for females in the category fifteen to twenty-four to migrate. Some by early marriage into neighboring communities, but most of it by movement of girls to urban areas. Unless a girl marries upon high school graduation, her future in Goshen is not promising.

**TABLE 4**

**POPULATION GROWTH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>616</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

The slow uneven growth of Goshen as indicated by Table 4 reflects the interplay of economic and social factors in the oscillation of population. From 1860 to 1890, the village struggled for existence against lack of markets, semi-isolation, marginal land, and the hardships of a pioneer period. The sharp increase from 1890 to 1900 reflects the mounting operations of the nearby Tintic mines and a resultant influx of miners and other groups.

The decrease between 1900 and 1910 was caused by migration of part of the population to Arizona and Canada. Since then, the population has oscillated up and down. It may have reached approximate stability, but no one can foretell whether it will grow or decline in the future.

Goshen has too narrow an economic structure at present to sustain much beyond her present population. The optimum of population in regards to land and water has long been exceeded resulting in heavy pressure upon a steadily diminishing land basis. The situation is aggravated by the monopolistic practices of a few rich cattlemen who are buying up land and water rights as fast as possible at higher prices than the average farmer can pay. Many miners who now live in other communities would like to buy home lots.

75 See Chapter Six of Thesis.
in Goshen to be closer to the mines, but they are unable to do so because of the monopoly on land and the unwillingness of the older generation to sell land.\textsuperscript{76}

Migration

Information was obtained during this study on one hundred and twenty-five individuals who had left Goshen. Sixty-three percent stayed in Utah with 35\% of this number moving to Salt Lake, 11\% to Eureka, 9\% to Provo, and 10\% to Payson. Other communities in Utah received less than one percent each. Goshenites were thoroughly scattered through central and northern Utah. Very few of these immigrants migrated farther south than Nephi, c. 30 miles from Goshen. Of the states outside of Utah, California attracted 16\% of the immigrants with the thirteen western and southern states each receiving one or two individuals.

As can be seen from Table 3, population mobility is heavy among the adolescent age groups. There is little mobility among those who now live in Goshen. Over 72\% of the population covered by the schedule has lived in Goshen since marriage. Of those who gave a definite number of years of residence in Goshen, Table 5 gives the percentages.

\textsuperscript{76} Information obtained from interviews with twenty miners in Goshen and Eureka.
TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF YEARS RESIDENCE IN GOSHEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24-29</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is very little mobility within Goshen itself as can be seen from Table 6. Fifty percent of the people have lived in one home only. The rest have moved very few times as the table illustrates.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION PER NUMBER OF RESIDENCES OCCUPIED PER FAMILY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Occupied Residences</th>
<th>Percentage of Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1% is not covered in the Table.
Summary

The population of Goshen is homogenous and is derived from a basic amalgam of English, Danish, and Welch.

The age composition of Goshen follows the national trends for agricultural and mining villages. There is a heavy predominance of males in certain categories.

There is a marked concentration of population in the dependent age categories.

The population on the whole has changed very slowly except between 1890 and 1900 when there was a rapid increase due to the development of the Tintic Mines and between 1900 and 1910 when a sudden decrease was registered caused by agricultural families moving to better farming lands.

Of those who migrated from Goshen 63% remained in Utah with 35% of this number going to Salt Lake City, 11% to Eureka (a mining camp), 10% to Payson, and 9% to Provo. The remainder of the 63% have scattered through northern and central Utah.

California attracted 16% of the migrants leaving the state with 13 other states, mainly western and southern drawing one or two persons each.

There is little mobility within Goshen. Fifty percent of the population resided in only one domicile with a large percentage moving once or twice.

Because of a narrow economic base, population is restricted in Goshen.
CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Occupational Structure

Out of the one hundred and twenty-nine families contacted in Goshen, fifty-five or 54% earn their living as farmers or stock raisers, twenty-six families (12%) as miners, and the rest in a varied selection of occupations as can be seen from Table 7.

As the population is not large enough to permit a high degree of specialization, many craftsmen have more than one trade. Quite a few who reside in Goshen such as truck drivers, plumbers and sheep shearers practise their trades in neighboring communities and states. Many farmers owning small acreages work in the mines in winter or do common labor. Miners also frequently supplement their income by farming small plots of ground.

Agriculture and stock raising dominate the community. Although most of the miners depend upon mining as their main source of income, yet the majority of them are sons and relatives of local farmers and ranchers and have gone into the mines, as no land was available. Many of them hope to buy
land in Goshen or in neighboring areas and become farmers.

Agriculture

Farming in Goshen is practically limited to submarginal land. The land base is limited in extent, and water is scarce. Much of the good land is in danger of waterlogging and alkali precipitation. The farms are usually too small for economical operation. Efficient operation is made difficult by a system of tenure in which land holdings are divided into from three to nine different strips. Each settler in the establishment of the village was given a few acres of irrigated land, a few of meadow, and of dry land in non-contiguous areas.77

Utah County has been divided into six specialized farming areas based upon types of crop specialization, livestock, and poultry enterprises. These six are: The Bench Fruit Land, the North Lake Area, the South Lake Area, the Santaquin Area, the Southeast Area, and the Alpine Area. Goshen is in the Santaquin Area.

The Bench Fruit Land is a strip of bench land running from Pleasant Grove south to the northern edge of the Mapleton Bench and then to the southeast portion of Springville.

### TABLE 7

**OCCUPATION OF HEADS OF FAMILIES IN GOSHEN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers and Cattlemen</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miner</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Laborers</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep Shearers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinist</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truck Drivers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Principal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Janitor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexton</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep Herder</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrician</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bomb Inspector</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widows</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men Retired</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is a specialized fruit growing region. The North Lake Area is the land between the bench and the lake extending from the Jordan River to Provo and is composed of diversified farms, dairy, truck and poultry. The South Lake Area reaches from Provo to just south of Payson. Most of it is close under the bench. It is noted for poultry, sugar beets, peas, onions, tomatoes, general field crops, and some livestock.

The Santaquin Area covers all the lands, south and west of the South Lake Region and is an area of extensive farming, meadows sugar beets, wild hay, small grains, and cattle. It tends more to range and livestock than any other area in the county. In fact, it is the only area in which dairy farming and fruit growing are unimportant. Over 44% of all full time farms are developed around livestock. General crop farms make up 48% of all full farms, and even they generally have some range cattle.

The Alpine Area is the strip of bench land north of the North Lake Area and is devoted to fruit, dairy, and poultry.  

Livestock

Goshen in the main therefore depends upon grains,

---

sugar beets, and alfalfa seed. Small herds are carried on National Forest Land permits during the summer. The large herds usually operate under the Taylor Grazing Act governing use of the public domain. In the winter, cattle are brought into Goshen to be grazed on the salt grass pastures supplemented with grain. There are large extensions of wild hay land valued as winter feed. It is the combination of salt grass pastures, wild hay land, and local grain which makes possible large scale cattle operations in Goshen.

Table 8 indicates the sizes of herds operated in Goshen. The figures are close approximations, as during the interviews many farmers and farmer's wives did not know exactly the number of head they did own.

**TABLE 8**

**SIZE OF CATTLE HERDS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Number of Herds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10-20</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-70</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-90</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-100</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150-200</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350-400</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 500</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total .......... 28
It should be emphasized that many farmers carry a few head of beef cattle to utilize their pasture and hay lands, but beef is supplementary to other cash crops.

Several farmers and cattlemen operate large sheep herds. These are wintered in eastern Nevada and around Delta, Utah. The summer grazing grounds are in the Strawberry and Duchesne area. Most of them own their own summer range and graze the public domain in winter.

Up to 1930 dairying was quite important with three to four large dairies in operation. A creamery was then maintained in Goshen and dairy products were sold to Eureka and Payson. However, state sanitary regulations, depressed prices in the 1930's, increased competition from more efficient herds around Provo, and the rise in meat prices led to the destruction of the local herds. Most families keep from two to five milk cows to supply their own needs. Surplus cream is sold in Payson. There is one pig farm with over 100 animals which utilizes surplus milk, grain, etc. Few farmers keep pigs or sheep.

**Livestock Management**

Livestock management at Goshen consists in keeping an eye on them in the mountains in the summer time and moving them from the summer range to winter pasture. The mountain
range is within the boundaries of the National Forests, and most of the Goshen permits are for the Wasatch National Forest. Owners of livestock must obtain a permit from the forest officials to range livestock within the forest limits. Each individual is strictly limited as to the number of various kinds of livestock he may graze. The maximum per person is around 800 head of sheep and about 60 head of cattle. This rule is at times evaded by having members of the same family take out permits. A grazing fee is paid annually per head of livestock. The policy of the National Forest administration is to extend the permits to as great a number of farmers and stockmen as possible and to prevent monopolization by the larger operators such as has taken place with the public domain under the Taylor Grazing Act.

Cattlemen and farmers in the Goshen area are organized into the Goshen Livestock Association to improve the quality of stock, exchange stray animals, provide protection against rustlers, and in general look after their special interests.

Goshen animals are generally sold as feeders. Buyers visit the village in the fall. The bigger cattlemen sell most of their animals at the auction ring in Spanish Fork where higher prices are obtained. The usual markets are
Salt Lake City, Ogden, and the Pacific Coast with some sent to the Middle West. Price offerings at each center guide the marketing. Loading yards at Goshen are maintained by the Cattlemen Association.

Poultry

Before the last war many of the smaller farmers began to build poultry flocks in conjunction with the Utah Poultry Association, a cooperative. The war raised the price of feed, and this forced most of them out of business. At present there is only one poultryman in Goshen, and he operates his flock in conjunction with running the local beer tavern.

Many farmers intend to re-enter the poultry business if feed prices come down. Poultry raising would be ideal on many of the small farms around Goshen, as it permits a high income enterprise on a small acre farm.

Types of Crops

Twenty one farmers reported hay and grain as their main cash crops. Both are utilized in conjunction with cattle. At one time there was a milling company in Goshen, but the best wheat land became waterlogged, causing it to go out of business. Very little hay or grain is shipped out of Goshen at present.

Nine farmers reported raising alfalfa seed as their main cash crop. This is a relatively new crop for Goshen,
having been introduced during the last ten years. Climate, soil, and other conditions are apparently suited for it. The seed is marketed through a local company.

Sugar beets were the main cash crop of eight farmers. They are usually raised on irrigated land and thrive in semi-alkaline soil. In the past, they were an important crop to Goshen but due to the low price of sugar in the past, high cost of labor, and nematode infection, sugar beet acreage here as in many sections of Utah has, over a period of years, been sharply reduced. The beets are usually raised under contract with the Utah Idaho Sugar Company which maintains a plant at Spanish Fork. Potatoes and corn are raised by some farmers as minor crops but with little economic importance to Goshen as a whole. Most farmers raise hay, grain, beets, and alfalfa seed on irrigated land.

Farm Size and Land Tenure

Fifty-eight families reported owning farm land. In Goshen there are only five farmers operating on rented farms. As a rule the renters are related to the landlords. One of the larger land holdings is an inheritance worked in common by brothers.

Table 9 shows a classification of sizes of farms in Goshen. The average falls within the 90-100 acre category.
Many farmers during the interviews may not have reported all the waste and range land owned. The average farm would probably include between two and three hundred acres and the average cultivated acreage approximately 91 acres. Farms are small both in crop acreage and farm income. Twenty-seven percent of the irrigated farms have less than twenty-nine acres, 51% less than forty acres, and 77% less than sixty acres. So it can well be seen that most of the land is range and hay land quite valuable at present, to carry cattle but in normal times of lower prices of little value.

TABLE 9

LAND OWNERSHIP IN GOSHEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Acres</th>
<th>Number of Farms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10-20</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-70</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-80</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-90</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-100</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-200</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200-300</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300-400</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400-500</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500-600</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600-700</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800-900</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 1,000</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 10,000</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

79 Utah A. E. S. Bulletin 289, 1939.
The majority of the larger farms are thoroughly mecha-
nized, and others are becoming so. Many of the smaller farms
are too small for efficient operation of tractors and other
machines.

Farm Income

It is a difficult matter to estimate farm income.
In a study of Goshen by the Utah Agricultural Extension the
following facts were found for the Goshen area as shown in
Table 10.80

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANALYSIS OF FARM INCOME IN GOSHEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Cash Receipts per Farm .. $1,320.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Income ..................... 295.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Income ................... 167.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Privileges ................. 318.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Earnings ................. 151.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table illustrates the marginal position of
the average farmer in Goshen. In 1936 another study found
that the average family earnings on diversified farms in
1935 throughout Utah varied from $360.00 on general crop

80 Labor income is farmer's share after paying all farm
expenses, farm income includes labor income plus interest on
farmer's equity in farm. Farm privileges include house to
live in, garden, farm products. Labor earnings are made up
of income and farm privileges. Utah A. E. S. Bulletin 289,
(1939).
farms to $1,087.00 on dairy, poultry, and specialized intensive crop combinations, the average for diversified farms being $688.00 annually. In 1944 another report gave the average annual income per farm throughout Utah as $1,754.00. However, more than half the farms had incomes of less than $1,000.00 and two-fifths had incomes of less than $600.00. The problem of low income is not a local problem but one of the entire state.

Table 11 shows information collected during the Goshen study from fifty-five farm families as to their annual income.

### TABLE 11
**DISTRIBUTION OF FARM INCOME**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Number of Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below $1,000</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,000 to $2,000</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000 to 3,000</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000 to 4,000</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000 to 5,000</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above $5,000</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 11 the average annual income would fall between $2,000 and $3,000. This is the total gross income.

---


before expenses have been taken out. Because of present economic conditions, farm income is highly inflated. When prices for farm products are lower, the submarginal position of the farmers is quite evident.

Other Occupations

As has been pointed out, mining next to farming offers the greatest employment to the residents of Goshen. The village has had an economic interest in the mines since the Uintic mining district opened up in the 1860's. To a large degree her prosperity and well-being is connected with the mines. When production is high, population increases; when production is low, population falls off. At first the Mormon inhabitants of Goshen were reluctant to work in the mines, but land became scarce and young men and older boys sought temporary jobs which for many became permanent. Many farmers now work at the mines in winter to augment their income, and many miners move into Goshen from the camps to seek better living conditions for their families.

As can be seen from Table 12, the average cash income of the miners residing at Goshen is considerably higher than that of the farmer. However, only about 40% of the miners

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83 Examine census information on Goshen on page 38, Chapter IV and also the history of Goshen in Chapter III.
have gardens and 5% cows or poultry. Thus much of what the farmer raises for home consumption, the miner is forced to purchase. In general, the farmers have much better homes and living surroundings.\textsuperscript{84}

Not all the miners work as direct employed personnel. Many contract to mine ore for the different companies. That is, they agree to deliver so much ore at a stated price. Another practice is to lease from the mine owners a certain area that is not being worked. A group of men will lease a section together and sell ore to the smelters. If they hit a particularly rich spot, their income may be quite high.

Other occupations in Goshen such as carpentry, plumbing, and truck-driving are quite incidental and varied. Most people in these categories live in Goshen because they were born there or own real estate and work in neighboring villages and towns. In other sections of this thesis all other occupations are classified with the miners except the merchants and school personnel, who are placed with the farmers, as the semi-skilled and skilled workers, work in the mines.

\textsuperscript{84}See schedule for method of obtaining information. Comparison of farmer and miner is found in section on modern conveniences in this chapter.
when pay rates are high and then at carpentry or plumbing when they obtain regular jobs. Their interests are almost wholly with the miners. The merchants and school personnel all own cattle and land except for two store owners.

TABLE 12

GROSS INCOME OF THE MINING FAMILIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Number of Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below $1,000</td>
<td>....................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1,000. to $2,000</td>
<td>....................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2,000. to $3,000</td>
<td>....................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3,000. to $4,000</td>
<td>....................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,000. to $5,000</td>
<td>....................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above $5,000</td>
<td>....................</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Trade Centers Patronized

Goshen at one time supplied most of the needs of its people, but the depression of the thirties combined with improved means of communication and transportation led to the gradual decline of a thriving business district. Goshen now has but four small general stores selling mostly groceries, several garages, and a beer parlor. The inhabitants are forced to patronize other communities to satisfy their other needs.

85 All information on trading centers derived from schedule. See appendices.
needs.

Goshen is located on Highway Six, an excellent all weather paved road running from Santaquin through Goshen to Eureka and then south to Delta and on to Ely Nevada and then to California. The village is 6 miles from Santaquin, 12 miles from Payson, 20 miles from Spanish Fork, and 32 miles from Provo. Improved highways provide easy access to various trading centers.

The results of the schedule show a specialization of function among the different centers. The people of Goshen patronize the theaters at Payson about 10% more than those of Santaquin. However, for theatrical entertainment the people of Goshen often go to Provo and even to Salt Lake City. For dancing, they go to Eureka, Payson, and Provo in the order named.

Money is banked at Spanish Fork by 90% of the people. Before the depression a bank at Payson handled most of the bank accounts, but it failed. The present Payson bank is a branch of the Spanish Fork bank. The branch handles about 10% of Goshen accounts.

For its groceries, the inhabitants of Goshen feel that they should patronize the local stores but because of higher prices, limited variety, and the desire to take a
ride in the evening, many of them go to Payson (55%) where there are modern self-help stores and cold storage lockers.

Clothing is bought in Provo and Payson. The wealthier groups tend to buy in Salt Lake City, 48% of the inhabitants go to Payson, 45% to Provo, 5% to Salt Lake City, and 2% to Spanish Fork. Many say that they start shopping all the way from Payson to Salt Lake City.

Furniture is bought almost exclusively in Payson with only 5% of the inhabitants going to Provo or Salt Lake City.

Farm feed is bought at the Poultry Association storehouse in Payson. Other farm supplies and especially machinery are bought in Spanish Fork. Spanish Fork is also a market for the livestock sold in Goshen, as it maintains an auction ring. Ninety percent of the people listed Payson as the town that they visited most, and 10%, mainly miners, listed Santaquin.

Relations between Goshen and Payson are quite good. All the families contacted (129) stated that they received satisfactory treatment in Payson and prefer to shop there if they can obtain what they want. Of the businesses in Payson, certain specified ones get most of the Goshen trade. The proprietors of these stores secure most of the outside trade by friendliness and an ability to get the items needed
by farmers and villagers not usually carried in stock. These stores have become social centers where the people of Goshen meet their friends from neighboring villages and farms.

Ninety-eight percent of the inhabitants of Goshen do some catalogue buying although rather ashamed to admit it. They do this because of lower prices and the convenience of having the postman deliver purchases.

Goshen is primarily within the trading zones of two communities, Payson and Spanish Fork and secondarily within those of Provo and Salt Lake City. All wholesale buying is from Salt Lake houses. Payson, furnishes groceries, entertainment, furniture, and clothing. Spanish Fork provides farm supplies and machinery, banking facilities, and markets. Provo and Salt Lake supply some clothing and furniture.

Modern Conveniences

It has often been said that the spirit and culture of a community can be told by the type of homes in which its people live. The conveniences and home helps that they surround themselves with help to understand the values and goals of their culture. In this modern age with its multitudinous devices to make life easier and more comfortable, electricity and power appliances perhaps can be used as an index to measure both the wealth of a community and
its degree of adjustment to the modern commercialized civilization of America.

There are only six telephones in Goshen, five in business firms and one in the home of the wealthiest inhabitant. Within the town there is little need of telephones, as the village is so compact. One hundred percent of the homes are wired for electricity. A local entrepreneur back in 1920 organized an electric utility and wired all the houses. One hundred percent also have running water in the homes. Goshen became a municipality in the first world war in order to finance and to build a municipal water system. Electricity and piped culinary water in the above instances are good examples of the conveniences of modern village living.

Of the other facilities, 80% have cars, 70% have hot-water heaters, 58% indoor toilets, 87% sewing machines, 95% power washers, 100% radios, 95% electric irons, 77% electrical refrigeration, 62% vacuum cleaners, 60% toasters, 41% waffle irons, and 28% electrical mixers. Table 13 is included to more clearly analyze this data.

Table 14 shows a comparison of farmers and miners with respect to ownership of household conveniences. Note especially the differences as to indoor toilets, and hot
water heaters which mean so much to a family. The farmers, constitute the group which own the land and are more likely to inherit permanent homes. The miners in a sense are the hangers-on in the community. Even though they might be in many cases the sons and relatives of the farm owning group they are still struggling economically for a permanent place in the village. Many of these would like to farm, but land is generally not available. Others not related to the farm group have moved down from mining camps to give their children better living conditions and have had to take whatever housing was available. There are some miners and manual workers who want to leave Goshen for more prosperous areas but find it difficult to leave because they have equities in homes which might have to be sacrificed.

Housing

The oldest houses in Goshen date back about 80 years and are built of adobe. Indeed, the first adobe house and the first log cabin built in Goshen are still standing and being used for housing. Of the total number of homes in the village, 44% are of brick, 14% of adobe, 34% of frame, and 8% of other constructions mainly veneer over adobe. The majority of the frame houses were brought from abandoned mining camps.
# Table 13

## Percentage of Population Having Specified Conveniences and Appliances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Convenience</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Car</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hot water heater</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indoor toilet</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing machine</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washing machine</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refrigeration</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacuum cleaner</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toaster</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waffle iron</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixer</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 14

COMPARISON OF MACHINES AND APPLIANCES
OF APPLIANCES AND APPLIANCES IN OWENSIP

Mixer
Toaster
Waffle
Iron
Vacuum
Cleaner
Refrigeration
Sewing
Washing
Machine
Radio
Indoor
Toilet
Heater
Hot water
In comparing the farmers with the miners, 44% of the farmer homes are of brick while only 40% of the miners are. 24% of the farmers and 33% of the miners are frame, 17% of the farmers and 21% of the miners are adobe. Fifteen percent of the farm homes are of a varied construction mainly veneer over adobe.

The farmers have the most modern houses. Many miners do not expect to make a permanent home in Goshen and therefore do not see fit to invest money in homes. Others have different scales of values and spend money on recreation instead of on modern conveniences.

The average home in Goshen is about forty years old. Only one-fifth have central heating. The rest depend upon oil heaters or coal stoves. There are nineteen electrical ranges and one gas range. The coal range is almost universal. The private electrical utility did not have lines strong enough to carry much power beyond lighting needs. The Utah Power and Light Company recently bought the utility. They intend to provide adequate wiring for ranges and other electric facilities. However, before a family can obtain high powered lines it has to buy an electric range from Utah Power and Light Company.

Summary

Goshen is a submarginal farming area. The land base is
shrinking because of waterlogging and alkali precipitation.

Farming is the main occupation in Goshen with mining next.

The average farm is between 200 and 300 acres comprising a small section of irrigated land and the rest in waste, range, and meadow lands.

Cattle is the principal cash crop with sugar beets and alfalfa seed quite important. Hay and grain are grown extensively but are consumed locally.

The cultivated areas are small and farm income is low. Land ownership is widespread. Only five farmers are renting farms.

There is a definite specialization of functions among the trade centers patronized by Goshen. Payson furnishes groceries, entertainment, furniture, and clothing. Spanish Fork provides farm supplies and machinery, banking facilities, and is a principal market for livestock. Provo and Salt Lake City supply some clothing and furniture. Salt Lake City is the wholesale center.

The homes of Goshen in general are quite modernized and comfortable. The farmers enjoy hot water and indoor toilets to a larger extent than do the miners, and their homes are of better quality.

Forty-four percent of the homes are brick, 14% adobe, 34% frame, and 8% of varied materials. The farmers have more brick and the miners more adobe and frame.
CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Significant Social Attitudes

Social organization has been defined in this thesis as "the organization of society into sub-groups, including in particular, those based on differences in age, sex, kinship, occupation, residence, property, privilege, authority, status, etc." This chapter treats certain sub-groupings and social attitudes in the social organization of Goshen.

Conservatism

The predominant social attitude of Goshen as of many rural communities is a marked conservatism. There is an apparent apathetic contentment with present conditions, a fear to venture, to change, a resistance to the new except for a ready acceptance of certain technological developments such as farm machinery and automobiles. The village has a quiet and peaceful atmosphere seemingly isolated from the rapidly changing world outside the valley. As will be seen, this conservatism has injured Goshen in many ways.

The village has not always been so conservative. Its

\[86\] See page 5, Chapter I of thesis.
citizens were among the first in earlier periods to adopt new crops, machines, and new methods of doing things. Being closely adjacent to the Tintic mines and with a principal railroad running through, it was in close contact with most of the movements of thought and action, Gentile or Mormon, in that part of Utah. Early in its history, leading citizens developed small industries, utilities, and businesses making Goshen quite independent of other trading centers.

Music and Drama

An early interest was manifested in music and art. In 1862 a dramatic club was organized, and a chorus was formed in 1865. A group of violinists came together to play for the dances and festivities. In the early 1860's, a fife and drum band was organized and in 1887 it was joined by a brass band. The two groups played upon all occasions and often serenaded the town in the early hours of the morning. Of this activity, very little is now left.

Education

The early school of Goshen was regarded as one of the most progressive in the county. It was provided with good buildings, a good library, and special bonuses were paid to

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87 Gentile in Utah refers to all who are non-Mormons.
88 See Chapter Three for history of Goshen.
89 "History of the Tintic-Santaquin Stake" op. cit.
attract the best teachers. A rich vigorous social and intellectual life grew up around its functions.\textsuperscript{90}

The school was consolidated into the Nebo School District around the turn of the century, and Goshen lost direct control of its educational affairs. The library was distributed among all the district schools. A state-wide curriculum was instituted with little respect paid to the desires or wishes of the local inhabitants. The special teacher bonuses were discontinued. As the village has few accommodations and is somewhat isolated, it could not secure good teachers, and the teaching cadre became somewhat inferior. Now few boys (last year not one boy graduated from high school) finish high school or go on to college where once Goshen was noted for the number of its citizens with a high education.\textsuperscript{91} A widespread bitterness exists among the parents and teachers toward the district supervisor who is blamed for the decline in the school. However, the desire for a higher education at present does not seem to exist among the young people.\textsuperscript{92}

**Leadership**

As money accumulated, the families who once supplied Goshen with much of her leadership moved away. As they left,

\textsuperscript{90}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{91}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{92}Of twenty high school students contacted, only one manifested a desire to go to college.
one of the richest leading families remaining bought up most of their land and water rights. As this family is now one of the dominant families in the community and has been rather intimately connected with the history and social development of the village, it will be of interest to trace the influence that it has had.

The head and founder of the family entered the community soon after the early period of settlement. He opened up a general store and prospered, as much of the trade from the Tintic Mines flowed into the village. As a leading citizen high in local Mormon Church affairs, he maintained several large polygamous families. Hunted by the "co-hab hunters" he spent several months in jail. In 1896, he was chosen bishop and served until 1912. The people respected him and followed his spiritual and material leadership, as he worked for the welfare of the community. Upon retirement in 1912, his oldest son was selected to replace him as bishop, and became his father's heir in power and leadership.

The son was interested in land and cattle and built up one of the largest land and cattle holdings in and around

93 A name given by the Mormons to the federal marshals engaged in hunting down polygamists in Utah. See any good history of Utah.

94 History of the Tintic-Santaquin Stake, op. cit.

95 Ibid.
Goshen and is one of the richest men in Utah County. He soon became noted for his tight fistedness although he did lend money at a high rate of interest to all in the village.

Due to his father's reputation, his frank dominant nature, and his financial power, his word became law in the community. With his numerous relatives, those who supported him in memory of his father, and those who owed him money he dominated the area. When the village was incorporated, he became town president and head of the water board. A conservatist by nature, he opposed anything costing money such as street repairs, sidewalks, or modernizing the irrigation system. 96

The government and the Mormon Church tried to persuade Goshen to buy the land and water rights at Elberta, far better land than Goshen has, but he opposed and defeated the proposition. 97 He was known as "Kaiser Bill" or the "Feudal Lord of Goshen."

In time old age came. The younger farmers who knew not his father, and the veterans who had been "out side" joined to oppose his faction. The immediate issue of combat was the establishment of good ball diamond and the modernization of the irrigation system. They approached the town council

96 Information secured from over forty interviews with teachers, prominent men in the village, and with his relatives.

97 Interview with Department of Agriculture officials and also see history of the Elberta Ward in the Santaquin-Tintic Stake History.
who refused to appropriate funds. In the next election, his supporters were almost swept out of office. At the present time, the village has a tendency to lineup behind these two groups; the one conservative and formed of the former dominant family, relatives, and the older cattlemen and farmers; and the second composed of younger farmers, veterans, and miners led by several rich alfalfa seed growers and merchants related to the leaders of the first group.

However, it should be stated that the individual who has dominated the community is well liked personally by almost everyone, although many have some bitterness toward him, as they blame him for the decline of the village.

The interesting aspect of the whole social organization is the dominance that one individual can come to exercise in a small community by reason of tradition, wealth, and personality.

Friendliness

Friendliness is a marked characteristic of Goshen. The inhabitants pride themselves on being "good neighbors". Visiting back and forth in the afternoon is a universal pastime. Courtesy and friendship are readily extended to

98 Information derived from leaders of both groups and from government agents who know Goshen well.
strangers. Farmers exchange work, and all families are deeply interested in the welfare and happenings of others. In case of misfortune, the village quickly comes to the aid of the unfortunate. Apparently a strong social control is exerted through the interest that everyone has in the affairs of other families. Many persons complained of the gossip that constantly made the rounds of the village. Other individuals stated that conformity to village customs and mores was enforced among many because of fear of gossip.

The community is seemingly united with an absence of any apparent destructive conflicts. As most of the inhabitants are related to each other through blood or marriage, such conflicts that arise are regarded as family difficulties. A conscious effort to prevent any quarrels from effecting the unity of the village seems to exist. Of course it is difficult to say whether or not the division between a conservative group and a liberal group will degenerate into a destructive conflict destroying community unity or not. The division has not been in existence long enough to assume set patterns, and many who seem neutral are exerting pressure to prevent any open fighting.

The young are sharply critical of Goshen indicating strong social maladjustment. They complain that the town is "dead", or "there is nothing to do". Having grown up in a
world of commercialized recreation, they have never known how to provide their own. Most of the adolescents plan to leave Goshen upon completion of high school or before.99

Most of the adults seem quite content with Goshen and apparently would not like to leave. When asked why, they gave as reasons the friendliness of the people, the visiting back and forth, relatives, Goshen is a good place to rear children, and that they have lived in the village all of their lives and know no other community.100

Religious Structure

Goshen is predominantly Mormon. One Methodist family resides in Goshen, and there are one Baptist and two Catholics married to Mormons. The only large non-Mormon group is composed of families, descendents of individuals excommunicated from or who have themselves left the Church.

The Mormon Church is the only one functioning in the village, and it exerts a strong integrative stabilizing influence in the community. As virtually every institution in the town is linked with the Church, it touches in one way or another the lives of all the inhabitants. Religious

99 Over twenty adolescents gave the same answer, that they wanted to leave Goshen, and the school teacher stated that most of the adolescents intended to leave.

100 See schedule in appendices.
influence is woven through the entire social structure.

Organization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.—At the head of the Church is a president and two councilors who with the help of a council of twelve apostles constitute the governing body of the Church with executive, legislative, and judicial powers. The president is regarded as a "prophet" who communicates the will of God to His Church upon the earth. 101

Geographically the Church is divided into areas known as stakes which contain around 5,000 people, and these are often co-extensive with county areas. Each stake has a president and two councilors known as the "stake presidency". Associated with them is a "high council" consisting of about twelve men selected at large throughout the stake. The council acts as an advisory body to the Stake Presidency.

The stakes are subdivided into wards which consist of about 800 people, and which correspond with congregations or parishes of other churches. Each ward roughly covers a small village. Over this smaller division is a presidency known as a "bishopric" composed of three men, a bishop and two councilors. Goshen has one ward covering the village and near

101 See William Edwin Berrett's, The Restored Church, (Salt Lake City: The Deseret Book Company, 1944). This gives a concise explanation of the conceived mission of the Mormon Church.
by farms. All the officers in the church are chosen from the varied walks of life. All but the general authorities at headquarters serve on a part time basis and without financial remuneration. The church supports no paid ministry or special religious schools.

The ward bishopric appoints all the organization officers in the ward and the membership approves or rejects the appointments by voting in an official meeting of the ward membership. The presiding officers of the different ward organizations are the chief concern of the bishopric, thus a local officer has the responsibility of choosing and maintaining a complete staff of all needed teachers and other officers.

In each ward organization are six different priesthood quorums (deacons, teachers, priests, elders, seventies, and high priests) limited to the men. There are also seven auxiliary organizations (Sunday School, Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association and Relief Society, the latter two being exclusively for women, and the Primary for children plus several historical and genealogical societies.  

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102 For an analysis and description of Church Government see John A. Widtsoe, Program of the Church, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1941).

103 Ibid.
These different organizations are so graded that they reach every age group. To staff them in a single ward requires almost one hundred and twenty-five individuals as voluntary workers. Besides the different organizations and their weekly meetings, there is held each Sunday an evening meeting, "sacrament meeting" for the entire membership.

Each group organization has a series of graded lessons prepared in the central headquarters of the Church and sent out to the different wards. There is a large and varied social and recreational program in each of the above organizations.

Financial System of Church

On the first Sunday of each month, the Church members are expected to fast at least two meals and donate the amount saved to a fast offering fund used to support and aid the needy. The chief source of financial income for the Church is tithing. Each member is expected to pay one-tenth of his annual income to the Church. Contributions are also given to welfare projects, building maintenance funds, and special organizational dues.


Ibid.
It is difficult for a non-member of the Church to understand the complex nature of its organic structure. Its program and organization is developed to meet every human need on the assumption that to fulfill its mission of salvation it must teach correct principles, guide its members through life's adversities, and provide opportunities for growth and development. Mormonism is a complete way of life, indeed a religious society capable of existing without the apparatus of civil government. 106

Measurement of Faith and Belief.—It is quite difficult to test adequately the influence and control that a religious organization exerts over the lives of its members. Intangibles such as faith and belief are hard if not impossible to measure. However, certain observable beliefs do exist that can be studied in every church and indicate to a degree the allegiance of the people to the teachings of the church.

Among the basic more observable beliefs which influence the lives of Mormons and connect them closely with the Church organization are: the payment of tithing and fast offerings, the maintenance of a strict code of chastity by both sexes, abstinence from tobacco, liquor, coffee, and tea, attendance

106 Ibid.
and participation in meetings and other activities, and marriage in the temple. These are beliefs which perhaps can be used to measure the control of the Church over its members and their faith in its principles.

As the beliefs, organization, and ideals of the Mormon Church are one of the chief integrative factors in the village social organization, one phase of social change can be measured by analyzing some of the differences that over a period of time have developed in the religious structure.

Goshen has always been predominantly Mormon but early in its history contacts developed between Mormons and non-Mormons which have strongly influenced the cultural pattern of the village; especially the religious structure.

The ward membership of the village is four hundred and fifty-eight out of a total population of six hundred and sixteen. Seventy-eight percent of the total population is on the membership roles of the ward. The majority of the 22% not on the ward roles reported that they were Mormon in religious conviction. They have however lost contact with the Church so they are not listed as members.

The average attendance at sacrament meeting in 1947 was 82 people (16%) of the total ward membership. Attendance at

107 Berrett, op. cit.
priesthood meeting was 30%. There are 86 boys and men who hold the priesthood in the ward.

It should be emphasized that all male members above the age of 12 years are eligible to receive the priesthood and may rise from one grade to another if active. The low number who hold the priesthood and the low percentage of attendance are significant of the lack of interest among the parents of eligible boys and among the men in the Priesthood. Priesthood is considered a very sacred office carrying with its righteous functions the power to act in the name of God.\(^{108}\)

Sunday School ranks higher with an attendance in 1947 of two hundred and thirty-four persons (40% of the total ward membership. The writer was unable to secure data on other meetings. However, the Mutual comprising the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association and the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association was said to be the best attended meeting in Goshen.\(^{110}\)

\(^{108}\) Widtsoe, Priesthood and Church Government, op. cit.

\(^{109}\) All figures on attendance at meetings were obtained from the Office of the Presiding Bishopric of the Mormon Church.

\(^{110}\) On the schedule almost every person listed attendance at meetings.
Measuring solely from attendance percentages, a rather low level of religious activity exists. However almost every person in the village said that he attended Church at least once or twice a year. These meetings and organizations provide much of the recreation of the village. For five years, Goshen has had no chapel which factor may have lessened interest in the ward. A chapel is now under construction and when finished may create more participation in ward activities. Religious activities are now held in the school house.

**Sex Standards.**--It is quite difficult to measure any loosening of the moral code governing sexual relations. Within Goshen any deviation brings down strict censure upon the individual and his or her family. There seems to be little record of sexual delinquency. The county sheriff and the town marshall both state that Goshen ranks above the average town in Utah County. The town marshalls of several neighboring villages, however, say that some Goshen boys and girls visit their communities to drink, fight, and pick up companions. Thus it seems that those who wish to sow wild oats go outside of the village where they are not known. As most of the young people marry upon graduation from senior high school, the period for sexual experimentation is rather limited. Primary social control operating through gossip which is
characteristic of small communities everywhere, is quite efficient within Goshen.

Petty thievery at times is quite common among the younger boys who seem to feel in it the spirit of adventure and defiance of the adult world. A small group recently caught joined the Army to avoid loss of status. The parents blame the lack of recreation for what delinquency exists.\footnote{Interviews were held with some of the parents and the boys as well as with the town marshall. All blamed the delinquency upon lack of recreation although in certain cases faulty parental supervision may have been the basis.}

Word of Wisdom.--Abstinence from the use of liquor, tobacco, tea, and coffee is requested of all members. It is not a direct commandment but in the process of time has acquired the force of one.

Out of one hundred and thirteen families contacted, forty-five (39.8\%) state that they keep the Word of Wisdom\footnote{The Word of Wisdom is the name of the doctrine of the Church requesting abstinence from stimulants.} and sixty-eight (60.2\%) say that they do not keep it. The oldest inhabitants have said that the people of Goshen have never entirely complied with the Word of Wisdom. Many of the early settlers came from England and Denmark and retained their tea...
and coffee. Smoking and drinking infiltrated into the village from contacts with non-Mormons.

Heavy drinking is against village ethics. Beer with an occasional whiskey or wine is permissible. However, drinking parties do occur and some drunkenness is found but the community frowns upon it, and a heavy drinker is sure to lose status. A few months ago, an element proposed that beer sales on Sunday be legalized, but the town turned out to vote it down overwhelmingly. Smoking by women is greatly opposed. Several women smoke but somewhat surreptitiously. To be seen smoking would create considerable gossip about one's private morals.

Church contributions.—Contributions are of a diverse kind, for about $5,500. was paid in 1947 as tithing ($12. per ward member). Fast offerings amounted to $274.80 in the same year (60¢ per ward member). A new $60,000. ward chapel is being built of which $30,000. will be paid by the ward, and $30,000. by the Church. Each family has been pro-rated a certain sum for the new building, and almost all have paid their share. The

113The figure for tithing is an estimate derived from certain ward officials. The writer was notified by one of the Presiding Bishops of the Church that it is against Church policy to release information on tithing.
building is regarded as a community project.

Temple Marriage. — This is one of the most sacred ordinances of the Church. It is believed to be necessary for the highest degree of salvation. Of the one hundred and thirteen Mormon families, 26.5% were married in the temple, and 73.5% were not. Distance may play a part, as there is no temple within seventy-two miles. The low percentage married in the temple indicates a lack of power of the Church to motivate the lives of the inhabitants, sufficiently to raise them to its standard of excellence.

The changes that have taken place from pioneer times to the present in the status of a Mormon bishop in the social organization of a Mormon community also provide an index to evaluate social change in the religious structure. In the early pioneer period and before the civil government structure was created, the bishop was the actual leader of the community. He supervised the colonization, the division of lands and waters, the recreational program, settled disputes, provided relief and help, besides carrying on his more formal religious responsibilities. The pastor of his people, he was responsible to higher Church authorities for their entire welfare.

As civil government was instituted taking over one func-
tion after another, the bishops position gradually narrowed in the community. Other men, lawyers, business men, professional men, competed with him for leadership. However a bishop is still a man of power and importance, as he speaks for the Church to which the majority of the population still belongs in almost any Utah community. A good bishop can become the community leader, and there are many towns and villages in the intermountain area where the bishop is the actual leader of the group.¹¹⁴

This was the situation in Goshen throughout most of its history. When the village was incorporated toward the end of the first world war, the bishop became town president and head of the water board. Other men in municipal government were all officers in the ward organization. This condition prevailed until the last election when a group of men opposed to those in office won the elections. At present most of the town board is filled with men not too active in the Church, although some ecclesiastical officers are represented. In Goshen the present bishop is a prominent man in political, business, and agricultural affairs.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ A list of municipal officers in almost every Utah community contains the names of men prominent in Church affairs.

¹¹⁵ Information secured from certain municipal officers.
Summary

In the analysis of the data certain facts present themselves. First, almost 15% of the Mormon population of the village is so apathetic toward the Church that they have no membership in the ward, that is, they are not listed on the Church roles as members. Second, that the majority of Church members attend religious functions rarely as indicated by attendance records. Third, important Church teachings such as the Word of Wisdom, and Temple Marriage are not as effective a power to motivate action as the Church thinks they should be. All of these factors seem to show a decrease in the ability of the Church to influence the lives of its members along desired paths.

However, one should not assume that the Church does not still play a major role in integrating and moulding village life and society. It should be emphasized that village institutions developed around the doctrines and organizations of the Church. The moral code is thus based upon the Mormon doctrine of chastity for both sexes. The recreational program is largely developed within local religious organizations. On every hand the inhabitants are surrounded by a culture based largely upon the ethics, beliefs, and practices of the Church.

It is true that this influence is no longer as powerful
and pervasive as it once was. Other factors compete with and alter it. The result is that the Church has lost its unique position in the community and now must compete with the process of secularization and with other conflicting ideas and behavior patterns.

It has lost many functions to secular agencies, but it still is perhaps the most significant, integrative and stabilizing force in the community.

Class Structure

A social class is defined as a "group of individuals who, through common descent, similarity of occupation, wealth and education, have come to have a similar mode of life, a similar stock of ideas, feelings, attitudes, forms of behavior and who, on any or all of these grounds, meet one and other on equal terms and regard themselves, although with varying degrees of explicitness, as belonging to one group". 116

The class structure of Goshen is somewhat obscured, as the average inhabitant formally denies that any class structure exists in the community. However, if one listens to the inhabitants talk, one soon becomes aware that every family in Goshen has a certain status and position in the community.

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varying according to whom is talking. No two families occupy the same level. Class position seems to be determined by local reputation and family history, wealth, farming or working ability, and church activities.

The "upper class" contains the wealthiest families. It is divided into two factions. One is composed of the dominant village family and their relatives and friends who are descended from the early settlers. They are in the main cattlemen, merchants, and teachers. This group is quite conservative and has been active in Church affairs.

The other faction has developed around several related families whose fathers entered Goshen at a later period. They are not quite as wealthy as the leaders of the first group or as active in church activities, and are alfalfa seed growers and merchants although in different lines than the first. Inter-marriage has taken place between the two factions, but each one leads an opposing side in a conflict over village improvements. The second group is desirous of modernizing village facilities, and the first is opposed to it.

The miners and smaller farmers compose what might be called a broad ill defined middle class. They have few intellectual pretensions and carry on the functions of the community. In this class is found the majority of the clubs
and the social groupings.

A somewhat less numerous group is comprised of the poorer more shiftless farmers and miners who spend their time in the beer parlor gambling and drinking. They are known as the "Beer Parlor Gang" and have a low status in the village.

The lowest position in the class structure is occupied by several poor farm and miner families living on the outskirts of the village. They are known as "trash" and "animals" to the villagers. Many accuse them of incest, immorality, lack of ambition, and feeble-mindedness.¹¹⁷

Education

The first school, a log cabin, opened in 1860 offering courses in reading, writing, arithmetic, history, and various handicrafts to both sexes. This school was one of the first in Utah and continued until 1870 when a three roomed adobe building was constructed.¹¹⁸

Goshen early became noted for her fine school and for the intellectual achievements of her citizens. The village took pride in the school and contributed funds for a good library, modern equipment, and special bonuses to attract good


¹¹⁸ "History of the Tintic-Santaquin Stake", op. cit.
Consolidation toward the end of the 19th century took control of the schools away from Goshen, and the local schools declined. As the village is somewhat isolated with few modern conveniences, it has had a hard time to obtain good teachers. The district supervisor refuses to permit the payment of bonuses and is cordially disliked in Goshen.

At the present time there is a consolidated grade school and junior high in the community to which come all the children in the valley. A modern high school is located in Payson 13 miles away. The Brigham Young University in Provo, 32 miles away, is available for those desiring college training.

Table 15 shows the educational status of Goshen people. The interesting aspect of the table is the number who began each category but did not finish it. This reflects a number of factors. The grammar school in Goshen once offered but five grades. The curriculum now includes six grades. Most of the older age categories did finish the fifth year but not the sixth. The same is true for junior high. There is little apparent interest in finishing senior high school or
going on to college. Very few of the boys finish senior high school. The elementary and junior grades in Goshen are disliked by the children and their parents. A complaint voiced by many families is that the teachers are too old to teach and the principal is unable to maintain order. As the principal is allied with the principle factions in the village, there is little likelihood that he will be removed.

TABLE 15  1

EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS AND THEIR SPOUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Farmer</th>
<th>Miner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No formal education</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended Grammer School</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished Grammer School</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended Junior High</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished Junior High</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended Senior High</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished Senior High</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended College</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished College</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Each category includes only those who ended their formal education within the category.

Upon entering senior high school, the young adolescents feel that they are behind the students from other communities and rapidly lose interest in their classes. Last year not
one boy graduated from senior high. There seems to be a serious maladjustment in the school system.

Many parents take their children out of school for farm work or permit them to hunt or fish when they should be in school. Table 15 shows that fewer farm boys finish senior high than miner boys. There is little evidence of an efficient truancy law in the Nebo School District.120

There is quite a serious problem here that relates to the school board and the community. The deficiencies of the local school retard students in senior high school causing a loss of interest among the students. Also, most of the young people must leave the community because of lack of land or economic opportunities. Those who leave generally become semi-skilled or skilled workers, and those who remain enter agriculture on their father's land or go into the mines.

The curriculum of the senior high school is based upon college entrance requirements. Few Goshen students go on to college and the majority enter agriculture or trades. The senior high school to more adequately prepare them for the environment in which they must live should teach more agricultural, trade, and business subjects than they do. Another

120 Many families in Goshen have a contempt toward higher education. Others move to Provo or Salt Lake City in search of better schools.
reason why Goshen students lose interest in senior high school is that they feel that for them it is a waste of time.\textsuperscript{121}

Libraries

There are no public libraries in Goshen. The nearest are found in Eureka, seven miles to the west, Payson, 13 miles to the north-east, and Spanish Fork, 20 miles to the north-east. Only two persons were found with library cards, and they were former residents of Payson and Springville. The junior high school has a small library used to some extent by the children.

Lodges and Clubs

No lodges exist in Goshen itself although there are four Elks, two Masons, and three members of the American Legion. The Elks and Masons belong to Eureka lodges, and the members of the American Legion to an organization covering the southern end of Utah County.

A local gun club has been organized among the men and older boys to encourage rifle practice, hunting, and fishing. The Tintic Fish and Game Association with headquarters at Eureka has several members in Goshen. They are interested

\textsuperscript{121} Almost every student interviewed who had quit senior high school said that he had done so either because he felt inferior to students of other communities or that he felt that the school did little to help him in his life after graduation.
in conservation, hunting, and fishing. There is much local pride in the prowess of local hunters.

The miners belong to the miner's union, I. M. M. S. U., at Eureka and Dividend, and many of their wives have joined auxiliaries.

Attempts have been made to organize a unit of the Farm Bureau which have failed in the past. However, most of the richer farmers have signed up, and the county agricultural agent is quite optimistic although no meetings have been held as yet.

A baseball team is the only athletic organization. It is quite popular among the men, and most of the village turns out for games held with teams from neighboring villages and towns. The Goshen team is considered to be one of the best in the area.

A wide variety of social clubs exist formed on the basis of class, interests, and friendships. The Literary Club is composed of women of the "upper class" interested in discussing and exchanging books and magazines. Several of its members belong to monthly book clubs which furnish materials for the literary gatherings. Many of the members are ex-school teachers. Membership in the club indicates a high local status.
The Birthday Club meets whenever a member has a birthday. The one whose birthday is to be celebrated cooks a large dinner for other members. The organization has social prestige, and most of the richer farmer's wives belong.

There are a series of card clubs that function in winter. Small groups of younger couples of the same general age levels meet together in the late afternoon to play cards, gossip, and have refreshments. Card clubs are rated in terms of class and prestige value, although many of the staunch Church members consider them all somewhat sinful.

A series of women's clubs function around ward organizations such as the Relief Society which has cultural, social and relief functions, and the Latter-day Saint Girls' Club which encourages young girls to participate in social activities and religious meetings of other auxiliaries. The Mutual sponsors a Boy Scout Troop in connection with other activities.

The Relief Society has organized a chorus called "The Singing Mothers." It sings at community and religious affairs and is quite popular in the village. As part of its program, social and recreational functions are held for

122 The inhabitants were asked to name the clubs and lodges they belonged to and those that they would like to join. They were also asked to rate various organizations in terms of prestige and reputation.
the membership.

A Victory Club organized among mothers who had boys in the service during the war still exists. It acted as an agent for the Red Cross and carried on other patriotic activities, but now it meets for social purposes.

There are a series of cliques forming and dissolving constantly among the younger groups. They are rated socially and draw closer class lines than do the adults.

A group of old men loaf around the center of town commenting on village affairs and telling stories. They often spend the day playing poker and other card games in the rear of the beer parlor. Often they are joined by other men and older boys who listen to their stories and join in the card games.\(^{123}\)

A comparative group of women meet at "quilting bees" to gossip and serve refreshments.

Recreation

In reading the history of Goshen, one is constantly reminded of the richness of early recreational activities before the development of commercialized recreation. Dances, picnics, sleighing parties, swimming, hunting, parades,\(^{123}\)

\(^{123}\) Very few studies have been made of the socializing factor of beer parlors and taverns in sociology.
rodeos, buggy rides, concerts, and plays provided a wide variety. There was little boredom or complaints then about the town being "dead".124

At the present time local recreation is still uncommercialized. The men and boys hunt, fish, and play ball. The valley has an abundance of pheasants and ducks with larger game in the near by hills. Horseback riding is a popular pastime. Picnics and parties are held in local canyons by family groups or social organizations. Swimming is a sport enjoyed by all in the several warm springs close to the village.125

Dances are held by the school and the Church in winter to which young and old come. The winter program is so scheduled as to alternate with those given by other organizations in other communities. Plays are put on by the local school and ward groups which are alternated also with those of other towns and villages.

Parties are given frequently to celebrate birthdays, engagements, and marriages. However, the young people feel that there is no recreation, as they think of it in terms of the cinema and dance halls. A local show house and roller rink burned down ten years ago and has never been rebuilt.

124 Jenkins, op. cit.

125 Information derived from interviews with almost every family in Goshen.
The people are forced to go to other areas for their formal recreation and complain bitterly. But no effort has been made to meet the need.

Books and Magazines

Only five families in Goshen have libraries of any size either of classics or novels. There are few books in Goshen homes except for school texts and Church books. Magazines supply the bulk of the reading matter which comes into the village.

Table 17 compares the magazines subscribed to by the farmers and miners. The farmers have a total of 160 subscriptions and the miners a total of 44. It should be remembered that the farmer group includes the merchants and teachers while the miners comprise all other occupations.

There are 2.4 subscriptions per farmer family and .8 per miner. A marked difference exists between the two groups. The Improvement Era, Relief Society Journal, and the Children's Friend are all periodicals of the Mormon Church indicative perhaps of closer attachments between the farmer and the Church.

Note the lack of journals of opinion and current events such as Time, News Week, and the liberal weeklies such as the Nation and the New Republic. There is also an utter lack of any literary reviews or of the so-called "upper class magazines" such as Harpers or the Atlantic.
TABLE 16
A COMPARISON OF NEWSPAPER SUBSCRIPTIONS AMONG FARMERS AND MINERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Farmer</th>
<th>Miner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deseret News</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt Lake Tribune</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provo Herald</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegram</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payson Chronicle</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eureka Reporter</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish Fork Press</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Deseret News, a Mormon Church publication, Salt Lake Tribune, and the Telegram are all Salt Lake City newspapers. The rest are published in near by communities. The significant factor is that more farmers take the Deseret News than miners because the Deseret News is a Mormon newspaper and carries the Church news. It indicates again the closer attachment of the farmer to the Church.

Political Structure

Goshen was incorporated as a third class town in 1914. The inhabitants wanted to bond themselves to build a municipal water works and make other village improvements. There is a town board of five members, a town president, town marshal, and a municipal attorney elected every two years.

Within local elections, people are elected to office on the basis of local reputation, family, and influence in
the community. In the past, the municipal offices were held by the main group of powerful families that dominated the town and most of its organizations.

The last election saw the ascension into power of a different faction that felt that the other group did nothing to modernize the town facilities. At the present time the municipal political structure seems to be one of the strategic posts in the village fought over by the two factions.

In national politics, Goshen has voted for the Democratic Party since the First World War. In fact the Democratic Party is the only one which maintains a local organization in Goshen.

Community Activities and Spirit

Traditional celebrations are held on the 4th and 24th of July. Rodeos, parades, community picnics, sport contests, plays, and dances are used to commemorate them and express community solidarity and spirit. The Mormon Church is in charge of a homecoming day in the fall in which plays, talent numbers, songs, and dances are presented. Former inhabitants of Goshen are invited to return and participate. In a sense it is a day in which the villagers remember their past history and the local events that have formed their traditions.
## TABLE 17

**MAGAZINES SUBSCRIBED TO BY FARMERS AND MINERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>Total Sub.</th>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>Total Sub.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Farmers</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Miners</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement Era</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Cosmopolitan</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relief Society Journal</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Womans Home Companion</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's Friend</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Parents Magazine</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Journal</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Saturday Evening Post</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Readers Digest</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>American Girl</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Housekeeping</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Children's Friend</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colliers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>National Geographic</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitan</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Tom Brenneman</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mc Calls</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>American Rifleman</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Womans Home Companion</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Boys Life</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
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In the past on May the first, a May pole was erected in the early morning and a May queen selected. The young people danced around the pole after which a community party ensued. The last time a May Day festival was held was in the nineteen thirties. It is thought by the older inhabitants that the custom of the May pole was brought to Goshen by English immigrants.

In the past, before the coming of a paved highway and automobiles, many community festivities and parties were held in which everyone participated. The people found a release from the tensions of hard work and isolation in frequent dances and celebrations.

Now, community events are almost a thing of the past. The May Day festival has no longer any meaning and has vanished. This year the 4th of July passed without recognition. On the 24th of July a small parade and celebration was held, but the majority of the inhabitants did not attend. They prefer to go to Provo and Salt Lake City to watch the larger more artificial parades, rodeos, and community events.
The decline of community participation in local activities is a good index to the decline of community spirit. It marks the weakening of the bonds that have united the inhabitants into a functioning entity. The degree of self identification of the individual to the group is largely demonstrated by his loyalty and participation in the traditional events that mark the expression of unity and oneness.

The fact that the local people would rather visit other towns and centers to watch their parades and celebrations rather than take part in their own demonstrates the weakening of this primary unity. It is all part of the slow evolution of Goshen from an independent functioning community meeting common needs to a dependent hamlet where people live in territorial proximity as neighbors and friends but have their main interests outside of the village.

Summary

The predominant social attitude of Goshen is conservatism strengthened by the dominance of a conservative family. Friendliness is another characteristic attitude. The inhabitants pride themselves on good neighborliness and courtesy toward strangers.
There is apparent unity in the village except for the development of two factions, conservative and liberal, which as yet have not had time to degenerate into a destructive conflict.

The Latter-day Saint Church is the only one functioning in the village. Its activities and organizations constitute one of the main integrative and stabilizing factors in the social organization.

The power of the Church at present is not as effective in motivating action and influencing behavior patterns as it was in the past as measured by certain observable beliefs such as payment of tithing and fast offerings, of abstinence from tobacco, liquor, coffee, and tea, attendance and participation in religious activities, and marriage in the temple.

A class structure exists in Goshen. There seems to be a division of the social structure into an upper class, a lower class, and several families at the bottom who are regarded as distinctly inferior to the rest.

There is little interest in higher education in Goshen at present. A school has existed in the community since 1860 and at one time was one of the best in the county, but Goshen lost control of its school in a county consolidation. Since then the school system has declined.
There are no lodges in Goshen although a small number of men belong to lodges in other communities. There are several sport and game organizations among the men and a series of social clubs among the women that are graded in status and prestige.

Recreation is largely uncommercialized consisting of hunting, fishing, horseback riding, athletics, swimming, and parties and picnics, but the younger people feel that there is a need for commercialized recreation such as cinemas and dance halls which are lacking in the village.

Magazines constitute the main source of reading matter in Goshen. There are 214 subscriptions per farmer family and .8 per miner family. Religious and farm periodicals predominate among the farmers while the miners prefer the "slicks".

Goshen is a third class city incorporated in 1914 for the purpose of constructing a municipal water works and making other improvements. The political structure consists of a town board, a town president, a town marshal, and a municipal attorney elected every two years. Since the First World War, the village has voted for the Democratic Party.

Community activities are centered around the 4th and
24th of July and a homecoming day in the fall. At one time community events were celebrated by the population with spontaneous participation and interest. At present, certain festivals such as the May Day have died out, and others are but half-heartedly supported.

Community spirit as measured by degree of participation in community events had declined over a long period of time.

Today Goshen is a friendly, drowsy, little town somewhat dilapidated and the worse for wear. The business street is lined with tumbled down buildings and closed-up shops.
CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL CHANGE

Definition

The social structure of every society is subject to incessant change, growing or decaying, accommodating itself to variant conditions, and suffering continuous modifications. No society is ever in a static condition. Instability and change have marked the source of social development since the beginning of culture. Society exists only as a time-sequence, a state of becoming, not a being or a static body, a process and not an end product. It is constantly changing toward an equilibrium with its environment but never attaining it.  

Thus a social structure is a web of present relationships and lives only as it is maintained by the will of human beings at the moment. If conditions of life were unchanging, society would be static, but the conditions surrounding human life are always unstable and ever changing.

Factors Causing Change

Factors producing social change are complex and

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quite interdependent. But perhaps they may be divided under four headings: changes in physical environment, changes in population, changes in technology, and changes in the social organization. Social change in Goshen will be treated under these headings.

Community Personalities

We have been guided in our treatment of social change in Goshen by the concept of "Community Life Organization" elaborated by Zimmerman. His thesis is that communities can be differentiated according to their life organizations or personality types. The personality of a community is defined as "orientation of the community over a relatively long period of time in relation to a central theme or idea." Once the theme becomes dominant and is established, an awareness of self comes into being and develops into enforcing factors in the social evolution. Out of this comes a certain system of behavior peculiar to a community.

Communities become integrated around motifs which work themselves into systems of behavior and endure until the dominance of a specific factor or motif has worn itself

127 Ibid.
129 Ibid.
130 Ibid.
out. Thus someone says that certain towns have changed so much that one can hardly recognize them. A new motif or motifs have entered into the community producing a new pattern of behavior. Examples are the changes in a village that has discovered oil beneath it or the changes resulting from the entrance of a major highway into a town. 131

Social Change in Goshen

The social development of Goshen has been strongly influenced by the complex interplay of certain dominant motifs or factors. These factors have produced a distinct community personality. As a motif became dominant or weakened, the personality of the village has changed. These specific factors have developed out of the physical environment, population changes, technology, and changes in the social organization.

Physical Environment.--The steady shrinkage of the arable land basis of Goshen has lowered the optimum population supported by agriculture. Bad irrigation practices caused a rise in the water table with resultant waterlogging and precipitation of alkali. Large acreages of land have been retired from cultivation and returned to grass and brush. A slow depopulation has resulted.

At first the settlers grew grain and root crops.

131 Ibid.
Their economy was strictly a subsistence economy until the establishment of Camp Floyd in 1858 opened up markets for hay, grain, and dairy products. The wide expansion of wild hay permitted and encouraged livestock raising. The settlers prospered and brought most of the arable land under cultivation.

With the abandonment of Camp Floyd just before the opening of hostilities in the Civil War, Goshen was forced back to subsistence farming, and many left the valley to seek better farming areas. However the discovery of ore in the East Tintic Range once again opened markets, as mining camps sprang up. Milling companies, creameries, and many types of businesses were established to supply their needs.

But the wheat lands became waterlogged and encrusted with alkali. This resulted in a steady decrease in grain production. As more land returned to grass, the farmers began to extend their dairy business, but the rise in state sanitation requirements and increasing competition from dairies closer to the markets finally drove the local dairies out of business.

The combination of salt grass winter pastures, abundant wild hay, and grain plus free range on public lands provided a basis for the cattle industry upon which Goshen farmers have been dependent. To a degree this industry is quite inefficient
as few farmers in the village have large enough herds to permit profitable operation.

Sugar beets and alfalfa seed are other crops raised, as they tolerate a certain degree of alkalinity. A few farmers have become wealthy from alfalfa seed production.

The constant threat of alkali and waterlogging has forced the farmers of Goshen to turn to the cattle industry as the only crop that can utilize their land. The constant impoverishment of the soil has led to a slow depopulation of the farming areas that at times has threatened the physical existence of Goshen.

As farming became more difficult, many of the inhabitants turned to mining which had opened up the economic horizon of the district. With increased mining activity, the population of Goshen increased from 1890 to 1900 over one hundred percent. Business facilities developed, and many small industries were started. In time Goshen supplied most of her needs.

From 1900 until now, population has oscillated between 400 and 600. When ore production has increased, population has increased and when production has decreased population likewise has fallen. The mines permit a higher optimum of population than does the land. If the mines were to shut down, a substantial percentage of the inhabitants
of Goshen would have to leave. Some release from economic pressure is provided by jobs in neighboring communities. However if such jobs became relatively permanent, the family is likely to move.\textsuperscript{132}

Population replacement has been a steady factor in the social development of Goshen. By now most of the descendants of the early colonizers have left and have been replaced by other groups. The ones who left were farmers leaving in search of better lands. Those coming in were miners. Concomitant with the population replacement, monopolization began to encroach on available lands. As the individual farmers sold out, a few families bought up their land. At the present time, it is almost impossible to buy land in or near Goshen.\textsuperscript{133}

The interest and attention of the miners has been focused on the mines. To them, Goshen is a place of residence. They have little interest in community activities and as a group do not participate to any large degree. The farmers who have lived and worked in the village are more permanent and have participated in community activities and helped create community spirit. As substantial numbers of those moved away many community activities ceased, and the

\textsuperscript{132}\textsuperscript{133}See Chapter IV of the thesis. Ibid.
community suffered.

Technology.—The inhabitants have eagerly adopted technological devices that decrease labor and increase efficiency or make life more pleasant. Farm machinery, automobiles, radios, and electrical appliances have found ready acceptance. However, the introduction of hot water heaters and indoor toilets has been resisted by a sector of the population.

Technology has revolutionized the life of Goshen and influenced most of her institutions. As with so many villages similarly situated the automobile and the all weather road made it possible for Goshen people to patronize the larger nearby trade centers and seek recreation outside of the village and this has seriously affected local activities. Indeed the automobile has been the cause of almost the destruction of the business center of Goshen and weakened community institutions. Village celebrations have decayed and community spirit in general has become apathetic.135

Social Organization.—Although technological improvements have been readily accepted new techniques of farming and living have met strong resistance. The farmers have resented many of the recommendations of the county extension

134 See Chapter V of thesis.

135 See Chapter III of thesis.
agent. They are afraid that suggested changes might take some of their precious water rights to better farming areas, or that the recommendations are not founded on sound farming experience. Department of Agriculture employees have said that Goshen is the hardest community in the county in which to work. The farmers have been very unwilling to accept their advice and recommendations.  

The main change in the social organization has been the slow spread of secularization with a lessening of the influence of the Church in the hearts and minds of the inhabitants. Secular agencies have here as elsewhere tended to crowd out Church influence in such fields as education, recreation, relief, and control of marriage ceremonies.  

The myriad stimuli from the outside world have encouraged many habits contrary to Church doctrine such as drinking, smoking, worldly activities on the Sabbath, and sexual experimentation. The lives of the people are focused upon other agencies and institutions for example government for public welfare assistance.  

136 Ibid.  
137 Interviews with Department of Agriculture officials.  
138 See Chapter VI of thesis.  
139 Ibid.
Social change has also modified the educational system. Goshen once proud of her local school has lost interest. Control has passed from the village, and the people tend to feel that it no longer belongs to them but is a county institution.

Thus Goshen in the course of her history has seen a period of slow growth, a flowering and expansion, and then a period of slow decline. Social change has produced a village quite different from that of yesterday.

Forces Working Toward Social Change

Secularization.--This has already been treated to a degree. The study of Goshen has shown that here as is so much the case in rural America, religion has slowly retreated from the once dominant position it had in the social structure of the community. As it lost one function after another, its power to modify behavior weakened. Thus the power of theological beliefs to impell action and compliance are greatly weakened.

Communication.--The mass media of communication such as the cinema, the radio, newspapers, magazines, and schools submit the inhabitants to a constant conscious rain of stimuli toward a life experience much wider than their own. The forces of urbanization are perhaps more powerful in this area than any other.

140 See Chapter VI of thesis.
Education.—This is one of the most powerful agencies of social change. In the school the young are brought into contact with many and varied ways of thinking and doing and with wider horizons all of which tend to make them discontented with their narrower home and village life.

Industrialization.—The industrialization of Salt Lake and Utah Counties is beginning to affect the village. Many of the inhabitants influenced by the existence of steady jobs and higher wages are thinking of moving, and the younger people are leaving upon completion of high school or when they reach the age of eighteen. Even among those who stay, the talk of high wages produces a restlessness.

Government Agencies.—The Department of Agriculture through the Extension Division, Soil Conservation Bureau, and other agencies are now profoundly modifying the culture of Goshen. Price supports have given the farmer economic security. Government soil conservation policies encourage him to improve and conserve his soil. The extension division is trying to teach him scientific farming methods. Thus, little by little the old traditional ways of farming and living are giving way to a new agriculture sustained by science. There is more opposition to it in Goshen than in most Utah County towns, but higher income is a potent factor here in
creating the desire to change.

**Transportation.**—The development of an all weather highway through Goshen, as has been mentioned, resulted in weakening local business establishments. The depression in the thirties finished the job of making Goshen a village, dependent upon outside business and commercial services.

There is now a program, at least in preliminary stage, to develop a continental highway running from Salt Lake City along the west side of Utah Lake to connect with Highway Six. This highway will run very close to Goshen, and if built will undoubtedly result in social changes, as facilities will here be developed to supply needs of increased automobile travel.

**Forces Retarding Social Change**

**Conservatism and Inertia.**—These are the two most powerful forces hindering and thwarting rapid social change. The traditional customs and ways of doing things especially have a profound hold on the minds of the inhabitants in the villages such as Goshen which hold is not easily shaken. Passive resistance is a powerful weapon used to defend threatened cultural values. As too rapid social change is disruptive to the social structure, conservatism and inertia if not too strong permit the group to select and modify the
new influence in such a manner that they fit easily into the cultural pattern of the group without disrupting or destroying it.

The Church.—Religion has been one of the central motivating forces in the social organization of Goshen. Religious motivation was the most predominant force in the lives of its founders. It was strong enough to support them in one of the most notable mass immigrations in history.

Religion being perhaps the most conservative influence in the lives of men has here tended to oppose new traits or ideas which might weaken or threaten its beliefs and practices.

Mormonism in Goshen really developed the cultural framework in which the village has its being. Under the exigencies of modern social change it has slowly weakened and lost its former position of dominance, but it still persists as a strong motivating and stabilizing force which although constantly being modified still in turn modifies the forces that tend to undermine it.

Goshen once was a struggling frontier hamlet working hard to become established in a hostile physical environment. Because of alkali and waterlogging, it was forced from one type of farming to another. The constant hardships led to one migration after another threatening the physical existence
of the village, this continuing until the development of the mines in the East Tintic Range. Then prosperity came, and Goshen became a thriving, hustling, progressive town looking to the future with confidence. But in time the mines lowered production. Many of them were worked down to the water level, and others closed down because of low metal prices. The 1930 depression culminated in Goshen losing, to a great extent, her local commercial institutions. Population decreased again, and today the village is apathetic; sunk in the routine of day-by-day living. It is now subject to national economic and social forces which it does not understand. Goshen seemingly has lost the power to control her own destiny and has become a submarginal community, economically and socially.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

Goshen has now been in existence for over 90 years. Despite the hardships of settlement, despite soil erosion, waterlogging, alkali, and heavy pressure upon the land that at times has reduced the population by half; despite economic crises and depressions that destroyed its once thriving business district; Goshen has survived.

At times, it has faced depopulation, but before disorganization set in, the development of a new economic resource saved the village. Thus the establishment of an army post near by and the opening of a mining district have at different times lifted Goshen from economic crises.\textsuperscript{141}

Changes have taken place in the social organization. Occupational groupings have divided a once unified farming village into special interest groups. The common social bonds that at one time held the people together have weakened or vanished. The village is still a strong primary unit but not as strong as it once was.

\textsuperscript{141} See Chapter IV of thesis.
Improved means of transportation and communication have broken down isolation and brought Goshen into intimate contact with the rapidly changing life of the nation. Its fate is tied up with the world about it. Economic forces, poorly understood by the inhabitants, bring either poverty or prosperity.

This, then, is Goshen today; a village sunk in the apathetic routine of day-by-day living but uneasy about the future. The throb of industrialization in near-by communities is felt in the loss of the young seeking jobs in the steel mills of Geneva. As the economic basis contracts, the people wonder whether or not they too can get a small factory.

Elements of instability threaten the social organization. The church and the school are not as influential in the lives of the inhabitants as they once were. Automobiles have drawn the people apart, as their outside interests widen. The young are sharply critical of village institutions. The land is becoming impoverished, and the mines no longer employ the number of men they once did. Conflicts have entered into the community, splitting it into factions. Community feeling has declined greatly.

It is difficult to say what the future will bring. If the mines decrease production and soil loss to erosion,
alkali, and waterlogging continues, Goshen may disintegrate. At different times, Church leaders and government officials have urged that the people abandon the village and move to Elberta with their water rights, but they have refused to leave their homes.

If the mines increase production, and the soil is stabilized, then perhaps the village will become stabilized as a small farm and mining community without many community activities; a residence for workers and farmers.

A program of research is needed to discover the trends of Mormon villages. What is taking place among them? Programs of rehabilitation need to be organized. The problems of Goshen are the problems of many rural communities; heavy population pressure upon the land, immigration of the young, and decay of community spirit and institutions.

Goshen is a Mormon community, and the Church is still one of the most important stabilizing and integrating factors in the social structure. There exists in the Church organization an efficient machinery for social control to implant programs based upon reality and scientific knowledge for community betterment. The great need is for research to discover what the problems are and methods to deal with them.

The study indicated that cooperatives might constitute
part of the total answer as well as a method by which the villagers can help themselves.

In Goshen cooperative herds might be organized among smaller farmers to gain the economies and efficiencies of large scale operation. Bull rings need to be started to improve the quality of the livestock. Small scale industries might be started by cooperative action to utilize spare time and waste materials. Recreational facilities so badly needed could be provided. A small health center for the entire valley is a possibility. The opportunities for cooperative action are almost infinite. As the people have had no experience in organization or development of cooperatives, trained personnel is needed to demonstrate to them cooperative techniques. There is a distinct possibility that cooperatives which have done so much in Europe might be able to restore new life to Goshen, integrating and strengthening the social organization.

Besides cooperatives, help must come from governmental or state agencies to drain land, prevent soil erosion, find new crops that will grow on alkaline soils, and set up a new or better program of economic and social rehabilitation, if Goshen is to become an effective functioning community.

Recommendations for Research

The recommendations are made in light of the present
study as suggestions for research that might increase the knowledge of trends and problems of the community thus providing a new base for action.

First, a long term program of research needs to be set up in Utah to study the social processes at work in the communities and their significance in the social development of the state. Utah is in a period of rapid social change created by industrialization, immigration, and inflation.

**Land Tenure.**--Research is needed to trace changes in land distribution and ownership.

**Mormon Family.**--There is much to be done in the study of the Mormon family, its origin, development, and present trends.

**Position of the Church.**--The position of the Church in the social organization has changed greatly. How effective is it in motivating human behavior? Is it effective in its goals and programs?

**Sex and Moral Patterns.**--Sex patterns are changing especially among the younger groups. In what way are they changing? Is the code of strict chastity for both sexes still adhered to? What modifications are taking place?

**Education.**--Is the school system adopted to the needs
of Utah rural youth? What changes, if any, are needed?

Mormon Village.--How efficient is the Mormon village in meeting the needs of its inhabitants? Is it likely to endure in the future, or along what lines will it change? What are the effects of industrialization?

Cultural Contacts.--A wide field of study is found in the contacts between Mormon and non-Mormon groups. What modifications are taking place in the behavior patterns of the two groups?
APPENDIX I

THESIS OUTLINE AND THESIS SCHEDULE

Thesis Outline

I. INTRODUCTION
   A. Reasons For Choice of Subject
   B. Selection of Village for Study
   C. Statement of Problem
   D. Previous Work in the Field
   E. Organization of Thesis
   F. Sources of Information
   G. Definition of Concepts

II. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT
   A. General Description
   B. Climate
   C. Natural Resources

III. SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF GOSHEN
   A. Characteristics of Mormon Colonization
   B. Colonization of Utah Valley
   C. History of Goshen

IV. POPULATION
   A. Ethnic Groups
   B. Origin of Population
   C. Migration
   D. Summary

V. ECONOMIC STRUCTURE
   A. Occupational Structure
   B. Agriculture
   C. Livestock
   D. Livestock Management
   E. Poultry
   F. Types of Crops
   G. Farm Size and Land Tenure
   H. Farm Income
   I. Other Occupations
   J. Modern Conveniences
   K. Housing
L. Summary

VI. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
   A. Significant Social Attitudes
   B. Conservatism
   C. Music and Drama
   D. Education
   E. Leadership
   F. Friendliness
   G. Religious Structure
   H. Financial System of Church
   I. Summary of Data
   J. Class Structure
   K. Education
   L. Libraries
   M. Lodges and Clubs
   N. Recreation
   O. Books and Magazines
   P. Political Structure
   Q. Community Activities and Spirit
   R. Summary

VII. SOCIAL CHANGE
   A. Definition
   B. Factors Causing Change
   C. Community Personalities
   D. Social Change in Goshen
   E. Forces Working Toward Social Change
   F. Forces Retarding Social Change

VIII. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
   A. Conclusions
   B. Recommendations for Research
**Thesis Schedule**

1. Religion. _______ 2. Place of birth. _______.

3. Occupation. _______. 4. Other occupations practised. _______. 5. Last Grade completed. _______.

6. Last grade completed by spouse. _______. 7. Length of residence in Goshen. _______.


10. Have you lived in other residences in Goshen? How many _______.

11. Do you own your own home or rent _______.

12. If born in Goshen where do your brothers and sisters live at present? _______.

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13. Occupation of father. _______. Education of father. _______, of mother. _______.

14. Birthplace of parents. _______.

15. Number of children in your family. _______. Living and dead.

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   d. Water supply.
   e. Plumbing facilities.
   f. Cooking facilities. Type of range or stove.
   g. Electrical Appliances.
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      (2) Radio.
      (3) Iron.
      (4) Vacuum Cleaner.
      (5) Refrigeration.
      (6) Mixer.
      (7) Waffle Iron.
      (8) Toaster.
   h. Age of home, approx.
   i. Car.
   j. Types of books in home.
   k. Magazines subscribed to.
   l. Newspapers subscribed to.
   m. Books borrowed from libraries.

17. Farm.
   a. Owner or tenant.
   b. Size of farm.
   c. Land in one piece, divided in strips.
   d. Cash crops.
   e. Garden.
   f. Poultry.
   g. Livestock.

18. If employed, where do you work? Job Classification.

19. Organizations that members of the family belong to.
   Social In or out of Goshen.
   a.
   b.
   c.
   d.

   Occupational
   a.
   b.
   c.
   d.
20. Religion.
   a. How often do you attend Sunday School? Once a month.
   Twice a month. More.
   b. Sacrament.
   c. Priesthood.
   d. Mutual.
   e. Primary.
   f. Priesthood held by male members of the family.
   g. Reasons given for not attending.
   h. Tithing and fast offerings paid.
   i. Do you smoke tobacco? drink alcohol?
   Does any member of your family?
   j. Were you married in the temple?

   a. Where do you go to see a show?
   How often?
   b. Dances.
   c. Other types of recreation.
   d. Do you participate in many types of recreational activity in Goshen?

22. Trade Areas.
   a. Where do you bank?
   b. Buy groceries?
   c. Furniture?
   d. Feed and farm supplies.
   e. Clothing?
   f. Farm machinery?
   g. Catalogue buying?
   h. What towns do you visit most?

23. Estimate your income. $1-2,000. $2-3,000. $3-4,000. $4-5,000. $5-10,000. Above $10,000.

24. What do you think of Goshen as a place to live?

25. Do you belong to any Voluntary medical organizations?

26. Do you owe any medical bills?
APPENDIX II

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