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Economic History of Provo, Utah, 1849-1900

Odell Eugene Scott
Brigham Young University - Provo

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ECONOMIC HISTORY OF
PROVO, UTAH, 1849-1900

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of History
Brigham Young University
Provo, Utah

In partial fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science in History

176717

by
Odell E. Scott
August, 1951
PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer's purpose in writing this dissertation was to shed some light on a field of Provo and Utah history not generally well illuminated. Several works similar to this will be necessary when a definitive history of Provo or the state is written. The writer's thanks go to Mr. Newburn I. Butt, of the Brigham Young University, who originally suggested this subject. It is hoped it will be of value to the history student and of interest to the general public.

The writer would be the last to assert that this history is complete. Faced with a surfeit of materials and hard pressed by time, he has omitted many things known to him and has left several known sources unexploited.

To Dr. Richard D. Poll, Dr. Brigham D. Madsen, and Professor Weldon J. Taylor, of the Brigham Young University faculty, who advised the writer and corrected the manuscript, go his heartfelt thanks.

Odell E. Scott
August, 1951
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CHAPTER I

MAKING A HOME IN THE WILDERNESS, 1847-1858

Two years of struggle in the wilderness had made the Mormon colony on the Great Salt Lake reasonably secure. In order to build the great intermountain empire planned for the habitation of the Latter-Day Saints, new colonies were to be formed to the north and south wherever there was sufficient land, water, and timber to sustain the frugal Mormon people. One of the first colonies made outside of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake was that sent to the valley of Lake Utah on the Timpanogos River.

The valley had earlier been explored and decided aptly suited for colonization. The central and western part of the valley was occupied by the lake, about twelve miles wide and fifteen miles long, which abounded in delicious salmon trout. Around the eastern edge of the lake was a strip of very fertile soil from four to ten miles wide. Four major streams ran down from the towering Wasatch mountains to the east through this strip to the lake. Several others lost themselves in the soil before reaching the lake. The areas between the streams were generally too arid to support more vegetation than some sparse grass and sage, but cottonwoods, box elders, and willows grew luxuriantly in the stream-bottoms and heavy timber grew on the mountain-sides and in the canyons. The mountains west of
the lake were more arid, but numerous hardwood cedars grew there. Some Ute Indians lived in and around the valley. Their culture was a primitive one and they subsisted largely on roots and fishing and hunting. They had a few horses and shortly came into possession of a few guns.

On March 12, 1849, thirty families, amounting to 150 people, arrived in what was to be Provo, under the leadership of Isaac Higbee. They selected a site on the south side of the Provo, or Timpanogos River, just east of the present day Geneva Road. The river was by far the largest in the valley and had a central location. Fort Utah, as their settlement was called, was the nucleus from which Utah County grew and the base from which much of the colonization of central and southern Utah proceeded.

The colonists were faced with three primary needs. These were food for themselves and their livestock, shelter from the elements and Indian attack, and clothing. What they had brought with them is not known for certain. There were wagons for each family and forty teams of draft animals to pull them. These consisted primarily of oxen. Horses and mules were few and it was sometimes necessary to put the family cow in yoke with an ox.¹ There were probably a few sheep, swine, ducks, and chickens. There must have been some hand tools--axes, shovels, hand-saws, augers, etc. There must also

¹In 1852, Booth says there were available forty horsemen in Provo. This probably means there were only forty horses because there were many more men capable of bearing arms. J. E. Booth, "History of Provo 4th Ward," (Provo, Utah) 27. MS.
have been a few spinning wheels, looms, and wool cards and other bare necessities of household maintenance. There was seed for planting but not enough grain to make bread until the harvest.

Ground was immediately irrigated and broken to plant crops, using a crude wooden-plow with an iron tip. Brush was dragged over the land to level and harrow it. By May, 225 acres of land had been sown to small grain and corn. The harvest began in July, the grain being cut with a cradle brought from Winter Quarters by Peter Conover.\(^1\) This was merely a scythe with three or four wooden fingers above it that gathered the grain and let it fall in a bunch. It was threshed with a flail, which consisted of a stick held onto the end of another stick by a short leather thong or hinge with which the user beat the grain heads. Some grain was threshed by driving cattle round and round on a hard-packed threshing floor with grain beneath their feet. It was then winnowed to separate the chaff from the grain. By these means, a long, hard day's work might yield a man four or five bushels of grain. In 1851, Joshua Davis built a threshing machine, which, though not so efficient as the modern, saved many days of hard labor thereafter. Another was built by William T. Smith and Roswell Ferre in 1854.\(^2\)

Though a flour mill was one of the first necessities

---

\(^1\)Peter Conover, *Diary of Peter Conover*. (Provo, Utah) 10. MS.

to a community, Provo did not yet have one; so Abram G. Conover took a few bushels of the first grain to Salt Lake City to have it ground at Neff's Mill, and the settlers had their first bread in three months.\(^1\) They had been living on thistle and sego lily roots with some meat and fish.

To establish a flour mill required a relatively large amount of capital. A mill consisted of the familiar mill wheel, mill pond, and tailrace. The burrs, which were large stones with a flat side which did the grinding, i.e., millstones, were blasted out of the local mountains, some being made of quartzite found near present Garfield Beach. They were cemented to the turning mechanism with local gypsum. The power was probably communicated from the mill wheel to the grinding stones by a system of gears laboriously made of local hardwood. A grist mill was made by Isaac Higbee and William T. Smith in the summer and fall of 1850 which served the people's wants, as also those of some communities close by for some years.\(^2\) Joseph A. Ketting later operated a flour mill on what is now 6th West.

The people were entirely dependent upon themselves for their food as it was impossible for any to be imported. Even flavorings and baking powder were made at home. Salt was brought from Salt Creek Canyon near Nephi and a mill for grinding it was soon to be found in Provo. For baking powder the women and children would go out to the alkali or saleratus flats and gather the white crystals on the ground. These they

\(^1\)Conover, \textit{op. cit.}, p 10  
\(^2\)Jensen, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 61.
dissolved in water. The scum on top and residue in the bottom were then removed and the remainder boiled down. The saleratus thus made was used in making sour milk biscuits and for other leavening purposes. Salt rising bread was also made by awaiting fermentation in a mixture of salt, flour, and water. However, a start of yeast in this way was difficult to obtain; saleratus continued to be most important for many years. The Deseret News advised those going east to bring back saleratus from a saleratus lake near the Sweetwater River, as it was superior to the "artificial in common use."¹ A. C. Pyper was exhibiting in 1860 "refined mountain saleratus . . . That would allow the public to dispense with the use of impure kinds."²

Bread was never superabundant, potatoes and wheat sometimes being boiled together to make it. However, except for the first year and the famine years of 1855 and 1856 when the people had to live on roots, greens, and fish, there was enough to supply their wants. Women and girls carefully gleaned the fields when the mowers were through. Very soon some began making bread to sell. The city charter granted in January, 1851, gave the city council the power to regulate the price, weight, and quality of bread sold.

Provo was the scene of some of Utah territory's first Indian troubles and the people had to watch out for the savages while working their fields, but it did not cause them any great loss of food. Brigham Young advised them to thresh

early in 1853 because of the imminence of the Walker War.

Sugar was also a sorely needed commodity. It was generally made by crushing red beets, cane, watermelons, or corn stalks and boiling down the juice. This did not, of course, make sugar, but it did make a molasses called "sweet" that helped alleviate the desire for a sweet. Within a few years sugar cane was grown extensively and crushed at the local molasses mill.² Preserves were made from the boiled down juice of watermelons with a musk melon filling.

The church was anxious to promote the growth of a sugar industry. Brigham Young said it was "suicidal" to depend on the outside world for sugar. Sugar beets were planted in the spring of 1853 while John Taylor was bringing the necessary processing machinery to Provo and buildings were being built there to house it. The Deseret Manufacturing Company spared no expense in getting good machinery and expediting its passage to the territory. The machinery was brought by boat from Liverpool to New Orleans and up the Mississippi, and pulled across the plains by 50 ox-drawn wagons. The machinery was the heaviest, most cumbersome load that had ever been brought across the poor trails to Utah.¹ The cost of bringing it west alone was $500 per ton. Some of it was assembled at Provo late in 1853 but no sugar was made due to difficulties in operating the machinery. The company's capital was soon exhausted and the church took over the machinery. It was

¹A. L. Neff, HISTORY OF UTAH 1847-1859, (Salt Lake City, 1940) p. 297.
²Jensen, op. cit., p. 56.
moved from Provo to what became Sugarhouse in Salt Lake City
where after four seasons in which only molasses was turned out
and $100,000 was spent the project was abandoned.

Next to food, the colonists' greatest need was shelter.
They had their wagons which had served as their homes on their
recent journey and continued to serve as a spare room long
after their rude cabins were built. Wisely, their cabins were
built within a fort because they were to begin their conflict
with the Indians the following winter. Both fort and cabins
were built of box elder logs, arranged vertically into a stock-
ade which also made one wall of the cabins on the inside. This
must not have made a very tight building because box elder logs
are seldom straight and regular. On a raised platform in the
center of the enclosure was a cannon which was fired period-
ically to impress the Indians. Corrals were made adjoining to
hold the stock at night.¹

In 1850 it was decided on the advice of Brigham Young
to move east to warmer and dryer ground, so a new fort was
built on the site of present Sowiette Park, but people con-
tinued to live in the old fort. The new fort did not include
the stockade of vertical logs or the cannon platform. The
horizontal logs of the houses arranged in a square formed
the outside of the new enclosure which was called Fort Provo.²
The people soon began to move out of the fort, to which they

¹For history of the fort and early exploration of this
valley see Ray C. Colton, Early Exploration of Utah Valley and
Utah, 1846), 190 pp.
²Also spelled Proveau or Provost.
returned only in times of Indian trouble. Here they did not find it expedient to build log houses. It was estimated that an 18' by 18' house could be built for forty dollars of logs or for half that price from adobe.\(^1\) Johnathan Hoops and Andrew J. Stewart are said to have built the first adobe houses in 1851\(^2\) and several others were made that year. In June of 1853 the city council made provision for a public adobe yard, with Silas Smith, superintendent. The bricks, made from any clayey soil, were shaped by hand or in wooden molds and left in the sun to dry. A visitor in 1859 said the clay excavated for a basement was made into the bricks for the upper walls of a house in Lehi.\(^3\) The early construction was poor and adobe buildings were known to collapse during rainy weather. However, some of those built a few years later are still being used after as much as 75 years' service.

Roofs were of willows or clapboards covered with earth. Doors and windows were few, a hide often served as a door, and cloth or a skin for window coverings. Captain Simpson said that the houses in Utah Valley in 1859 were "sagging and dilapidated, worse than the poorest in the east, . . . the doors and windows indicate penury and inattention to cleanliness . . . The houses are generally adobe, quite small and of but one story,

\(^1\) Kate B. Carter, *Hearthrobs of the West,* (Salt Lake City: D. U. P., 1940), III, 38.

\(^2\) Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

all indicating a poor and shiftless population . . . \[Provo\] is much better built . . . \[than the other towns of the county\].\(^1\)

For all construction as well as for fuel, wood was very necessary but was not plentiful. Fences were made of wood and required by city ordinance to be acceptable to the "fence viewer". Although fines were relatively heavy this rule proved difficult to enforce. The box elder, cottonwood, and willow found in the river bottoms was not very satisfactory for permanent construction while the tall, straight conifersbeckoned from the mountains. So to the nearby canyons went crews of men with their wagons to bring back the necessary building wood. However access to the mountains through the brush and rocks of the foothills was difficult and it was necessary to build roads. In July of 1855, William M. Wall was given permission by the city council to build a wood road to Rock Canyon, three miles northeast of the city. Many men helped him to do this so they could bring their wood out free. He was authorized to charge 50¢ per wagon load of wood brought out of the canyon. One or two days' work per year on the road was required of each man in one of the earliest ordinances passed in Provo.\(^2\)

All the readily available wood was soon cut and it became necessary to go farther and farther into the mountains.

\(^1\)Ibid.

\(^2\)Jensen, op. cit., p. 80.
Log slides were cleared, leaving scars still visible on some of the mountain faces, to bring the logs down to where they could be loaded on wagons. This was difficult to do in these days of limited mechanical resources. It was necessary to use levers, ropes, and inclined planes to get each log onto the wagon. Some use was made of the Provo river to float the logs down to Provo. During the winter the frozen lake was crossed and loads of cedar were brought from the mountains to the west.

In their lumbering the Provo pioneers did not follow modern conservation practices, and many of the areas which they cut clean have not since grown up into new forest. The Wasatch mountains adjacent to Provo have not always been so barren and dry. However, to waste wood was considered the height of folly. One of the first acts of the city council was to pass an ordinance for the conservation of wood, which was considered to be the property of all. No one might enclose an area and reserve the wood to himself or waste any wood. Wood cut and left laying over 30 days became the property of whoever would haul it away. This ordinance was repealed in 1853 because the city council decided it was not within its delegated powers.\(^1\)

Once the wood was gathered it was necessary to saw it up. A sawmill was not so expensive to erect as a flour mill and Provo soon had ample sawmills. Early in 1849 John Blackburn erected the first consisting of a framework on which the log could be placed and sawed by two men with a long straight

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 82
saw, one above and one below. John Porter and Alexander Williams also had a sawmill in operation in the fall of 1849.\(^1\)
Henry Rogers put one in service using water power shortly after. In reporting to the *Millenial Star* in September, 1852, George A. Smith said there were three sawmills in Provo.\(^2\)
Some time later Joseph and Riley Clark operated a sawmill on the southeast corner of Third North and Fifth West. The same waterwheel used to drive this was also used for a thresher, molasses mill and salt grinder.

These early mills did not make regular, well-finished lumber. Houses were erected with unplanned, odd sized rafters and beams. Floor joists and plates were often made of small logs flattened on one side. Some wood was well finished for floors, windows and interiors. "One shingle machine propelled by water . . . also a turning lathe for turning out wooden bowls . . . [operated by Joshua Davis] and two cabinet shops" were operated in Provo in September, 1852.\(^3\) Three months later there was a "sash factory . . . three cabinet shops, two with buzz saws, and turning lathes by water . . . ."\(^4\)

In 1852 David Cluff, his son, and R. R. Rogers notified the public through the *Deseret News* that they had opened a cabinet shop and would make good furniture from well seasoned

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\(^1\)Ibid., p. 41, says that Blackburn's mill was the first in operation while Colton, *op. cit.*, p. 85, in quoting the L. D. S. Manuscript says Porter and Williams were first. He concludes that both were probably in operation.

\(^2\)Millenial Star XIV (Liverpool, 1852), 668.

\(^3\)Ibid.

\(^4\)Ibid., XV, 268.
box elder. Most furniture at this time was crude and home-made. Rawhide was used for seats and springs. Nails were few, so wooden pegs or rawhide were used as fasteners. Tubs and buckets were all of local manufacture, being made of wood by the town cooper. Many household utensils such as dishes, bowls and spoons were made of wood; many were also made of clay. In 1852 a load of pottery made in Provo was taken to Salt Lake to sell.

The third basic need of the pioneers was clothing. This was perhaps not so pressing as their other two, but they had been long away from the centers of civilization where clothing was more readily available. The approaching of the first winter found many without shoes. We are told that old wagon covers were made into socks.

Among the first projects begun was the tanning of leather in the fall of 1849. This, like many others, was a community enterprise. Men and boys broke a trail to the vicinity of Bridal Veil Falls in Provo Canyon, where they cut a large number of conifers. It was necessary for the company to go armed with a front and rear guard because of Indian danger. The logs were floated down the river to the mouth of the canyon, where the bark was peeled and hauled to the tannery. A maple log on peg legs with a sharp top edge was used to shred the bark. The hides were, presumably, soaked in a solution with the shredded bark. The hair was

1Deseret News, February 15, 1852.
2Ibid.
not removed, but placed on the inside of the shoes. Demand was great so shoes were made of half tanned leather. These shoes were soft and stretched in wet weather and were stiff and hard in dry.¹

Susan Cole Davis is said to have made the first shoes in Provo, mostly of buckskin which was also much used. She put them together with wooden pegs. During dry weather the uppers would separate from the lowers and it was necessary to walk in the ditch occasionally so the pegs would swell and hold the shoe together.²

The tanning industry was a sorely needed one, but it never did prove fully adequate or do very good work. In the period of the first ten years there were only a few tanneries in the Mormon settlements, one of them being located at Provo.

Evidently Provo's first tannery had not been a permanent affair although it had made what was probably the first leather in the territory.³ Early in 1852 Samuel Clark, who had probably done the earlier tanning, set out to build a tannery. The Deseret News immediately took up his cause.

Good for Provo... Brethren at Provo, arise in your might... and carry your hides and skins to Mr. Sam'l Clark, tanner, and with them carry 25 or 50 cords of bark. Lumberman, hand him over 5,000 feet of plank. Carpenters and joiners, set your tools in motion and make the vats; laborers, put in the spades and sink those vats, and draw a few loads of clay to pack around them; tanners and coppersmith, make a heater; and tell Mr. Clark he is welcome. Best, best, best in two weeks.

¹Jensen, op. cit., p. 40. ²Colton, op. cit., p. 84
³Jensen, loc. cit.
from the first blow, if all will do as counseled, the tanner may have 100 hides in the vats, and Provo City will have leather in 100 days of their own mfr., at 100% less cost than they now give the merchants.¹

For the next several weeks the News eagerly admonished the Provo Saints to keep hard at work and to take their pay in leather. Some difficulty was experienced in getting up the canyon for bark in the winter, for there was as yet no road. In spite of all difficulties the tannery was placed in operation, but not on the rapid schedule set for it by the News. Methods used in tanning were somewhat as follows. The hair was removed by putting ashes or lime on the hide and letting it stand for a time. Joseph Mecham burned the first lime in Provo in 1851. It was probably used for this purpose. Fifty hides were placed in 200 gallons of water and steeped for 24 hours along with 150 pounds of native sumac and 25 pounds of salt. Then 200 gallons of strong oak liquid were added with 15 more pounds of salt and allowed to soak for 24 hours. Then the hides were changed to another like solution with less salt for 5 or 6 days. They were then soaked in a similar solution which was warm for a like period. These last two named solutions were alternated 6 or 7 times. By this means the tanning of one hide lasted over 45 days and there was a great deal of labor involved in gathering the necessary bark. Samuel Clark claimed that local pine bark was as good as eastern oak. He may have kept his vats warm continuously as the News advised him to do to speed up the process. Bark

¹Deseret News II, (January 24, 1852), 21.
became more difficult to obtain and finally the tanneries went out of business when it became cheaper to ship leather from the East. The tanners of the territory consistently did poor work, mostly because they did not soak their hides long enough and made shoes too soon.\(^1\)

Provo's first Saddlery was opened by William Goddard in 1853.\(^2\)

Provo's citizens also needed cloth which it was necessary for them to make with their own hands. They had doubtless brought some sheep with them which supplied them the raw material for their most important textile. The sheep were sheared, often by the women, and then the wool was washed in clear streams without soap. It was then spread on the grass to dry. Carding was the next process. Wool cards were imported and consisted of two boards with handles having many short wire teeth. With them the wool was pulled and rolled into "wool cards," after which it was ready to spin. The spinning wheel consisted of a large wheel turned by hand or by a foot pedal which turned a spindle at high speed. The wool card was held on the distaff and fed slowly onto the spindle which twisted the thread and wound it up. The wool was fed evenly to the rotating spindle with the hands, non-uniform yarn being called "pig trough yarn." The wool was

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\(^2\)Jensen, op. cit., p. 62.
sometimes carded and spun on shares. Forty revolutions of 
the wheel made one knot, ten knots made a skein. A skilled 
spinner could make five skeins in a day, a very fast worker 
sometimes ten per day.¹

The yarn was then woven into cloth or knitted, tatted, 
or crocheted, etc. The loom consisted of a framework which 
held the warp, or lengthwise thread, so that alternate threads 
could be moved up and down with footpedals. The shuttle was 
passed through the two sections of warp with the woof on it 
and then the vertical position of the alternate threads of the 
woof was changed, and so on. The threads of the woof were 
kept pushed down tightly with a beam or comb. By double 
spinning the yarn some cloth was made claimed to be water-
tight. Linsey was made by using cotton for woof. The cotton 
was usually imported although later some was grown in "Utah's Dixie." 
About three skeins were required to make a yard of cloth. By 
alternating colors, beautiful plaids were made. Carpets were 
made by tearing old cloth into strips and weaving it in the 
above manner, using it for woof.

Knitting was not only a pastime, but an industry. 
Yarn was spun again to make a double strand for knitting. 
Many articles were made with the needles, especially socks. 
A fast working girl could make one pair of heavy men's socks 
in a day, which she could sell for 50¢ a pair. Ladies' hose 
were made with finer yarn and were often ribbed and dyed to 
match the dress they went with.

S. P. Eggertsen brought some flaxseed to Provo from Denmark for medicinal purposes in 1857 which he decided to try planting and growing. The flax required intense and careful cultivation. At the end of the season it was pulled up and lightly covered with dirt for the winter. In the spring it was dried and put through a breaker, a primitive device for loosening the pith from the fiber. It was then "scutched," i.e., beaten, and winnowed to complete the separation of the fibers. "Hickling" or combing followed to make the fibers even and remove the short ones. Hereafter it was spun and woven in the same manner as wool. Most table cloths, sheets, towels and better clothing were made from flax.¹

All the aforementioned materials were dyed with home-made dyes. The bark of squaw bush, sage brush, rabbit brush, and alder were used. Later peach leaves and walnut hulls were also used. Such dyes were not, of course, waterproof, but an attempt was made at setting them with salt. The story is told of all the local dandies going to a dance in Salt Lake City with new hats of rabbit fur dyed black. When they arrived at the dance after coming through a drizzly rain, the black streaks from the dye that had run down their faces added greatly to the merriment of the dancers. The assortment of colors was limited by such methods and imported dyes were used when obtainable.

The pioneers found it necessary to make their own

¹Huff, Ibid., 130-131. This is probably not Provo's first flax seed. The industry had a start in other parts of the territory at least as early as 1852.
hats. This they generally did out of straw, although the ladies often made their gay Sunday hats of cloth and pretty scraps at home as they occasionally do now. The straw was best when the grain was not quite yet ripe and a part of the grain field was often cut early for this purpose. The straw after curing was soaked and braided into long, flat strips of seven coarse straws for men or eleven finer ones for women. The edges of the strips were then sewed together by hand in the shape desired. Each hat was tailor-made to fit the head for which it was intended. After it was finished it was placed on a form to dry. Some times designs might be varied by using combinations of colored straw. Most people had two hats, one to work in and one for Sunday.

Styles were not dictated from New York or Paris. Every woman designed her own dress. The woman with the cleverest and prettiest dress became the fashion leader of the town.

Cloth making was at best a tedious process and the work the sisters liked least was that of carding. Every major settlement or area soon had its own carding mill. Shadrack Holdaway, a member of the Mormon battalion who earned four thousand dollars in the gold fields after his discharge, took his money back to Missouri where he bought a load of carding machinery and other goods. He set up his "Double Wool Carding Machine" on the north side of the river in 1851 and secured the help of Alanson Morton, who had had twenty years experience with such machinery. Because of Indian difficulties,
they soon moved to the block north of present Pioneer Park on 5th West, where the necessary water power was now available in a new canal or mill race. Service was "while you wait." The customer was to bring one pound of grease for every eight pounds of wool to be carded. The charge was ten cents per pound for common wool, fifteen cents for mixed. Wool would be received and wool cards delivered at the Post Office in Great Salt Lake City, although there was a carding mill on the Jordan near Salt Lake. Mr. Holdaway also did "cloth dressing" at his plant. Late in 1852 he had a fulling machine in operation. This became the nucleus of the best equipped woolen mill in the territory. With James Simpkins, Mr. Holdaway began making more machinery in 1855. His shop was soon able to boast two carding machines, one spinning jenny, one wool picker, four hand looms and other machinery, including a threshing machine.\textsuperscript{1}

Some men in Provo had hired immigrant women to spin and weave for them. Andrew J. Stewart had several who worked under the supervision of his wife, Eunice. Provo turned out 3,500 yards of cloth in the year ending 1854.\textsuperscript{2}

Besides their basic needs, the colonists found the need for a few other essentials such as soap and candles. Among the most important of the tinners' products was the candle mold. A piece of yarn was stretched through the mold

\textsuperscript{1}Tullidge, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 247., cf. \textit{Deseret News}, May 15, 1852.

\textsuperscript{2}Booth, \textit{op. cit.}, 35.
and beef or mutton tallow poured in. Such candles and the
cooking fire provided the only light in the home until the
1860's when coal oil lamps appeared. Candles still continued
to be of great importance for many years.

Soap was made in every home. Ashes were carefully
collected in a wood box and leached with rain water. This
home made lye was then heated with tallow and grease scraps
to make soft soap which might be white, yellow, or brown de-
pending on the quality of the fat used. Measurement was by
guess and such soap was probably highly variable in quality.
A small amount of grease made a relatively large amount of
soap.¹

Early dwellings had only dirt floors, but the house-
wife still felt need for a broom. Primitive brooms were made
at home from home grown broom straw.

A very important man in any frontier community was
the blacksmith. George Brown came with his family to Provo
in 1858 and found plenty of work in this vocation. The
smith helped to make the mills and machinery, shoe horses
and oxen, and made wagon parts and nails. Iron was a very
rare and expensive material. Some was picked up on the
plains or carried across them.² Iron was never wasted. Old
wagon tires were made into oxen shoes and horseshoes. Old
shoes were in turn made into chains and nails. In his

¹ J. M. Jensen relates that Eunice P. Stewart made
$100 worth of soap from a heifer that drowned and some home-

² Camp Floyd's abandoment made available considerable
iron.
forge the blacksmith used charcoal; no good coal was available for him till 1869. During the "Mormon War" of 1857-1858, a large smithy was set up on the public square (Pioneer Park) with several blacksmiths at work.

Containers were a badly needed household item, so Horace Roberts made Provo's first crockery. He burned his first kiln early in 1852 and found it "much better than he expected. . . . he is now satisfied that he can make as good ware here as any part of the world." His ware was unglazed because he was unable to secure any materials. A load of it taken to great Salt Lake City was said to be "of good quality . . . The ware will do well for a little season." The purchaser could help the manufacturer to get glazing and produce a better ware next time.²

During its first ten years of its life Provo grew in population from 150 to about 2,000 people. These people had made for themselves the basic essentials for a full, but rigorous life. Throughout its first fifty years of life, Provo remained primarily an agricultural town and in these early days, everyone was a farmer. Even the artisans, mill operators, etc., had their acre in town to cultivate and perhaps a larger plot around the edge of the town. But let a visitor tell us of the life of the town as he saw it. Captain J. H. Simpson said of Provo in 1859:

The houses. . . . are all inhabited by farmers who

¹Deseret News, II (Feb. 3, 1852), 32.
²Deseret News, II (Feb. 15, 1852), 38.
cultivate the land contiguous to the town, and the yards are filled with the implements of husbandry, stacks of wheat and hay; and in the evening during harvest there is to be seen a constant succession of wagons, filled with produce of the field and cattle driven in for security. The inhabitants send out their cattle in herds to the pasture, the herdsman passing in the morning from one end of the town to the other, and as he does so, sounding his horn as a signal for the owners to turn their stock into the general herd. The charge is about two cents per animal per day.

The members of the church were urged to make everything for themselves, to be dependent on neither foreign goods or capital. Brigham Young said before the territorial legislature in 1852:

Deplorable indeed must be the situation of that people whose sons are not trained in the practice of every useful avocation and whose daughters mingle not in the hive of industry. . . . Produce what you consume, draw from the native elements the necessities of life, permit no vitiated taste to load you into indulgence of expensive luxuries, which can only be obtained by involving yourself in debt. Let home industry produce every article of consumption.

The great difficulties of transportation had erected a natural tariff wall. In 1850 Captain Stansbury said:

Situated so far inland without water communication with any part of the continent, and isolated by the very nature of the surrounding regions, it will readily be seen that the new state must necessarily depend in a great measure, for its support, upon means within itself.

Money was scarce. Labor or its product was the only common medium of exchange. Prices of imported goods for the period show the dire need for self-sufficiency and were

1Simpson, op. cit., p. 136.
2Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah, I (Salt Lake City, 1892), 495.
according to Booth: a cook stove cost from $75 to $150, a glass ice box $30 to $36, paper $1.00 per quire,\(^1\) shirting $30 per yard, Kentucky jeans $1.25, cotton flannel $40 per yard, calico $25 to $50 per yard and wheat, a most common medium of exchange, was $1.00 per bushel.\(^2\) A day's work (10 or 12 hours) might be worth from $1.00 to $2.50 depending on the skill and value of the worker.\(^2\)

The saints were expected to give freely of their labor and money in any community enterprise. This factor of closely knit, well organized communities engaged in co-operative enterprise coupled with the difficulty of outside intercourse made Mormon towns, such as Provo, unique on the American frontier. Nearly everything they did was planned in advance by the religious leaders, from the city itself to a new sawmill or the placing under cultivation of new ground. The people accepted the guidance of their leaders and acted in concert in a manner found other places only in time of catastrophe. They did not go into debt and the speculator was unknown among them. They believed all must stand or fall together. In so doing, they almost lifted themselves by their bootstraps to build their new Zion where they could freely practice their religion.

Ten years in the valley found the people of Provo with all the necessities of life; they had food; they had homes;

\(^1\)This outrageous figure is undoubtedly in error. A quire is 24 sheets of paper, a ream 480 sheets.

\(^2\)Booth, op. cit., 22.
they had clothing. The bread was not fine nor plentiful; most houses had dirt floors packed hard by bare feet. But there was bread enough for all, a roof where anyone could escape a storm, and shoes for all in winter. To have these things was not easy. Toil early and late for men and animals went on six days a week. The use of water power relieved the drudgery only a little. As yet, Provo's industrial beginnings did little more than supply local needs. Commerce beyond the mountains was very limited. In these ten years the people of Provo had by their industry, perseverance, ingenuity and inspiration rooted themselves firmly in the mountain soil. They were well established. They looked forward to a day when their children might better enjoy the fruits of the land as well as those of the spirit.
CHAPTER II

THE PERIOD OF CONSOLIDATION, 1858-1870

The year 1858 saw the Mormon society once more threatened by persecution. The approach of the federal army under General Johnston sent all the people of the northern settlements of the territory of Utah down to Provo. Here temporary bins for tithing wheat, mills to grind it, and blacksmith shops to repair machinery and shoe animals were set up. People crowded the valley, living in their wagon boxes and temporary brush hovels.

When agreement with the federal officers was reached and the people went back to their homes, Provo stood but little put out by her experience. In the long run she even profited by it, because, when the army left in 1860, its immense stores were sold at a loss to the citizens of the territory. There were much needed mules and even more valuable scrap iron. Provo was expanding; her new fields needed the mules; her people needed the army's foodstuffs; her blacksmith shops seldom had enough iron for all the needs of her people.

The second city in Utah territory was entering upon the period of consolidation that was to make her ready for the largest woolen manufactory in the west. She was increasing her contacts with the outside world. Roads were
being improved and transportation by ox and mule drawn wagons was becoming easier. By 1865 all the important highways of the modern period around Provo had been opened to wagon traffic.

After the Mormon War, the Church began anew its campaign for the encouragement of home manufactures. Though the railroad was not yet, improved transportation threatened the tariff wall erected by the long haul from the east.

The time was once when imported articles could only with difficulty be procured in the territory, but as circumstances have changed and facilities for ruinously squandering our money abroad have greatly increased, nothing but the fact of personal advantage to the purchaser is likely ever to command the choice between home and foreign manufacture.¹

This was the lament of the secretary of the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society in 1860. This Society had been organized in 1855 to promote agriculture and manufacturing. Its most important function was to put on a fair each fall when it awarded prizes to those exhibitors who had paid their two dollar membership fee. The prizes might be strawberry plants, cash, a subscription to an agricultural journal such as The Country Gentleman, a book, or a diploma. The Deseret News sternly admonished the Utah County branch to cease giving cash when a subscription to The Genesee Farmer was cheaper.² The Utah County branch of the society was organized in Provo in January 1859, and held an annual fair in that community.³ Races and shooting and plowing matches

¹ Des. News Aug. 8, 1860. ² Ibid., Nov. 2, 1859. ³ The fair was held one year in American Fork and Springville jointly.
were held in conjunction with the second annual fair in 1860. All the musicians and bands of the county were invited.1

Everyone went all out for home manufactures. "Become independent and happy.--The Elements of Prosperity all about us--Balm in Gilead--Patronize Home Industry and Manufacture--Sustain the Valley Tan Principle." Thus began an advertisement for Johnson's Nerve and Bone Liniment in the Deseret News.2

In a more sober note the officers of the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacting Society said, "It is plain, therefore, that we cannot export sufficient to warrant us depending on importation for what we need. . . . We must devote our spare means to the supplying of ourselves with the materials of manufacturing what we need."3 This was emphasized during the 1860's--buying only machinery from the states in order that consumer goods might be made at home. In an open letter in 1867, Brigham Young urged all capitalists of the Mormon towns to buy machinery for the needs of the people and to give them a greater interest in home manufactures. "Cease paying exhorbitant prices demanded by disinterested persons. . . and hundreds of thousands of dollars may be saved annually by the saints," he said.4

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1Ibid., Sept., 2, 1860.

2Ibid., Feb. 16, 1863. "Valley Tan" was a slang expression meaning of home manufacture, sometimes especially applied to liquors.

3Ibid., Aug. 4, 1858.

4Ibid., Jan. 9, 1867. This movement did not bear important fruits in Provo until after the railroad came to the territory.
During the period from 1860 through 1870 the city of Provo grew very little in population, but at the same time established a firmer and broader economic basis for living.\(^1\)

The people built bigger and better homes; they had a larger and more varied diet; they had enough clothes to keep them warm. Visitors did not fail to comment on the pastoral peace of the town, its air of contentment, its shade trees growing tall along the streets, and the clear streams of water running by every street.\(^2\)

The houses built in this period were not the windowless, dirt-floored and dirt-roofed homes built during Provo's beginnings. Despite the chronic shortage of lumber, houses had wood floors, shingled roofs, perhaps three or four rooms, or even a second story. Some were even built of brick instead of adobe. Some were graced with picket fences instead of the brush that had been used earlier to keep out wandering livestock. A. O. Smoot, A. F. MacDonald, Isaac Higbee and other prominent men built houses of an imposing nature. Mayor Smoot's house, south of the public square, "presents a most beautiful appearance and is quite an ornament," according to a correspondent of the time.\(^3\) Mr. Smoot's house was made of cement,

\(^1\)The Population of Provo, according to the United States Census, was as follows: 1850, 2,026 for Utah County (no figure given for Provo City); 1860, 2,030 in Provo; 1870, 2,384; 1880, 3,422; 1890, 5,159; 1900, 6,185. Contemporary estimates are always much higher.


\(^3\)Deseret News, Nov. 17, 1869.
which he claimed was only 15% more expensive than adobe. As time went by, Mr. Smoot built other houses for his several families.¹

The building of the Provo Meeting House is indicative of many conditions in building in this period. The building was begun in 1857 and not finished until 1867. Provo had grown enough, meanwhile, to make it necessary to adjourn the second session of the dedicatory services to the nearby bowery, the Meeting House's capacity being only 1,100. The foundation and basement was made of stone which had been sawed by water power by W. F. Carter. The upper story was made of timbers and adobes covered with stucco. It was 81 by 47 feet with an 80 foot bell tower. "The pulpit, aisles, and vestibules are beautifully finished and with their carpeting, the work of our faithful sisters, give an air of taste and comfort to all," reads a contemporary description. The exterior was also ornately finished. The organ was imported.²

Furniture ceased to be the primitive pieces, with raw-hide springs, made with an auger and drawknife, used in true pioneer days. The Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society offered prizes for a bureau, a sofa, bedstead, six chairs, centre table, dining table, ladies' work stand, office desk, writing desk, rocking chair, specimen of wood carving, ³


²Millenial Star, XXIX (1867), 662-3.
wood turning, and French polish. The judges did not find takers for all these prizes, but much less primitive furniture was being made.\textsuperscript{1} Things had improved so much that some of the old pioneers could now lecture the new generation on pioneer hardships. A Salt Lake City Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society director said in 1869: "We recollect a time in this valley when our fashionable bedsteads were manufactured out of pine and quaking asp poles, by the aid alone of a two inch auger and a drawing knife... our people are becoming more fastidious."

Conditions in the home generally, while greatly improved over the fifties, were not luxurious. Fireplaces were open with large chimneys; few stoves were in use. Windows consisted usually of one or two eight by ten inch panes.\textsuperscript{3} Floors were covered with rag carpets. Light was still furnished by candles and the fire, but coal oil lamps were coming into use. Wood was used for fires because the coal which had been discovered up Provo Canyon cost forty dollars a ton. Provo's people had comfort, but they did not have large quarters or luxury.

During this period, Provo's artisans developed more of a class consciousness. Many of them became full-time tradesmen and left to someone else the care of their farms outside of the city. Perhaps most indicative of the spirit of a rising urban bourgeoisie was the parade held in conjunction with the

\textsuperscript{1}\textit{Deseret News}, Aug. 27, 1862.
\textsuperscript{2}\textit{Ibid.}, Dec. 1, 1869
\textsuperscript{3}Jensen, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 154.
great celebration that took place on every 24th of July, anniversary of the arrival of the first pioneers in the valley of the Great Salt Lake. In addition to the original pioneers, members of the Mormon Battalion, Bishops, 24 young daughters of Israel in white, etc., included in every procession, the Provo parade featured the officers of the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society in an appropriately festooned carriage, and the artisans of the town carrying "implements of industry." As an instance, in 1862 the parade included: Carpenters, Joiners, and Cabinet Makers at work on a wagon under the supervision of Thomas Allman; Tanners, Shoemakers and Saddlers working their trade on a wagon under Samuel Clark; Masons, Builders, Blacksmiths, Potters, Cutlers, Tinners, and Comb-makers at work at their trades and carrying tools.\(^1\)

These artisans were to be seen in the parade only in Provo and Salt Lake City. Parades in all other towns featured implements of husbandry only.\(^2\) Features of the 1865 parade included: a wagon with a fanning mill on one end and a flail being operated on the other; a loom in operation; basket, whip, and shoemakers at work; churning and cheese pressing; quilting; washing and ironing; sewing with birds and with machines; wool carding and spinning; a school class; straw hat making; and a barber shop. The parade passed through a triumphal arch of sage and desert weed and another of corn and wheat with the


\(^2\)Ibid., Aug. 5, 1863
legend, "Behold the Contrast." While this latter parade was not so typical as the first for Provo, it was also indicative of the temper of the times. Of especial significance was the barber. Visitors often commented that Provo was big enough to support a barber. The barber's shingle read, "Physiological Barber," and he was given to playing marbles in his spare time. Provo was no longer on the frontier by 1870. Her agricultural economy was well established and rested on a wide, solid base. Her industries supplied only basic local needs, but she was ready to begin construction on what was to be the west's largest woolen mills. The railroad was only fifty miles away and was advancing slowly southward to her. She had good leadership in Mayor Abraham O. Smoot and Bishops Andrew H. Scott, E. F. Sheets, Thomas Allman, and Myron Tanner. Especially important was Mayor Smoot. He came from Salt Lake City in 1868, where he had been Mayor, and was shortly elected Mayor here. He brought with him a small amount of capital which he was able to build up to where he was the captain of industry in Provo. But more important, the dynamic leadership supplied by him made other men do things they would not have considered had they not had his strength to go before them. While very few men had capital worthy of mention, the people as a whole had the spirit of co-operation that could bring together enough materials and men to erect the Woolen Mills. Everyone could put in a few bushels of wheat and a few days.

1 Ibid., Aug. 2, 1865.  2 Ibid., Apr. 1, 1863.
work, taking stock in exchange, and the job was done. In 1870 Provo stood on the threshold of her greatest industrial enterprise since the founding of the city.
CHAPTER III

THE PROVO WOOLEN MILLS: 1869-1900

The coming of the railroad to Utah in 1869 gave a new boost to the much touted projects of home manufacture. Here-tofore, freight costs had been almost prohibitive when there was a project for which importation of heavy machinery was necessary. This and the lack of capital were responsible for the heavy losses taken by the Mormons in the sugar and iron fiascos in the early fifties. However, by 1869 numerous men had available moderately large sums of money in the territory and the iron horse was here to perform the labors formerly done by the clumsy and expensive ox. So the Saints looked to new, better, and larger projects in home manufacture to meet the challenge the railroad had also brought with it, that is, cheap goods to compete with the often prohibitively priced "Valley Tan" products.

Because of the difficulties mentioned, no real factory-type industrial establishments were to be found in Provo or even all of Utah. Such establishments as there were in woodworking, tanning, shoemaking, tailoring, milling, cloth-making, brick and pottery making were on a minor scale and employed very few men. The master workman or employer had his few workers with him on an intimate basis in a small building where all labored with their hands. Very few had a wholesale
business, and a retail outlet was always a part of so-called manufacturing enterprises. Power, either water or horse, was used only for mills--grain, sorghum, or saw--and a few small scale cloth preparation plants. Very few of those who had accumulated money had done so in manufacturing. Great fortunes were only to be had through mercantile pursuits. Some of this money was now to be put into manufacturing.

The logical location for any enterprise requiring power for its operation was Provo. While the capital was mostly to be found in Salt Lake City, Provo was almost alone among those places with a moderately large population which could boast excellent water power facilities. Horse power was only useful for small machinery such as sugar mills, while the steam engine was considered too expensive. Provo's first steam engine came in 1867 for use in a sawmill. There never were many such engines in the city. It was probably the consideration of power that brought to Provo Utah's first industrial enterprise requiring the capital and labor of more than a few men.

The Timpanogos Manufacturing Company was organized on June 1, 1869 for the purpose of building a woolen factory in Provo. Authorized capital was one million dollars for sale in shares of one hundred dollars each. The project was under the leadership and direction of the church leaders, especially Brigham Young, who conceived the project and supplied most of the capital, and Abraham O. Smoot, Mayor of Provo, who managed the construction. The actual building was under the direction

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1Tullidge, op. cit., III (July 1884), 272.
of Bishop Andrew H. Scott; skilled workmen were recruited from all parts of the territory to assist.

A mill and the ground around it\(^1\) were purchased from John Taylor of Salt Lake City, and ground was broken to commence construction as soon as possible. The diary of John Nuttall, who later was treasurer of the company said:

**Saturday, May 28, 1870.** The Southeast corner stone of the Provo Co-operative Woolen Factory was laid at half past 9 o'clock by President A. O. Smoot. Upon the stone being laid, President Smoot offered prayer after which Bishops E. F. Sheets, Myron Tanner, and Andrew H. Scott, and Elder Thomas Allman made appropriate remarks. President Smoot prophesied that this cornerstone shall remain steadfast and sure.\(^2\)

Both labor and materials were paid for in stock amounting to a total of $155,000. By this means, payment of high interest rates for borrowed eastern capital was avoided and the factory was given a broad popular basis through wide distribution of the stock. It was not only the privilege, but the duty, of the Saints to help give this big boost to home manufactures. This is what was commonly called "co-operation"—all giving their surplus labor and capital in exchange for stock. The mill was often called the "Co-op Woolen Factory," but was in reality a joint stock company.

Even the city and county organizations aided in the construction. They lent 1,500 bushels of wheat and $150.00 in cash to Superintendent Smoot to expedite the operation. In March 1872, the county court house, which stood until 1847,

\(^1\)The woolen mills block was between present first and second north and first and second west with the first buildings on the west side.

\(^2\)Ibid., 255.
was sold to the company for $5,000 in stock.

The erection of the buildings was pushed with enthusiasm, and many felt themselves obliged to report to the Deseret News the progress of the work. In October 1870 a celebration was held to commemorate the completion of the two foot thick limestone wall of the main building. With their country's flag flying on high, the tenders wheeled up a barrel of cider and baskets of fruit. Appropriate speeches were made by superintendent Scott, chief mason Samuel Liddiard, and mason William Allen, who said, "truly the hand of God was in it."\(^1\) At this time ten masons and thirty tenders were at work. William Ridd was superintendent of the carpenters, and Thomas Allman and George Halladay oversaw the plasterers. In July 1871, the work was interrupted by the death of William Atkinson who fell while working on the buildings. By June 1872, F. X. Loughery, who superintended the installation of the machinery, was able to report his work as well under way. However, in October, the directors found it necessary to vote a 10% assessment on the stock to finish the factory and supply wool. The machinery was paid for by Brigham Young.\(^2\) It was bought at the Bridesbury Manufactory, Philadelphia, Pa., at a cost of $70,000.\(^3\) Its installation was not completed until late 1874. In October 1872 the cards and mules were started and yarn was spun and marketed, but the looms did not start until June 1873 when the

\(^1\)Deseret Weekly, Oct. 12, 1870.
\(^2\)Ibid., June 18, 1873.
\(^3\)Ibid., Apr. 23, 1873.
first cloth was made.

Officers of the company in 1872 were: President, Brigham Young; Vice President, Abraham O. Smoot; Directors: Myron Tanner, Wm. Bringhurst, Oravell Simons, Joseph S. Tanner, and Andrew H. Scott; H. A. Dixon, Secretary, and L. John Nuttal, Treasurer. Because of a defect in the constitution which did not meet the territorial law of 1870 covering such organizations, the Timpanogos Manufacturing Co. was dissolved October 13, 1873 and reincorporated on the 15th as the Provo Manufacturing Co. with a capital of only $500,000. Brigham Young held 5,600 shares of stock; A. O. Smoot, 320; Myron Tanner, 160; William Bringhurst, 120; John Taylor, 252; and Joseph S. Tanner, 120. The other 328 shares were widely distributed. Only 56% of the stock was paid up.\(^1\)

Contemporaries were fond of describing the plant, one of the best descriptions being that of the *Utah Mining Gazette*:

The main building is of rock, four stories high with a mansard roof, covered with patent roofing. It is 140 X 60 feet, with a projected stairway surmounted by a tower thirty feet above the roof. The upper story is used for the preparation of the wool, of which a large quantity is on hand. The prepared wool is conveyed through flumes, which deposit the material just where it is needed for carding. On the carding room floor are 27 carders, two pickers, and two renovators. On the floor beneath is the spinning room, containing three self acting mules, with 720 spindles each, and one hand mule with 360 spindles. On the first floor there are 21 narrow looms, one shawlfringer and one cloth dresser. The factory, when run to its fullest capacity, will work 115 looms.

The finishing house is of adobe, seventy feet by thirty

\(^1\)Jensen, *op. cit.*, 272. Evidently, Brigham Young had acquired a large part of the approximately 1,500 shares paid out for construction.
and two and a half stories high. On the first floor are two washing machines, four fulling stocks, one brusher, two shears (one narrow, the other wide), two large presses and three gigs. Another adobe building, one and a half stories high, and 140 X 30 feet is used for store rooms, carpenter shop, boiler house, and machine shop in the lower part and for wool store and assorting rooms in the upper part. The dye house is a frame building sixty feet by thirty feet, and contains one new self patent washer, with a capacity for washing 1,800 pounds of wool per day; a hydro extractor for rinsing; and two large vats capable of dying 1,400 pounds of wool per day, together with other dye tubs. The steam for the dye-house is supplied from a fifty horse power boiler, by which also, through four rows of inch piping around the room, the mill is heated. The machinery in all these buildings is run by water power, from a canal a half mile long and twenty feet wide which drives two turbine wheels, one thirty-five inches and the other twenty-six and a half inches. The establishment is under the management of Mr. F. X. Loughery, a gentleman of great experience and ability.

Cloths of various kinds of most excellent quality are manufactured here, and find ready sale, the demand exceeding the supply. The Provo mill is pronounced to be equal to the best in the United States.\footnote{Utah Mining Gazette, (Salt Lake City: March 14, 1874), p. 227. Other estimates as to numbers and size of the plant vary somewhat from those given here. The Utah Industrialist, p.7, May 15, 1867, reports 24, instead of 27, cards and a total of 3,240 spindles instead of 2,520. Some machinery may have been added by this later date.}

Other features which any small boy could happily point out to the visitor included the total of 7,800 lights of glass in the buildings, the ninety-five foot high stack which drew off the boiler smoke, the warping and beaming machines, and the looms which were capable of weaving patterns, tweeds, plaids, checks, doeskins, satinetts, blankets, and shawls. The two turbines, which were a notable improvement over the old water wheel, developed about thirty-five and sixty-five horse power respectively and operated under a twenty foot head of water.
Provo was now on its way to becoming the great industrial and manufacturing center which every minor prophet had foreseen for it since March 12, 1849. "The blowing of the whistle in the morning at 6:30 AM is the reveille of life and activity in Provo," said a contemporary.  

Saturday night saw a lively bustle about the co-op store because this was pay day. Most of the workers were local girls and young boys, although there were some with training in the mills of England and Scotland, including the foremen of all the departments. Estimates of the number of workers vary from 125 to 150. There was much variation in employment according to the current condition of the mill's finances and the supply of wool.

Finances of the mill were often in a precarious position and there was a continuous shortage of liquid capital. At first the products did not find ready sale due to the lack of a fine finish on the cloth to make it compare favorably with that brought from the east. But remedying this by better finishing did not bring the necessary capital. It was necessary to pay the employees and suppliers of the company with scrip redeemable in cloth or produce. The scrip, of course, depreciated and increased the financial difficulties.

The local co-op stores would accept the scrip in trade or it could be redeemed in the produce often accepted in pay-

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1 Territorial Enquirer, March 30, 1880.
2 Tulledge, op. cit., III, 257; Deseret News, XXII (Oct. 1, 1873), 557.
ment for cloth, but it was not very satisfactory to the dis-
tant wool grower, who could not easily redeem it.

In order to supply the factory, it was necessary to have about one thousand pounds of wool per day or about three hundred thousand pounds per year. Evidently, the factory was forced to shut down at times because it was unable to obtain this amount, worth from about $56,600 to $75,000 according to the price of wool, which varied from seventeen to twenty-five cents per pound during the period in question. Also required, said the Utah Industrialist, were five thousand pounds of soap per week which was made from eight hundred pounds of tallow, two hundred pounds of potash, and water. Also necessary was a ton of saleratus weekly and $1,000 for a summer's supply of dye. However, probably only the dye and potash required cash because other supplies, such as wood for the boiler, were paid for in cloth.

This was the situation which faced James Dunn when he became superintendent in October of 1874, succeeding Myron Tanner, who had evidently succeeded Loughery. He obtained from Brigham Young a promise of a ten year tenure to carry out his policies. His appeals for the acceptance of the scrip

1 Daily Enquirer, Jan. 28, 1890.

2 Utah County Enquirer, (Provo, Utah), June 23, 1877.

3 Utah Industrialist, (Provo, Utah, May 15, 1887), p.8. These figures, put out to impress the reader with the scope of the enterprise, are subject to some question, e.g., five thousand pounds of soap, even though largely water, is a great deal to cleanse about six thousand pounds of wool.
at par in order to insure precise values in trade were of no avail. Dunn next tried to meet his problem by buying all the local wool and shipping it east beginning in 1876, thus controlling the market. This must have been difficult in view of his lack of cash reserves. The policy was not immediately successful because in March 1877 Superintendent Dunn was forced to scour Salt Lake and Toole counties for wool and to give "every reasonable inducement to sheep ranchers to sell wool for home use."¹ Ranchers sold their best wool for cash in the east and only their poorer on the local market for cloth. Dunn recognized that only accumulation of more western capital could remedy the situation.² In 1879 the company was able to report that it had purchased three hundred thousand pounds of wool in the month of June alone, and five carloads of baled wool were shipped east in July. This probably represents most of the wool shipped by the company during that year because most wool is sheared and sent to market in spring and early summer. In any event, the company probably did not dominate the export market because up until May 1884 they shipped only five million pounds of wool, while state production in 1884 alone amounted to 6,250,000 pounds.³

The policy must have been of some help, because the

¹Utah County Enquirer, Mar. 27, 1877. Dunn was probably attempting to persuade growers to sell to him in the approaching shearing season.

²Ibid., Oct. 24, 1877.

company was able to announce in Oct. 1879 that it was on a completely cash basis. Part of the statement follows:

Total resources $353,393.55
Liabilities $347,407.51
Gains $4,986.04
Cloth on Hand $37,353.00
Wool on Hand $44,301.00
Cloth produced in last six months $60,778.00
Wages paid in last six months $15,384.00

No dividend was paid for this six months period due to the complete loss by fire of the flour mill, valued at $6,000, which was purchased as part of the property on which the mills were built and because of a water power shortage.\(^1\)

This statement shows that the company carried rather large inventories, that it had at that particular time enough wool to maintain production until the next shearing season, and, although the profits were rather small, the cost of labor was only about twenty-five percent of the finished product.

Resources include the value of the plant and goods on hand, while liabilities probably include debts and the value of the stock.

Other problems James Dunn had to meet included selling of his goods. They were, of course, readily accepted by the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. Sheep</th>
<th>Lbs. Wool</th>
<th>Price per Lb.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>20¢</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,250,000</td>
<td>16¢</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>1,100,000</td>
<td>7,000,000</td>
<td>20¢</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
<td>9,000,000</td>
<td>19¢</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)Territorial Enquirer, (Provo, Utah), Oct. 4, 1879.
territory's "co-op" stores. J. C. Cutler was employed as the company's agent in Salt Lake City after 1877, and he alone was able to sell from $100,000 to $150,000 per year of the annual output of about $150,000 worth of goods.\(^1\) Approximately one half of the product was sold outside the territory, largely in Idaho, Montana, and Colorado. In 1883, Z. C. M. I. had a contract with the factory whereby they were its sole agent for three years.\(^2\)

Another problem faced by Mr. Dunn was $200,000 in bonds bearing 10% interest issued to the stockholders. It was soon evident that the company could not afford $20,000 annual interest payments, and so Dunn persuaded the directors to "retire" the bonds. Although done on a completely voluntary basis, Dunn was able, in 1877, to persuade bondholders to exchange them for stock at 95% of the bonds' par value. He was able to accomplish this in six months and relieve the company of a heavy burden.\(^3\)

In 1884 Dunn issued a circular to the stockholders outlining for them somewhat of the institution's condition. Working capital in 1873 was $5,000, in 1876 not over $10,000, $16,000 in 1878, and $51,000 in 1884 as a result of the sale of $35,000 in real estate. (Dunn's estimates)

Excesses of receipts over expenditures since 1873 were catalogued thusly:

\(^1\)Tullidge, op. cit., III, 257.
\(^2\)Ibid.
\(^3\)Ibid., p. 434.
Interest on bonds.........................$80,000
Dividends from March 1878 to March 1882...$92,500
Reserves credited to real estate..........$35,000
Total net earnings from October 1873
to October 1882.........................$207,000

Expenditure for machinery and Improvements
in above period.......................$15,000

Dunn also stated that the total original cost of real
estate was $155,000 and that it stood on the books (1882) as
$120,000, but he recommended it be depreciated to $100,000.

Profits for the six months ending October 1882 were enough
for two dollars per share dividends, but the directors meant
to keep it for working capital as Z. C. M. I. had done. In
this way, the forty to fifty thousand dollars borrowed yearly
for the ten month running season might eventually be dispensed
with.

Stockholders were reminded of the annual meeting on
October 1 and urged to be present.1

Dunn resigned at the end of his ten years to be suc-
ceeded by Reed Smoot. He had done much to put the institution
on a firm footing in order that it might strengthen home manu-
factures and provide a livelihood for his people.

Smoot found the mills in better financial shape than
Dunn had and was able to make some improvements. It was now

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1Tullidge, op. cit., III, 76. Dunn sent out the cir-
cular due to non-attendance of stockholders at meetings.
probably the stock was more widely spread after the death of
Brigham Young.
apparent to the directors that steam power might be used to advantage by the factory, so in May of 1887 the mills offered two-thirds of their water right in the months of July and August in exchange for an engine which they estimated would cost four or five thousand dollars. The Provo Bench Canal Co. took the offer under advisement, but as far as is known, did not accept.¹ In September, the directors directed Superintendent Smoot to get estimates on an engine to keep the mills running during periods of water shortage. The following February, $7,500 worth of machinery was installed which included a new elevator and perhaps a steam engine, as a thirty horsepower engine commenced operation in July. The hope, then expressed, that in the near future the plant could be run exclusively on steam was soon realized. In June 1889 the old engine was sold to the Provo Lumber, Manufacturing and Building Co. and walls for a new engine house were being built.² A one hundred horsepower engine was in operation the following April.

This was a period of considerable prosperity for the mills, and for the first time operation at night was considered. To do this it would be necessary to light the plant, and it was decided to do so with electricity. These plans dovetailed very nicely with those of Provo City, which was at the time considering installation of electric street lights. A meeting of stockholders was called in July 1890 to amend the articles of

¹Territorial Enquirer, May 31, 1887.
²Utah Enquirer, (Provo, Utah), June 21, 1889.
incorporation so the company could go into the electric light business. Superintendent Smoot spoke eloquently in favor of the plan. He said that for nine months of the year the generator could be run on water power. The city would contract for seventeen arc lights, and thirteen more, as well as five hundred incandescent lights, could be sold in the city. March 1, 1890 had seen the mills out of debt for the first time in their history, but it would be necessary to borrow money for the ten or twelve thousand dollars the plant would cost. But in Smoot's estimation, the franchise alone was worth five thousand dollars. The question was put, and two-thirds of the stock voted to go into the electricity business.\(^1\)

The city awarded the company a franchise, and the machinery was installed. The cost of the machinery was part of $52,000 spent that year for machinery, which also included twelve looms and a new washer.\(^2\)

When the lights were turned on in August, 1890, they were much appreciated by the citizenry and the city council. However, Provo City had gotten itself into financial difficulties, and there was constant bickering with the company over reductions in rates whenever a light failed to burn. Finally, on April 12, 1892, the city council voted to discontinue the lights as a "retrenchment" measure.\(^3\) The mills reminded them of the contract they had signed agreeing to pay for seventeen

\(^1\)Daily Enquirer, (Provo, Utah), July 9, 1890.
\(^2\)Daily Enquirer, Oct. 29, 1890 and Jan. 29, 1891.
\(^3\)Ibid., April 12, 1892.
arc lights at fifteen dollars per month. However, the fathers refused to honor their contract and offered ten dollars per light. The mills would accept no less than $12.50. The city finally met their price on September 28, and the lights continued to burn.¹

The Enquirer blamed all this on the home-industry-hating Democratic City Council. They pointed out how the city gladly accepted their taxes, then refused to pay electric bills, made them grade the streets adjacent to the factory, build bridges over and wall in the race, and subjected them to many indignities.² The editor said that the mills should accept the offer received from a Wyoming town which would pay all costs of moving the factory and give a ten-year tax exemption if the company would elect to go to their town. The Enquirer said that the offer was being "considered."³

The times were so good for the Woolen Mills that in 1890 the Chamber of Commerce even considered building another factory here, after Mr. R. B. Smart had addressed them on the subject. A worsted mill would be best. The natural advantages of having both the wool and the market here in the territory would make it an excellent investment.⁴ However, there were gentlemen present whose creditors would not have allowed them

¹Ibid., Sept. 28, 1892.
²Daily Enquirer, Apr. 14, 1892. The grievances above are largely justified.
³Ibid.
⁴Ibid., Mar. 11, 1890.
to invest their money in any enterprise, and the mills themselves were not to continue long in their happy condition.

Sometime in November or December of 1892 the mills closed and did not open again until April 10, 1893. The Enquirer said that this was only because people were not patronizing home industry as they should. The mills usually closed for a month or two in the winter, but seldom for that long.

On July 15, 1893, the Enquirer announced that the Woolen Mills were returning to payment of their workers in scrip and produce. There was no sale for goods outside of the home market, because of the national depression, therefore, employees would have to accept this payment method or the mills would shut down. There was already a $125,000 stock of goods on hand. The employees voted unanimously to accept one third cloth scrip, one-third merchandise scrip, and one-third produce for wages. There was to be enough money paid to pay the hands' taxes, and arrangements were to be made for the coal necessary for their families.

In August the company submitted the low bid on material for five thousand uniforms for the California state militia. To do this they had to bid below cost. However, even this contract was not enough to sustain operations, so the employees were asked to accept pay of one-half cloth and one-half produce. After twenty minutes private deliberation, they accepted. An agent was sent into the southern parts of the

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1Ibid., April 10, 1893.  2Ibid., July 15, 1893.  3Ibid., Aug. 14.
territory to tell farmers that they could get seventy cents per bushel for their wheat in cloth at the factory.¹

On March 28, 1894, it was announced that, after operating for a year at a loss, the mills were to be closed indefinitely so that "no further expense be given the stockholders."² Woolen mills had been closing all over the country.

However, on April 4, it was reported that the management had "adjusted the scale of wages" and the employees had agreed to work for produce only. Wool would be secured for cloth and the only expenses would be for dye, oils, and coal. It was conceded that this was "rather on a paupers plan... but it is far better than doing nothing and living at free soup houses."³

Conditions were a little better in late 1895, but the mills sought a wider basis for their business. J. C. Cutler said in November that business was increasing rapidly and additional machinery would be necessary to keep up with sales, especially of blankets. Next year the mills were to start the manufacture of underwear and were looking for the machinery now. Reed Smoot went east to establish in Chicago and St. Louis agencies for the company similar to one already in California in January, 1896. Profits were enough to pay a dividend in cloth scrip. Employees were still paid in scrip and produce.

¹ Later on farmers were even given a premium on their grain. In 1897 when wheat was from sixty-five to seventy cents on the market, the Mills gave seventy-five. They gave one dollar for oats which ordinarily sold for seventy-five to eighty cents. *Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1897.
A bill, introduced into Utah's first state legislature, making employees payable in cash only, which was intended to coerce the mills, was killed. The Enquirer thought this wise, because otherwise the mills could not operate.¹

This basis for operations was not one with which the employees would be permanently satisfied. In February, 1897, they presented a petition to the management stating that the present payment of one-fourth cash and the remainder in scrip, on which there was a fifty percent discount, was "insufficient for us to obtain the necessaries of life." They asked for two-thirds cash and one-third scrip, but in a meeting agreed privately to accept one-half cash and the remainder in cloth and scrip if it was offered. The board of directors that day had already decided to raise to one-third cash, but refused to give more. Employee representatives were shown the books of the company, but the employees voted to strike.

The next morning Superintendent Smoot got the keys to the plant to allow the strikers to meet in the weaving room. Company representatives spoke to them. Director Tanner told them that in the last four years the employees had received $194,843.42, while stockholders had received only $20,318.90 in cloth. Reed Smoot told them that work was now being done at a loss just to keep them working. The goods on hand were enough to supply the Utah trade for a year. The company could do no more.

The thirty to forty married men who were employed by

¹Ibid., Mar. 21, 1896.
the plant were opposed to the strike, but the single men and girls were in the large majority and once more voted to strike for one-half cash. Some townspeople were sympathetic with the strikers, R. S. Hines offering them one hundred dollars to hold out.¹

In only four days the employees capitulated and agreed to go to work on Superintendent Smoot's original terms of one third cash.²

Control of the mills resided largely in Salt Lake City, but Provo men usually sat on the board of directors. In 1888 it was decided that Salt Lake should have four members of the board, and, if Provo desired more, the board should be increased from seven to nine or eleven. After this agreement, A. O. Smoot, Myron Tanner, Heber J. Grant, W. B. Preston, W. H. Rowe, C. S. Burton, and John C. Cutler, of whom only the first two were from Provo, were elected directors. At this meeting there were only 870 and 3/4 shares represented out of five thousand.³ This poor representation was a very common phenomenon at stockholders meetings and probably indicates that the stock was widely spread. The stock was considerably depreciated, probably due to the comparatively poor dividends. In May of 1888, W. W. Jackson of American Fork offered for sale fifteen and one-half shares for fifty cents on the dollar of paid-up stock.⁴

In 1889 the name of the company was changed to The

Provo Woolen Mills Company.

The mills continued to struggle along into the twentieth century, always with high hopes and some realizations. In 1902 the company was producing more than it ever had. It used 850,000 pounds of wool, which it made into a finished product worth $225,000. Employees numbered two hundred and were paid $50,000. Evidently, Reed Smoot had been successful in establishing a market in the east, for $150,000 of the output was sold there. If the figure of 850,000 pounds of wool is correct, it indicates a shift to production of three times as much goods as in the seventies and eighties sold at much lower prices. The production for the eastern market is spoken of as being "fancy cashmeres and tricots."¹

However, this is probably only an appearance of prosperity, because the mills continued to be financially involved. In June, 1910, the Knight Investment Co. purchased the mills, and stockholders received only five cents per share after outstanding obligations had been met. The Latter-Day Saint church put some capital into the company to keep it operating. A period of prosperity was experienced during the first world war, but the plant was destroyed by fire in July, 1918. Government money was not forthcoming to rebuild, so the company had to finance new buildings itself. The mills finally closed permanently in 1932.²

¹Blair and Sloan, The Mountain Empire of Utah, (Salt Lake City, 1903), pp. 55-57.
²Post 1900 details are not given because they are beyond the scope of this paper. Cf. Huff, op. cit., pp. 135-6, and Jensen, op. cit., pp. 275-6.
The following table contains such figures on dividends, wages paid, value of product, and other relevant items that the writer has been able to glean. Few definite trends are discernible because of the fragmentary nature of the figures. However, it can be readily seen that the dividend rate tends definitely downward. The amount of capital put into plant improvement is small. Wages paid were largely determined by the market and other economic conditions as was also the value of the product.

The Provo Woolen Mills cannot be considered a great financial success, but for many years they were an invaluable supplement to the agrarian economy of the city and the territory. They employed largely young men and women who were in that transition period between youth and marriage and finally settling down.\(^1\) They undoubtedly supplied the small capital for many a small farm or business. Unfortunately, they were most often closed during the winter when farmers had the least to do.

Part of the mill's difficulty, in addition to those inherent in that crowded and competitive industry, were due to poor workmanship and an inferior product. As late as 1890, the factory was getting new machinery to wash out the "greasy touch and smell" that was so often complained of in factory cloth. The complaints made on the wool for the uniforms of the California Militia were many. The weave and texture were said to

\(^1\)Huff, op. cit., II, 135. A picture of 52 employees taken in 1886 shows 21 girls and only 10 men with that badge of maturity, the beard. Cf. Daily Enquirer, Feb. 10, 1897.
TABLE 1*

STATEMENT OF VALUE OF WAGES, DIVIDENDS, PRODUCTS, ETC., OF THE PROVO WOOLEN MILLS FROM 1874 TO 1902

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period for Which Figures Given</th>
<th>Assets</th>
<th>Liabilities</th>
<th>Wages Paid</th>
<th>Amount of Materials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From 1874 to April, 1877</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 mos. preceding Oct., '79</td>
<td>$352,393</td>
<td>$347,407</td>
<td>$30,768</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 mos. ending Sept. 15, '81</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>36,583</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 1884</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. '78 to Mar. '82</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 mos. ending Mar. 30, '86</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886 season</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>$117,000^6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887 season</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>600,000 lbs^3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888 season</td>
<td>390,178</td>
<td>296,108</td>
<td>36,476</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. '74 to Sept. '88</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year ending</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>27,632</td>
<td>$51,689^c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October, 1890</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>381,832 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 years before 1897</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>48,561</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>850,000 lbs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. All figures are given to the nearest dollar. Many of those in round numbers are estimates only. All statements on wages, materials, value of product and dividends have been changed to yearly averages. Some distortion may have been introduced thusly, but the figures can be more easily compared.

55
TABLE 1--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value of Product</th>
<th>Dividends</th>
<th>Money For Improvement</th>
<th>Goods On Hand</th>
<th>Material On Hand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>$276,894b</td>
<td>$276,894b</td>
<td>$276,894b</td>
<td>$276,894b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$121,556</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>$6000 loss due to fire</td>
<td>$37,353</td>
<td>$44,301c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$183,540</td>
<td>38,540 (4%)</td>
<td>$37,353</td>
<td>37,343</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$180,000</td>
<td>23,125</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$205,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>$5000g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$130,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$200,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>10,000e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$190,000</td>
<td>14,267</td>
<td>7,500 fpr machinery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9,424 e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$180,000</td>
<td>18,407</td>
<td>14,424 e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$137,022</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>52,000 for light plant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5,079f</td>
<td>125,000g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$225,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. This is original cost, or capital stock paid up.
c. Wool only.
d. Interest paid on bonds before retired.
e. Money put into reserve fund.
f. Dividend paid in cloth.
g. In July, 1893.
* See citation on p. 59.
be poor and coarse. The color (indigo blue) was not fast in
the least. The mills showed that they had met all specifica-
tions, but the complaints appear to be justified.¹ In 1896 a
dyer was fired because his work was not good enough. This was
part of a five year effort to improve dying and thus improve
sales.² People were urged to patronize the local factory, not
because its products were better or cheaper, but in the holy
cause of home industry. However, as a new generation grew up
and the bitter struggle of the pioneer founders was not known
at first hand by so large a part of the population, people
tended to think of the imported product as being the highest
in style. The Utah Industrialist lamented in 1888 that it was
no longer an honor to appear in "Home Made" material as it
once was.³

Closely related to the above and all the other diffi-
culties of the mills was a chronic shortage of capital. New
machinery was necessary to improve the product, but the money
for the machinery must come out of current earnings. However,
these earnings were seldom very great. In fact, it is a source
of amazement to the writer that the mills were able to operate
so well as they did on a barter basis. As already pointed out,
payment for wool and labor was in cloth, produce, or scrip for
the greater part of the time prior to the turn of the century.
Some things, notably dyes and machinery, had to be paid for in
cash, and employees usually got part of their wages in cash.

¹Daily Enquirer, Apr. 10, 1894. ²Ibid., Mar. 21, 1896.
Enquirer, Apr. 10, 1893.
However, employees never were paid wholly in cash for any long period of years. This was all because the profits of the industry were not very great. While those who sold the products of the mills were able to declare dividends of twenty percent, (for example, the Co-op Stores), no such happy fortune befell the factory's stockholders. Dividends for the period cited in Dunn's report (page 45) would amount to about 2.5% on all capital or to about 4.46% on the 56% paid up capital.\(^1\) Jensen estimated dividends at from two to four percent.\(^2\) In any case, they were not high for the expanding new west where interest rates were "down" to 18% in 1873 when the mills commenced operations.\(^3\)

So far as is known to the writer, the mills never did consider floating a large loan to put themselves into better shape. Neither did they assess the stock or press to have the stock fully paid up, with the exception of a ten percent assessment in October of 1872 to finish the factory and supply wool, and another of 6% in 1874 that netted $15,000 for needed improvements. Indeed, a loan would have been contrary to the whole philosophy of the co-op principle which made the mills. An assessment in cash would have been very difficult to enforce while one in labor would have been very difficult to use. The

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\(^1\)Utah County Enquirer, April 21, 1877 states that $30,000 has been paid to stockholders to date. This amount, which is probably the interest on the bonds, is unaccounted for in Dunn's report and would raise the dividend rate.

\(^2\)Jensen, op. cit., p. 275.

mills were caught in an economy that could not allow much capital to manufacturing enterprises when the profits of commerce were so much greater.\(^1\) While many had much faith in manufacturing, few would put their money into it to try to compete with the more established industries of the East. There was more money to be had in other pursuits, notably commerce, building, and mining. So it was the fate of the Provo Woolen Mills to struggle along, upheld more by the faith of a people than by the laws of economic necessity.

\(^1\)See similar difficulties of Utah Valley Iron Mining and Mfg. Co., Chap. IV.

Citations for Table I: Tullidge, \textit{op. cit.} p. 434. Territorial Enquirer, October 4, 1887; August 2, 1879; October 1, 1881. Daily Enquirer, October 29, 1890; February 10, 1897. Utah Enquirer, January 6, 1888; January 1, 1889; October 2, 1888. Blair and Sloan, \textit{Mountain Empire of Utah}, Salt Lake City, 1905, p. 55-57.
CHAPTER IV

INDUSTRIAL PROVO TO 1900

As has been pointed out in the chapter on the Provo Woolen Mills, until the railroad came to Utah, nearly all industry in Provo was on a handicraft basis. Machinery was expensive and difficult to transport. Nearly all the machinery in town was contained in a few sawmills, lumber working plants, flour mills, and cloth dressing plants. Probably the biggest single plant in Provo was Shadrach Holdaway's carding mill, which was in business for twenty-five years in Provo. After some years of idleness, it was purchased in 1885 by Rufus Lewis of Goshen, who attempted to get looms and operate it in that city.

However, the coming of easy transportation to Provo did not bring an immediate boom in machinery and manufacturing. The woolen mills project absorbed a large part of the accumulated agricultural and labor surplus that might have been used for other enterprises. It must be remembered that the mills were among the biggest manufactories in the territory for many years and the largest in or near the Garden City until the nineteen twenties.

But the railroad did make easier the growth of existing plants and stimulate new ones, and, beginning in the seventies, industry began a slow and steady growth to supplement the
agrarian economy of Provo, making available to the ordinary citizen comforts, conveniences, and even luxuries unknown to the earlier settlers.

One of the first major concerns of the pioneers was building shelter, and the building industry remained an important one in an expanding and growing city such as Provo. The earliest houses were made of logs, but after 1851 adobe was the most popular material. It was reasonably durable in the dry climate and was a good insulator. More important, any man with a few simple tools could speedily make his own bricks and erect a simple house. In 1853 the city set aside as the adobe yard what is now Sowiette Park, and citizens were expected to get the necessary mud and make their bricks there. This continued to be an important mode of building for many years, but by the turn of the century it was spoken of as the "old" adobe yard, and the city fathers thought about making a park out of the hole that had been created.

As the citizens of Provo became more prosperous, it was natural that they should look for more durable and more beautiful building materials. Philander Colton, a mason, burned the first brick in Provo in 1866. In 1874, William Allen was making bricks under the auspices of the United Order. He purchased one acre of ground for the ten men with him to work on and had two mills to grind and mix his clay. Within one month he had for sale 110,000 bricks at ten dollars per thousand.

1 Jensen, op. cit., p. 277.
By 1889 the city was experiencing a building boom, and the Chamber of Commerce thought it necessary to investigate the capacity of Provo's brick plants. They found that Cook, Liddiard and Co. could make 100,000 bricks per week; T. E. Fleming could make 50,000; J. Beesley and Co., 60,000; O. J. Nelson, 40,000; and Halma Smith, 40,000; for a total of 220,000 bricks per week. This they judged inadequate and recommended that invitation should be extended to more brick makers to come to Provo.¹ Perhaps to forestall any more competition, Samuel Liddiard announced the next day that his company alone could make 250,000 each week. Mr. Liddiard had brought to Provo its first brick pressing machine as a part of his contracting business. The steam engine was considered quite a threat to passing horses but was allowed to operate. The machine had a considerably larger capacity than the hand brick makers of the city, but there is no evidence of its turning out bricks in the prodigious quantities anticipated by the Chamber of Commerce. Until June 18 in the 1889 season, 475,000 bricks had been turned out, of which only 175,000 had been burned. In 1897, a new company was organized which purchased Cook, Liddiard and Company's brick plant. It became the brickyard in northern Provo today. The new company employed sixteen men who pressed 24,000 adobes in a day. New machinery was added, including a new sixty horsepower engine, to make a very hard and heavy brick. The company hoped to furnish the bricks for the new

¹Daily Enquirer, Mar. 25, 1890. This estimate is typical of the extreme optimism of the times. 220,000 bricks will make quite a large building.
Brigham Young Academy Building. Bricks were for sale for five dollars per thousand.1

Lumber was of considerable importance to the building industry. At first, lumber was obtained from the nearby hills, but this supply was soon exhausted and it was necessary to go to other places, notably up into the head waters of Provo River and adjacent areas. This area supplied most of Utah County's wood until well after the turn of the century. The sawmills generally tended to follow the source of lumber up into the canyons.

Abraham O. Smoot said in bishops' meeting in 1868 that he thought the brethren should move to bring a steam sawmill to Provo. John Leetham brought Provo and Utah County's first steam sawmill to town in 1867,2 but evidently it did not stay long. By 1874 the sawmills had moved on up Provo Canyon where they were nearer the lumber. In April of that year Mills and Conrad were erecting a shingle mill in Provo Canyon, S. Holdaway had a sawmill in South Fork, while W. Staadoling and Co. had one in North Fork. James Smith had a mill that was still in the northern part of the city. Thereafter, the mills tended to move on up the canyon until in the nineties there were numerous mills which were mostly above Heber and Kamas. Many of Provo's entrepreneurs went into the lumber business, just cutting from the public domain wherever they found good wood. In 1889, the United States government brought suit against the

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2Tulidge, *op. cit.*, III (July, 1884), 272.
Utah Central, S. S. Jones, Dunn and Co., the East Co-op and others who lost and sustained serious losses when forced to pay for their timber.¹

The use of the timber was very wasteful and careless, only the best and most easily obtained being taken. But where it was found under ideal conditions, the area was stripped with no thought for the future. In August 1889, great fires raged in the upper Provo River Basin for over two weeks. No attempt was made to put out or control the fires, except where they threatened sawmills or already cut timber.² The necessity of conservation was not yet apparent to these people in the midst of supposed plenty.

After lumber was cut and delivered to Provo, it was desirable to have someone to retail lumber and cut it into desirable shapes. David Cluff had Provo's first major wood-working shop, but it could not be called a lumber company. To fill this need, A. O. Smoot and William H. R. Paxman started a lumber yard in 1870. In 1876, David John bought into the company, and it was known as Smoot, John and Co. In April, 1879, it was incorporated as the Provo Lumber, Manufacturing and Building Co. with a capital stock of $40,000, only 25% paid up. A. O. Smoot was still president, and W. H. R. Paxman remained superintendent. This pioneer lumber and contracting firm led and dominated the building business in Provo until the turn of the century. It erected many of Provo's most important build-

¹Utah Enquirer, June 28, 1889.
²Ibid., August 6, 1889.
ings; still standing are the Asylum, the Tabernacle, the First National Bank (now Hedquist Drug), many other structures on Provo's older business blocks, and numerous residences.

The company had all necessary wood working machinery, which was operated by water power from the Factory race. In 1887, when they employed thirty men, they opened their fence factory to make "famous Combination fence" from wire and pickets. Provo was just moving into its great building boom, and by May, 1890 the company employed forty or fifty men, and by December of that year there were sixty men in the "outside" or building crew and sixty more in the "inside" or shop crew. In April, 1890, the company had seventeen separate contracts. The company also dealt in coal and for several years was exclusive agent for Pleasant Valley coal.

The business was, of course, a profitable one. Besides regular five and ten percent dividends, the company was able to pay up at least forty percent of its capital stock. However, when depression held Provo in its grip after the building boom had caused competitors to mushroom, the wolf appeared at the door. Reed Smoot became manager in 1892 and announced that the company would sell goods at cost with no profit in 1892 and 1893 in order to get the lumber business run on "business principals" once more in Provo.\(^1\) Creditors pressed and bills were difficult to collect, so, on March 23, 1894, it was deemed best to make an assignment for the "interest of creditors." It was claimed that $4,000 due from the Territory but unappropriated by the

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\(^1\) *Daily Enquirer*, Mar. 31, 1892.
legislature alone would have avoided failure. Bills receivable and book accounts of $25,500 almost covered liabilities of $26,963.39, the major part of which was a mortgage held by A. O. Smoot. Total assets were valued at $61,500. Josiah Cluff was assignee.¹

The company was reorganized shortly thereafter, A. O. Smoot probably foreclosing his mortgage. It was known as the A. O. Smoot Co., or more popularly as the Smoot Lumber Co. It continues in business today as the Tri-state Lumber Co., on the original location.

Most other lumber and contracting firms in Provo were children of the boom of 1885-1891. Among these were the Provo City Lumber Company which was able to report a profit in October of 1890 of fifty percent of invested capital (65% paid up on $15,000) after only a short period of existence. It failed shortly later in 1892. In March, 1890, the George W. Mickel Lumber Co. was organized, with a paid up capital of $20,000. George W. Mickel had been among Provo's foremost contractors for some time when he went into the lumber business about 1890. He got considerable new machinery, including a forty horsepower engine. When depression threatened his business, he sought new employment and went into the fruit cup and crate business in an effort to supply an article that had been imported before. After his machine had cut out the wood for the fruit cups, they were farmed out to children who nailed them together for thirty cents per thousand. The Enquirer reported

¹Daily Enquirer, Mar. 23, 1894.
that some could do a thousand in a day.\textsuperscript{1} The company also made beehive sections and broom handles.

Provo had many building contractors, especially during the boom period. Any carpenter or mason could become a contractor with a few tools, and so there were many who just went back to farming when the boom subsided. The \textit{Enquirer}, giving its prospectus for building in 1890, lists the Provo Lumber, Manufacturing, and Building Co. as the largest, with seventeen contracts which include most of the larger projects for that year. George W. Mickel and Fletcher and Alexander each had eleven contracts. Towle and Duce had four, and Frank Alexander had three. Seven other residences were planned in the city to be built privately.\textsuperscript{2} Cook, Liddiard and Co. were in the contracting business in Provo through the last two decades of the century.

An industry of importance to the builder that has been carried on in Provo almost since its founding is lime making. Isaac Reese successfully burned lime near the mouth of Slate Canyon in 1866. Before this, most lime rock had come from the west side of the lake. Lime was used in tanning and soap as well as in plaster and mortar.

Another of the pioneers' first considerations was clothing. The manufacture of clothing began to shift away from a handicraft basis during the period 1858 to 1872, espe-

\textsuperscript{1}\textit{Daily Enquirer}, June 6, 1895.
\textsuperscript{2}\textit{Daily Enquirer}, April 17, 1891. For names of builders not included here, see Appendix.
cially in the manufacture of cloth. Wool cards were little used in the home any more. The hum of the spinning wheel was heard less. No major additions were made to Provo's cloth manufacturing facilities in Shadrach Holdaway's shop, but cloth became more easily obtainable due to better facilities elsewhere in the territory, and the importation of large stocks of goods from the East. After the wool, cotton, flax or silk had been made into thread, it was still woven on the hand loom, because the power loom had not yet found its way to Provo. Spinning, though declining, was still of major importance. At a spinning match held in Provo in August, 1864, Mrs. Rua A. Holden won by spinning 101 knots and 25 threads between the hours of 6:00 a.m. and sunset. The yarn was pronounced No. 1 by the judges. This is indicative of the fact that cloth making remained a long and arduous process, even though the burden had been relieved somewhat.

It was during this period that Brigham Young was moved to fulminate against those women who had departed from pioneer simplicity in their dress. Clothing was more plentiful and women were able to indulge in more frills. At the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society Fairs, a wide variety of cloth and ready-made clothing was exhibited; competition was lively, although certain women or households that devoted full time to cloth or clothes making dominated. Reporters seldom failed to comment on the beauty of the "Ladies Ornamental Work," i.e., crocheting, knitting, tatting, embroidered

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1Deseret News, XIII, 385, (1864).
pillows, quilts, etc., exhibited.

With the completion of the Provo Woolen Mills, the hand loom, cards, and spinning wheel rapidly became relics. The sewing machine became more common in the home, appearing in Provo at least as early as 1871, and the ladies of the family made clothes for the family from cloth obtained from the Factory or imported. Provo had professional tailors at least as early as 1864. Beginning in 1879, the Co-op Clothing Department under Albert Singleton began the manufacture of suits and clothing on a more extensive basis. By the late eighties, women were more style conscious than ever, and several nimble fingered young ladies went into the dressmaking business. In the late nineties, S. S. Jones', once a general store, went into the millinery and ladies' furnishings business, and employed several female seamstresses under the direction of Madame Coleman, who "was complimented very highly by the French and English Modistes on her ability and artistic style."¹

Tanning was a process that was soon discontinued when leather from the East became more readily available, mostly because the necessary bark from hardwood trees was difficult to obtain here. This fundamental was often forgotten and occasionally a short lived tannery was started, guided by the even more fundamental fact that leather was very expensive and hides were cheap.

One who started a tannery was N. C. Rasmussen, who put some tanning vats in place in Provo in October of 1887.

¹Daily Enquirer, Aug. 28, 1895.
He had served an apprenticeship in his native Denmark. He used local bark as far as possible but found it necessary to import some hemlock bark from California, planning to make up the cost of importation in cheap local hides. Aside from the first thirty-four hides he had in process, no more was heard of his tannery by the writer¹ and in 1889 he was operating a saddlery in Provo.

Among the immigrants to Provo were some shoemakers who continued to ply their trade. In 1874 James Dunn, of the West Co-op, sent east for leather to have made up here. There were numerous boot and shoe makers in the area without the means to lay up a stock of leather.

George Choules bought the machinery of the American Fork Shoe Factory in 1887 to establish a boot and shoe factory in Provo. He imported his leather from California. Alex Hedquist moved to Provo in 1886 and built a shoe shop which expanded into one of the city's foremost stores later on. In November of 1887 (one month after establishment of Rasmussen's tannery) he said that he imported his leather as local tanneries did not make leather sufficient in quality or quantity.²

Home made shoes tended to become fewer and fewer as the century drew near its close. By 1900 nearly all shoes, as also most hats and caps, stockings, and other minor articles of clothing were bought ready-made from the store. Most of them had been imported from the east. The shoemaker's shop

¹Utah Industrialist, (October, 1887), pp. 130-1.
²Ibid. (November, 1887), 166.
became a shoe store, and a ready-made suit could often be had at the tailors. Such handicraft industries were becoming economic anomalies.

A worker with leather who did not become obsolete before the day of the automobile was the saddler and harnessmaker. Fred Bee's harness shop was among Provo's most important for many years. Stephen Bee carried his brother's business on well into the twentieth century. J. C. Withers had a saddlery in Provo during the latter part of the century.

Another pioneer industry that continued to expand was that of making earthenware. "Potter" Roberts continued to ply his trade in Provo during the sixties, supplying the people of Provo and the surrounding territory with earthenware. Business was so good that he hired at least one helper who made the news when he was murdered by the father of a girl whom he had allegedly misused.¹ One of Mr. Roberts' advertisements read:

Zions Co-op Pottery, Provo City.
We will keep on hand constantly a complete assortment of choice Pottery ware, which they offer for sale much cheaper than ever before offered in this territory. Liberal discount to Peddlers and other dealers. N.B. A first class moulder wanted.

Wm. D. Roberts, Manager.²

A. H. Bowen ran the "old established City Pottery" in the seventies. He had in his employ E. C. and August Henrichsen in 1871. After working in Sanpete for a time, these two Danish immigrants returned to Provo to establish their own business in 1874. E. C. Henrichsen took over the business, and under his hand it prospered for many years in Provo. By 1882 he was mov-

¹Deseret News, XIX, 579 (1871). ²Ibid., p. 519.
ing into a comparatively large building and employed six to eight men and three teams. His clay was obtained from a bed one-fourth mile east of the river bridge, near the present brickyard. The clay was ground, moulded by hand on a wheel, dried, and burned for thirty hours, using mostly wood to fire the kiln. His kiln would hold 12,000 gallons of ware and was burnt two or three times a month year round. By 1887 another building had been added to his plant. New products were added to the line which included fruit, butter, and cream jars; pans; dishes; terra cotta; toys; and dry tile. Mr. Henrichsen sold his wares all over the territory, doing mostly a wholesale business. The business continued at least until 1924.¹

One of the necessities of the pioneer village was the blacksmith. As Provo became a little bigger it always had several blacksmiths to shoe horses, repair wagons and farm machinery, put tires on wheels, and make nails, tools, and horseshoes. A. Sward and Co. were long among Provo's leading blacksmiths. They advertised that they could do all kinds of metal work, repair furniture and musical instruments, and do the work of a wheelwright, millwright, and turner.²

As Provo became larger and there were demands for castings, machine tool work, and other things which taxed the facilities of the blacksmith, a foundry became a necessity. Some capital was mandatory for the start of such a business,

¹Utah Industrialist, I (May, 1887), 8-9; II (Mar., 1889), 236-7.
²Utah County Enquirer, Nov. 3, 1877.
and it was not until 1885 that city leaders got together to organize the Provo Foundry and Machine Co. Capital was $30,000, of which only twenty-five percent was paid up. The company bought Cluff's Hall, the old home of David Cluff's furniture manufactory. They obtained some machinery for brass and iron casting, and announced that they could fill most orders given them. They made such things as the columns for the Utah Stake Tabernacle, cane mills, and shingle mills. This was an era of baroque taste in architecture, and everyone who could afford it had cast iron fretwork or cresting on his house or store. The company made a great deal of this and similar type cast iron fencing for homes and graveyard lots. From 1887 till 1891 the company entered in with the Utah Valley Iron Mining and Manufacturing Co. to make fireproof iron paint, the U. V. I. M. and M. Co. not having facilities itself. The mining company brought carloads of iron ore from Tintic to Provo where the foundry put it through the processes of grinding, floating, washing, and settling. The material was then dried, reground, and barreled for market. There were facilities for making three or four hundred tons of this material per year, but it did not live up to expectations, and the activity ended with the demise of the U. V. I. M. and M. Co.

The foundry expanded its plant and facilities until in 1888 it could claim that it was seldom having to turn away an

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1Utah Industrialist, I (Jan., 1887), 31; Territorial Enquirer, Oct. 14, Nov. 4, 1887; Utah Enquirer, Jan. 6, Aug. 24, 1888.
order" in iron or brass. Five percent more of the capital stock was paid up, six men were employed, and business for 1887 amounted to $6,000. In 1888 the company installed the largest punching machine in the territory which weighed 1,200 pounds. They were by then making stoves, flatirons, skillets, grates, lids, and ornaments. Over 20 men were employed in 1890.

However, all through the first few years, financial difficulties plagued the company. In 1889 Thomas Peirpont and Sons leased the plant, refitted it and made improvements. However, the company failed in 1893. In 1895, Mr. Peirpont and Harry Heaton started again on a limited scale. In 1896 they purchased the plant. They also leased the Sun Foundry. In 1903, Peirpont purchased Heaton's interest, and the business prospered under him, remaining one of the major landmarks and enterprises of the city to this day.

Late in the eighties, Devey and Sundberg started the Sun Foundry. They had little capital or equipment, but were quite successful for a time. They made small, two horsepower steam engines, sash weights, lawn rollers, plumbing, creston, fencing, jail cells, and a steam powered asphalt roller. Adequate buildings were planned. By 1890, twenty-seven men were employed, and it was thought expedient to incorporate at $100,000 capital. But times were good, so the incorporation was made for $200,000, of which $9,500 was paid up. Devey and Sundberg each had 250 shares at ten dollars a piece, and Provo capitalists subscribed small amounts. A shoestring stretched

1*Utah Enquirer*, Jan. 6, 1888.
so far could not stand much strain, and depression put the company speedily in receivership in April, 1893. Suit was brought against holders or subscribers of 2,010 shares which had not been paid at all and 1,273 shares which had been paid fifty percent. The only ones holding paid up stock were a few employees who were in turn forced to bring suit for wages. The property was sold at a marshal's sale at the suit of A. D. Holdaway. It eventually came into the possession of Wm. J. Silver who operated it as the Silver Iron Works until 1895 when Henry Stagg, "practical machinist and consulting engineer," took over and called it the West End Foundry and Machine Shop. In 1898 Peirpont and Heaton leased the plant and purchased it in 1901, finally giving it the machinery and buildings it so sorely needed.

One of the interesting attempts of early Utahns to emancipate the territory from the bondage of dependence on the outside for pig iron was that made by the Utah Valley Iron Mining and Manufacturing Co. The prime mover of this attempt to make a pig iron plant in Provo or Utah Valley was Mr. Alonzo A. Noon, a disfellowshipped Mormon, who had been a resident of Provo for many years and always a hearty supporter of any worthy industrial project. He helped organize the company along with other Provo civic and commercial leaders in 1887. They believed that the people of Utah used "40,000,000 sic7" pounds of iron per year at a cost of not under five million dollars. Part of the tremendous amount of capital exported every year, for this could be had right in Utah Valley if the iron mines
in the Tintic area, not fifteen miles from the railroad were used. "Thousands of tons" had been shipped from these mines since 1875. They were "well developed and show inexhaustible dykes of iron."\(^1\)

Noon and George Brown toured the cities of the county trying to make converts to their cause. Solicitors were appointed throughout the county to sell stock. It was made clear that the capital was to be used to make furnaces for the manufacture of cheaper iron for local people. Mr. Noon and other influential men made many speeches urging that the capital be made available so that a furnace could soon be built to use the large quantities of available ore. The Chamber of Commerce took up the cause, and the Enquirer spoke often and loudly in its favor. The Territorial Legislature provided an added incentive in the form of a two dollar per ton bounty on pig iron made in the territory from local raw materials. The bounty provided on cast iron pipe and like items was five dollars per ton. To qualify, the pig iron plant had to have a $100,000 plant with a twenty ton daily capacity. The pipe plant had to have a $35,000 plant with a ten ton capacity. The law was passed in March 1890 and expired two years later without having been the cause for any bounties being paid.\(^2\) Everyone gave lip service, but few gave of that very necessary commodity, money. There had never been a time when there was so much liquid capital in Provo for real estate speculation, building,

\(^1\)Territorial Enquirer, Feb. 4, 1887.

\(^2\)Daily Enquirer, March 15, 1890, (full text).
and new companies. It may be that the location of the mines
at the place proposed was economically unsound, but the writer
has found no one voicing that opinion at the time. Certainly
time has proven the feasibility of iron works in Provo. In
any event, the necessary capital was not forthcoming from the
people. In 1890, Superintendent Noon, now with an asphaltum
company, sadly refused eager orders for pig iron. As late as
1891 Mr. Noon was still trying to raise $35,000 for an iron
works, and the stockholders met and elected but it was now too
late. The sources of capital were beginning to dry up like
the spring freshets of the desert in hot summer and there was
a long drouth ahead.

When it was obvious that the money could not be raised
on the co-op principle, i.e., by a joint stock company among
local people, the tradition of the founding fathers of the
territory was abandoned. Shortly after a mass meeting of the
people in 1888 on the subject of iron, the Enquirer said that:

Secretary Ben Bachman, by authority of the Chamber of
Commerce, has written to the Lewis Foundry and Machine Co.
of Pennsylvania, notifying them of the offer of $100,000 in
iron stock of the Utah Valley Iron Mining and Manufactur-
ing Co., $10,000 to $20,000 in cash by the citizens, and a
suitable location of five acres of land for the erection of
their rolling mills, if they feel like accepting. This
means a bonus of about $30,000 which we think the company
will accept. The opening is worth the balance of the
money they asked for in the first place.¹

The company threw the problem of capital that they were
supposed to solve right back, saying that they wanted ten to
twenty acres of land and $125,000, "on receipt of which they

¹Utah Enquirer, June 15, 1888.
will establish extensive works in this city."¹

Later on in the same vein, Reed Smoot announced that Ohio parties had offered to come to Provo and erect iron works if Provo would take $100,000 in stock and furnish buildings or furnish ore for ten years at $5.72 per ton or give a $100,000 bonus.² These conditions were just as impossible as raising the capital for a home company had been, so Provo and Utah had to wait for a pig iron works until 1923, when outside capital was willing to do more.

Had the Utah Valley Iron Mining and Manufacturing Co. had the powerful backing of a Brigham Young, it would probably have become a reality, but the church at that time was powerless and the co-op spirit was dying. The Company was definitely different from the Utah Sugar Company successfully formed at the same time which accepted money from capitalists all over the state. Mr. Noon tried to make it an enterprise of the people of Utah Valley. In any event, the difficulties of the company illustrate the passing of an era in the history of Utah when the people were economically one, and the coming of a new one when an apostate could raise his voice to the people and gain support.

Provo's pioneers generally obeyed Brigham Young's injunction against mining and prospecting, but before his death some local citizens had taken to the hills with pick and shovel and returned eyes aglow over a rich strike. In 1874 gold and silver ores were found in the mountains immediately to the

¹Ibid., Sept. 18. ²Daily Enquirer, Feb. 11, 1892.
east that assayed from sixty to two hundred dollars a ton. Some ore was moved, but it was not rich enough to attract the capital necessary for its development. A mining district was organized, and it was reported that many were mining in the winter when farm work was done. However, nothing came of these strikes; the fever subsided and Provo was relieved of the threat of becoming a roaring camp.\(^1\)

In 1887, the Enquirer reported that a Mr. Carter and Ed Peck were going to develop a mine only six miles from Provo. What touched off the gold fever once more was the discovery of gold in the slate quarry of F. W. C. Hathenbruck and Dr. W. R. Pike in June 1889. Slate canyon was "plastered pretty thoroughly with claims" according to the Enquirer.\(^2\) The next spring someone found some gold bearing quartz. Rumors flew about and there were many prospectors in the hills. A mining district was organized once again with A. A. Noon as recorder. It consisted roughly of the area between Hobble Creek and its north fork, Provo River and the south fork, and the foothills of the Wasatch. At least twenty claims were staked and many rich finds reported.\(^3\)

Among the claims that were worked was the Ontario Mine, owned by Henry Schäfer, Ben Bachman, J. R. Boshard, and Richard Breton. F. W. C. Hathenbruck worked a gold and silver mine in the mouth of Slate Canyon. Today, many deserted, empty holes

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\(^2\)Utah Enquirer, June 4, 1889.  
\(^3\)Daily Enquirer, May 16, June 12, 1890.
yawn at the casual hiker in the Wasatch east of Provo, giving mute testimony of days of high hope but little realization.

A coal deposit was discovered in Provo Canyon in 1869 that yielded a little coal for blacksmiths. Joshua Meacham found a vein there in 1878, which he and G. M. Kidder decided to develop in 1890. Joseph A. Harris discovered a small vein of anthracite in Slate Canyon in 1890. In 1897, Jas. Fisher, Jno. J. Loy, and Frank Muller found a five foot vein of coal in the same canyon. They got S. S. Jones to take an interest with them, but so far as the writer knows, their enterprise came to naught like the others.

During the nineties, especially after 1895, many Provo people formed companies to exploit or develop mining properties in Tintic or the Camp Floyd (Mercur) mining districts. The Utah Mining Co. was organized in 1890 with headquarters in Provo with $100,000 capital to develop claims in the Tintic district. John Leetham was the major stockholder with James Dunn, S. S. Jones, John C. Graham, and E. L. Jones, prominent Provo capitalists having minor interests. L. Holbrook, former Provo mayor, and Reed Smoot were president and vice president, respectively, of the Grand Central Mining Co., organized in Provo in 1895 with $250,000 capital to develop Tintic claims. The capital was subscribed to the extent of $100,000.

S. P. Moore and B. F. Fliener of Provo organized the Peru Gold and Silver Mining Co. in 1896 to work the Peru lode in Tintic. They and their families held most of the stock, but they decided to sell one-sixth of it for working capital.
Joseph E. Daniels, Jr., was president and John W. Farrer vice president of the Alto Mining Co., organized in this city the same year to work claims in the Camp Floyd district with a $750,000 limit on capital. All stock was held by Provo people.  

By 1897, many Provo people had moved to Tintic, including W. H. R. Paxman, D. R. Beebe, and James Dunn. Provo had begun to claim Jesse Knight, who was starting his rapid rise to fortune with some rich ores from his "Humbug" and "Uncle Sam" claims. Parley P. Hindmarsh, Provo merchant, was exhibiting some rich samples around town from his Lily of the West and announcing that limited amounts of stock were for sale. None of these enterprises were to prove as important to Provo as those of Jesse Knight.

The only mining activity that was carried on in the immediate Provo area that was able to sustain itself for any length of time before 1900 was the Slate Canyon slate quarries. F. W. C. Hathenbruck, while superintendent of the East Store and later, while operating his own store, was the foremost proponent of these mines. The slate found in the canyon was considered to be of excellent quality; both purple and green slate were present in workable quantities, as well as some mottled. In 1888, Mr. Hathenbruck shipped several carloads to Ogden to be used on the new reformatory and the union depot being erected there. W. C. A. Smoot and others were the proprietors of the Mammoth Slate Mine which in 1889 was employ-

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1Daily Enquirer, July 6, 1895; Feb. 6, Mar. 6, 1896; Aug. 10, 1897.
ing four men to quarry slate for several new Provo buildings, including R. S. Hines' Palace Drug Store and Saloon which was to be almost completely finished with slate. In 1890 both mines were leased to Colorado firms with options to buy at handsome prices. Hathenbruck leased for five years and Smoot for two. The company must not have kept Hathenbruck's lease, because he advertised in 1892 that his store was selling goods at cost to get fifty carloads of slate to Chicago. In 1895, his Provo Slate Company quarried seventy-five squares of shingles and in 1899 two hundred squares and four hundred square feet of structural slate. The Bethesda Slate Quarry employed seven men in 1892 and with characteristic optimism hoped soon to employ fifty.\(^1\) However, slate quarrying never did assume the proportions of a major industry. Mr. Hathenbruck continued to work and tout his mines for some time after the turn of the century,\(^2\) but it is very doubtful that he ever got fifty carloads to Chicago or any place else. Slate shingles, never taken from the mine, can still be found at one of the quarries about two miles up the present Slate Canyon trail.

An industry that did not furnish sustenance for a great number of people, but that nevertheless exercised considerable influence, was the printing and newspaper business. Provo was without a paper until 1875 and relied on the Deseret News, or more often the Deseret Weekly, published in Salt Lake City.

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\(^1\)Utah Enquirer, June 13, 1889; March 13, 1890; Nov. 23, 1888; Daily Enquirer, Mar. 16, Aug. 26, Nov. 10, 1892.

after 1850.

L. John Nuttal and A. F. Macdonald brought a small press to Provo, and on February 2, 1870 Nuttal did Provo and Utah County's first printing.¹

Provo's first newspaper was announced in the Deseret News in June, 1873. The prospectus read:

The undersigned respectfully announce to the inhabitants of Provo City and Utah County generally that they will commence publication of a Daily Paper at Provo City, Utah County, on the first of August, 1873, with new presses and materials. The Proprietors, being practical printers, guarantee issuing a first class news paper, able to compete with any published in the territory.

The Times will be devoted specially to the interests of Provo City and Utah County, giving full and reliable accounts of all matters of interest transpiring in the territory; containing the latest news by telegraph, also agricultural and mining matters.

Daily except Sunday, $10.00 per year, delivered in Provo, 25¢ per week.

R. T. McEwan
R. G. Sleater
O. F. Lyons
J. T. McEwan²

The first issue of the paper told a little more of the editors' intentions:

The Provo Daily Times. Official paper of Utah County—Independent—not neutral—Published every evening except Sunday and contains the very latest telegraphic news, Mining and general correspondence, carefully prepared editorials, interesting and readable locals, well selected miscellaneous items, etc., etc., . . . . a paper for the people.³

The Provo Brass Band called on the staff the night before the first issue to serenade Provo's newest entrepreneurs. Speeches were made, and in "draughts of sparkling wine the

¹Tullidge, op. cit., III (July 1884), 272.
²Deseret News, XXII (June 25, 1873), 229.
TIMES was toasted.¹ The materials for the paper came from Painter and Co. of San Francisco. The Times also did all kinds of printing, plain or in colors. The paper found things difficult in the depression of 1874 and was forced to reduce to a tri-weekly at $6.00 a year, semi-weekly for county subscribers. It was called the Provo Tri-Weekly Times for a few weeks and then the Utah County Times. In 1876 the Times was discontinued because the city could not even support a tri-weekly. The cost of publication of a small bi-weekly sheet called The Advertiser was met for a few weeks by advertising. Editor Sleator decided to put out a real paper once more, and the first issue of the Utah County Enquirer appeared on the centennial of the United States, July 4, 1876. The paper was five dollars a year delivered, "terms invariably in advance." The paper failed to prosper, and after a year editor Sleater's associates gave up the struggle and he found himself alone. He sold out to John C. Graham, a successful Salt Lake printer who was originally going to come to Provo with Sleater to start the Times, but did not do so because he was called on an L. D. S. mission.

The first issue of the new Territorial Enquirer, with Graham as editor, was published September 5, 1877. Graham soon proved to be an excellent manager, and circulation went up from 230 to over 2,000. He made no pretensions about being "independent," (although Sleater consistently feuded with the Tribune) but definitely aligned himself at all times with the

Peoples Party of Utah, remaining always an outspoken critic of all things Liberal. He seemed generally to have the people with him; if the Enquirer took up a cause, there was usually something done about it. The Enquirer also did bookbinding, sold marriage forms, deeds, water claims, and other such papers as they had printed. Subscription rates were $3.50 per year, and in January 1881, a subscription to Forest, Forge, and Farm could be had as a premium for a year's subscription in advance. In 1884, the cost was down to three dollars a year.

In 1888, the name was changed to the Utah Enquirer, the word "Territorial" being thought prejudicial to Utah's aspirations for statehood.

The Enquirer was incorporated in November 1887, Graham being the major stockholder and manager. The first report to stockholders showed the newspaper business to be quite profitable, twenty percent of the capital stock being placed to the reserve fund and twenty more to the real estate and machinery accounts as well as a ten percent dividend.¹

Prosperity was boosting the paper along with everyone else in December 1889. The Enquirer boasted twenty-one employees (probably including newsboys). Publication of a daily was started on November 30. By December 10, the new Daily Enquirer claimed five hundred subscriptions in Provo alone with a total of thirteen hundred counting the semi-weekly which was also continued. In Utah County there were 3,300 subscriptions and a total of 4,700 in the territory. However, with the depression

¹Utah Enquirer, Jan. 8, 1889.
of 1893, the paper suffered reverses and became heavily involved. It nevertheless continued to publish until 1920 when a new company was organized and the name changed to the Provo Post, which was merged with the present Provo Herald in 1924.

The Liberals, or Provo Leaguers, were reported contemptuously by the Enquirer to have twenty paid subscriptions to a paper they were "getting up" in April 1887. A. A. Moon was the principal stockholder in the Dixon Publishing Co. which was providing the Enquirer with its first competition. The paper announced that it was the "only American paper published between Salt Lake and Frisco, /Utah/". Although some of the first issues of this weekly appear to have been called the Provo Edition of the Rocky Mountain Christian Advocate, it was generally called The American or the "weakly Only American" by the sneering Enquirer. The paper was shortlived, mostly due to a lack of patronage.

The Gazette was published in Provo for a short time in 1890, with a Mr. Hemenway as editor.

One of the few times that the Enquirer found itself on the wrong side of the fence from the majority of the people was in the first elections held in Provo on national party lines. The Enquirer came out vociferously for protection and Republicanism, but in the fall of 1891 the people of Provo elected Democrats only. This may have been the opening which prompted the Dispatch Publishing Co. to start the publication of The

1Territorial Enquirer, April 19, 1887.
2Ibid., April 22.
Dispatch in 1891. James H. Wallis, formerly of the Enquirer, was principal stockholder and editor. However, "that Democratic organ down the street" was shortlived, and Manager Graham of the Enquirer had the ineffable pleasure of offering the only bid of one hundred dollars for the plant of his enemy at a sheriff's sale in November 1895.1

The cause of Democracy was not dead in Provo, however, and on August 31, 1898, the first issue of the Utah County Democrat appeared. Mr. Fred Nelson, former editor of the Tintic Miner, was editor. He announced that it was a permanent enterprise, not just something started for the coming election. It continued publication until 1908, when it was purchased by J. David Larson who changed the name to The Herald, making it the ancestor of Provo's present daily. Subscriptions to the bi-weekly Democrat were two dollars per year.

The Utah Industrialist, a monthly magazine devoted to the industrial and agricultural interests of Provo and Utah County, published its first number on May 15, 1887. Rates were announced as $1.25 a year, but were raised next month to $1.50. The enterprise was a shaky one from the first, and club rates were offered to boost circulation, with two copies being offered for $2.75 or ten for ten dollars. Replying to a query if they would finish out the year, in their second issue they pointed to their fine homemade and designed machine as if it were an assurance, and answered an emphatic, "Yes." The Provo Foundry had made their press. They boasted the first

1Daily Enquirer, Nov. 30, 1895.
stereotyped plates in Provo. D. P. Felt was manager and
William M. Egan, editor. Always an ardent local booster, they
nevertheless soon ran out of local stores and industries to
describe and eulogize, and published their last number in 1889.
CHAPTER V

A BRIEF HISTORY OF FINANCE AND BANKING
IN PROVO TO 1900

When there was a major undertaking considered necessary for the welfare of the citizens in early Provo, it was expected that the ecclesiastical authorities would expedite the project and do the necessary organization among the citizens. Such early undertakings as the first ground put under cultivation, the work of tanning leather, the building of the fort and the common stockade were all entered into together. The people very rightly considered their economic fate as one and all worked together. They looked to their leaders for guidance in economic as well as spiritual matters. In May 1868, Abraham O. Smoot, Mayor, as well as presiding Bishop of Provo, said, "The duties enjoined upon me are more temporal than spiritual. Bishops are expected to be men of business tact and their reflections and duties are more in that line." ¹

After the first absolute necessities were taken care of in the new Mormon community, individual men might go into business for themselves. For instance, from the first, most of the sawmills, flour mills, tanneries, threshing machines, and other similar necessities to the pioneer economy were privately owned. However, it was considered the duty of the people to

¹"Early History of Provo, Utah," MSS.
help the tanner put in his vats and gather bark, or to dig a mill race so that the mill might be ready in time for the harvest. Everyone would benefit from these enterprises. The worker was ordinarily repaid with some leather or some flour or other produce of the new plant on which he worked. Some work, notably road building, was required by law and not paid for. Very often it was the responsibility of Bishops to gather the labor force to accomplish a road building or canal digging.\footnote{Ibid.}

The sources of capital available to the private entrepreneur were three: First, were those things he brought with him when he came to the territory. Second, were those things brought by other immigrants, overladen gold seekers passing through, or from the United States army after the Utah War. All these things must be paid for, but were often available very cheaply. Third, and most important, was his own agricultural and labor surplus, or the use he might make of the labor and produce of others. The importance of this last was shown by some figures compiled by A. Milton Musser, L. D. S. historian in 1896. He estimated the accumulated capital of the Mormon people of Utah to be $563,000,000, of which only $20,000,000 was brought by immigrants. The rest was the accumulation of the labor of the people.\footnote{Wm. E. Smyth, "Utah as an Industrial Object Lesson," Atlantic, LXXVLLI (1896), p. 616.}

In 1868, widespread use of an old method of using the agricultural and labor surplus to finance desired enterprises
was begun. This was commonly called the co-op, but was more correctly simply a joint stock company. However, there was a definite new twist given it by the Mormon people, because anyone could become a stockholder by contributing labor, materials, or produce as well as money. Some money was necessary to buy machinery for factories or some stock for stores, but much of the stock was ordinarily widely distributed among the people in exchange for their labor or its product.

The Provo Canyon Road Co and the ill-fated Deseret Manufacturing Co, as well as several irrigation companies, were prominent examples before 1868, but it was not until that year that the co-op era began and the co-op name was widely used. The most important ones in Provo were the East Co-op (mercantile), the West Co-op (mercantile), the Provo Manufacturing Co. (woolen mills), The Utah County Co-op Stock Herd, and the Clothing Department of the East Co-op. After the death of Brigham Young, no prominent new co-ops were organized in Provo, or at least the name, "co-op," was not applied.

When a new co-op was to be formed, the matter was usually discussed in Bishop's meeting where the idea might even have originated. The matter might also be talked up in a priesthood and ward meeting. Then a mass meeting of the people would be held at which prominent business and ecclesiastical men (very often identical) would make favoring speeches. After the matter had been discussed, subscriptions would be taken, which would amount to pledges for labor, produce, or money, to be paid for in stock. A committee would be appointed to draw
up a constitution if that had not already been taken care of. If sufficient subscriptions were taken at the first meeting, the stockholders might elect directors immediately and work would soon be under way.\(^1\)

The United Order was thought by some to be the logical outcome of the Co-op movement, although the two are far removed in principle. In April 1874, Abraham O. Smoot, A. M. Cannon, Erastus Snow and Wilford Woodruff spoke to the assembled people of the advantages of the United Order, urging them to partake of its benefits. The Order was put to a vote under the same system as was in use in Saint George, only those so desiring having to participate. The vote was for establishment of the Order.

A central board of Utah Stake was appointed with A. O. Smoot as president, Wm. Brinthurst and L. E. Harrington as vice presidents. Directors were David Evans, John Brown, Joseph S. Tanner, George W. Wilkins, J. P. R. Johnson, Wm. A. Follet, and Messrs Price and Cook. A. O. Smoot announced that one of the first steps would be for farmers to stop exporting wool and hides. Erastus Snow said that the people must live according to their faith, i.e., do as their leaders told them in these matters.\(^2\)

Officers for the Order were elected throughout the county in May, and it was announced that full details would soon be


\(^2\)Provo Tri-Weekly Times, April 28, 1874.
forthcoming. What these details were, the writer has been unable to learn, except that the constitution was prepared in accordance with the laws of the territory. The Order never assumed any great importance in Provo. The only known non-agricultural activity was that of Wm. Allen, who made bricks "under the auspices of the United Order" in June 1874. He purchased one acre of ground for his plant and had ten workers with him. 

Some work was done in the Second Ward under the direction of Bishop Andrew H. Scott in growing sorghum and broomcorn, but only twenty farmers participated. This was one of the first projects ordered for the Order by Brigham Young.

The Order seems largely to have been an organization of the Saints to do their work together. Mayor Smoot said that masons, carpenters, painters and laborers should unite to build homes for the people; the people should strive to tan up all the leather. "It is with the hearts, the brains, the feeling and spirit of the people that we want to roll on God's purposes on Enoch," he said. The "willing and obedient" would join, and blank deeds were available for them. President Smoot, himself, was willing to place his land under a competent man. "Honest outsiders" were not to be excluded if they desired to join. However, the writer has found no evidence of any property being placed under the jurisdiction of the Order.

After 1880, the organization of a new enterprise which

1Ibid., June 18, July 14, 1874.  2Ibid., Apr. 30.
3"History of Utah Stake," II (1874), 308, 310, 314, 316, 346.
could not be adequately financed by simple private ownership or a partnership took on a new character. A capitalist class had by this time grown up in the city, composed of men who were apparently better managers of their resources than their fellows. They were nearly all merchants, but some were owners of small factories or mills. Full time farmers were very few among them. Among the foremost of Provo’s investors were Abraham O. Smoot, Myron Tanner, Ben Bachman, S. S. Jones, James Dunn, John C. Graham, David John, Alonzo A. Noon, Reed Smoot, W. R. Pike, T. E. Daniels, Peter Stubbs, W. H. R. Paxman, and H. H. Cluff. When a new company was formed, it was very likely that the names of some of these men would be found among the stockholders.

The organization of new enterprises lost its public character. While a "mass meeting" might be announced, it was very likely to be held in a small room. The men who conceived the idea would get together with other men of means and see if they could pool their capital to do what was proposed. Stock in a new enterprise would usually be sold to anyone who wanted to buy, because the richest men in Provo were in only comparatively modest circumstances. But stock was not ordinarily given in exchange for labor. Some of the old features were retained, notably the complete exclusion of capital from outside the territory. Some joint stock companies formed in Provo in the eighties were: The First National Bank, The Provo Foundry and Machine Co., The Dixon Publishing Company, and the Utah Valley Iron Mining and Manufacturing Co. Generally, the
amount of stock would be set quite high. Then subscribers could either take what stock they could pay for, the remainder staying in the company treasury, or all the stock would be a certain percentage paid for and payments for the remainder would be payable on a schedule or at the option of the directors. Under this latter plan in successful companies the stock might be paid up out of profits, but in unsuccessful companies stockholders were often liable to suit for unpaid stock.¹

The late eighties and nineties saw numerous companies organized in the corporate form. Most were small. They included mercantile firms, service industries, utilities, manufacturers, and especially mining companies. As examples, The Provo City Street Railway Co., the Sun Foundry, The Provo Building Exchange, and The Grand Central Mining Co. might be mentioned. Established firms also took on the corporate form; for instance, the Provo Lumber, Manufacturing, and Building Co. and the Enquirer Co. did so in the eighties.

A medium of exchange is necessary to any advanced type of economy, but Provo suffered a chronic shortage of specie and circulating money such as greenbacks. This was due to a balance of trade that usually ran against the city and the territory. The demand for imported manufactured goods from the east kept the city usually without hard money. Since outside capital was not usually solicited in local enterprises, the need for a circulating medium was a matter of local makeshifts.

¹Daily Enquirer, June 29, 1893. Utah Industrialist, I (June 1887), 31.
The earliest expedient and long an important method of exchange was simple barter. At the turn of the century some Provo merchants were still accepting produce regularly in payment for goods. Certain staples, notably grain and dried fruits that could be stored for a long time, came to dominate the market. Wheat was most important. Taxes were paid for many years in wheat. Jensen cites the price per bushel for payment of taxes put on it by the County Court at various times. April 19, 1852, $1.50; September 3, 1860, $2.00; September 2, 1861, $1.25; December 3, 1861, $1.50; September 6, 1864, $5.00; December 5, 1865, $2.00; September 7, 1869, $1.00; September 6, 1870, $1.00; September 4, 1871, $1.00. Oats and corn were $1.25 a bushel December 3, 1861.1

Some gold dust found its way into the territory during the gold rush, and greenbacks were quite common during the Civil War, but generally dealings, while stated in dollars and cents, were paid in wheat or other produce at the current market price. A daily produce price list of from fifteen to thirty farm products was an intermittent daily feature from 1875 in the *Utah County Times* until at least 1897 in the *Enquirer*. In 1868, the Saints were expected to pay produce, wood, and labor tithing in Provo.2 The change to a money economy had definitely begun by 1870, and in 1874 President Smoot deplored the present system and the "evil results... of its easy exchange." The old system of "truck and trade" compelled

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1Jensen, op. cit., p. 322. See also, produce prices in chapter on agriculture.
all to own property and be good citizens.\(^1\) Probably it was the new mines of the territory who were putting into circulation the money which the mayor of Provo found objectionable in such abundance.

To make exchange easier, scrip was issued by many stores and by the Woolen Mills, who paid their employees in this fashion the greater part of the time before 1900. Sometimes they issued scrip on their own store, sometimes on the Co-ops, and sometimes cloth scrip. Scrip was very often discounted, some stores even being forced to devalue that which they had in circulation. Therefore, it tended even more to drive out of circulation the more negotiable greenbacks and specie. However, it did have the advantage of being easier to carry to the store than a bushel of wheat, and it was not exportable.

Eighteen eighty-seven saw scrip growing less popular when other money was a little easier to obtain. For several weeks the East Co-op ran an ad in the \textit{Enquirer} about an eager little girl going to their store for that good candy. The ad was quickly withdrawn when W. C. A. Smoot and Co. put in a similar ad stating that the little girl went to their store instead because she did not like to deal in scrip.\(^2\) A few issues later the Co-op announced that it would cease to issue scrip, and the following May it advertised that $3,000.00 in

\(^1\text{Ibid.},$ II (July 7, 1874), 320. Smoot was repeating a thought given him by Brigham Young.

\(^2\text{Territorial Enquirer,}$ Nov. 29, 1887.
scrip had been destroyed by fire. In December 1888, the city council voted to accept no more license fees in scrip, but this was really a move against the billiard saloons, the owners of which the city fathers felt should pay in cash for their ill-gotten gains. If the city had their due bills in its treasury, it was forced in one way or another to make certain of their patronage and thus became a partner with them. This was an advantage accruing to any merchant issuing scrip, but was also the reason for its being accepted at a discount. By 1890, nearly all scrip had passed out of circulation, except that of the Woolen Mills and that was shortly to disappear. However, depression forced merchants to put scrip once more on the market in 1891. The times had changed, however, and there was considerable opposition to it. The displeasure of the people at being again forced to accept scrip is best illustrated by the strike of the employees of the Woolen Mills in 1896 against payment of wages in scrip. While this was the traditional mode of payment of wages for the mills, cash being reserved to pay out-of-city bills, the employees felt that scrip was too much of an encumbrance to be borne. It is symbolic of the village of Provo becoming Provo City with a true money economy.

Issuance of scrip was halted in 1878 by the action of the collector of internal revenue who levied a tax upon it. Due bills, which amounted to the same thing were then issued instead. The issue was fought in the courts for several years until 1884 when the U. S. Supreme Court ordered the tax re-
Nationwide fluctuations in available liquid capital, depressions and booms did not affect early Provo as much as they did other more established parts of the nation. The economy of Utah was one which functioned largely within itself. Only the merchants, who had to get many of their manufactured goods in the east were strongly affected by national fluctuations in business volume. And even they were not so dependent on credit as the average merchant in the United States. However, the effect of depression was felt in Provo as early as 1858 after panic swept the country in 1857. The Civil War was a period of prosperity when greenbacks were in relative abundance.

The depression of 1873 is reflected in an 1874 remark in the Times that "No one can afford to get drunk these hard times." Times were dull; money was scarce in Salt Lake. In April, the Times reported that prospects were brightening and more greenbacks were in circulation, but the same issue announced that the paper was going to cut circulation to a tri-weekly basis. A hardy pioneer wrote in to say that hard times were really only everyone trying to live beyond their means.\(^2\) The effects of this depression lingered on. In 1879, there were numerous tax sales. Three and one-half acre lots sold for $8.80. Some property was put on the block for as little as

\(^1\)Jensen, op. cit., p. 324.

\(^2\)Provo Daily Times, Mar. 2, 3, Apr. 4, 1874; Provo Tri-Weekly Times, Aug. 20; Utah County Times, Sept. 17, 1874.
A few firms failed and new enterprises suffered considerable financial difficulty in 1884 and 1885. Effects of this depression were short and Provo was booming by 1887.

The boom of 1887-1890 was the first time that speculation was widespread in Provo. It also saw the first appreciable capital brought into Provo from outside the territory. Most of the many real estate promoters were men who had come here to see if they could turn a fast dollar. Abraham O. Smoot had once warned the people against selling their heritage (real estate) to Gentiles; nevertheless, many did put their land in non-Mormon hands. Several subdivisions were made, and prices went far above their true values, although little land was actually sold as the boomers had brought to town with them relatively little money. But every spring during the boom period saw new real estate men coming to town to see what they could do. By summer the excitement had passed. The whole thing probably arose out of the desire of local people to realize a larger value on their farms or to get money to go into business or make improvements. The Enquirer generally opposed the boom, but one day in one of its many moods said:

A few real estate agents tried to work up a boom for Provo and failed. F. J. Leonard however came with the cash, loaned it out on farm mortgage, and he succeeded. People hereabouts may borrow, but they won't sell.²

The desire for money and a growing willingness to accept

¹Territorial Enquirer, Jan. 8, 1879.
²Utah Enquirer, June 26, 1888. Cf. July 18, Jan. 6, 1888 and April 10 and 11, 1890, quoted in Chapter 3.
outside capital caused farm and other mortgages to multiply. The Enquirer said in 1893 that mortgages since 1887 had been three times as many as all in the county previous to that time. Most of them were held by eastern capital.\(^1\)

The boom had its inevitable denouement. Creeping financial paralysis descended on the city in the winter of 1890. There were a few business failures. The city government found itself with too many obligations, and forced to raise taxes to unheard of heights, meanwhile discontinuing the recently installed electric light system. When the nationwide panic of 1893 struck, banks closed and failures were numerous. Not until 1896 did the number of failures diminish and the capitalists of Provo see fit to embark on extensive new enterprise. At the turn of the century, new capital from mining enterprises and restored confidence were the causes of Provo once more building numerous new business properties and looking to new or expanded enterprise.\(^2\)

Provo City was thirty-three years old before she had a bank. Discussions looking to the organization of a bank were held as early as 1873, but nothing was done until 1881 when application for the Charter of the First National Bank of Provo was made. Capital stock was $50,000. Some of it was held by Salt Lake bankers, but most of it was held in Utah County. A. O. Smoot was president, Wilson H. Dusenberry was cashier. The bank opened for business April 3, 1882 at the County Recorder's office in the Court House. After a year and a half,

\(^1\)Daily Enquirer, Jul 3, 1893.
\(^2\)See p. 138.
it moved to what was for many years known in Provo as The Bank Corner. Hedquist Drug now occupies the same building. The building cost $20,000.\(^1\)

The bank was successful from the first, paying a usual ten percent dividend. Its stock sold at a ten percent premium in 1888. The directors voted in that year to increase the capital stock to $75,000, the $25,000 additional stock to be sold at a ten percent premium, the extra money to be placed to the reserve fund. However, in the following May they decided to start a new bank instead. Stock would first be offered to those holding First National stock. On September 24, 1889, it was announced that the bank had stopped receiving savings accounts and no interest would be paid on such accounts after September 30. On September 1, the Utah County Savings Bank had opened with offices in the same building paying four percent on savings. The new company had a capital stock of $50,000. The stock was only paid up 25\% to start and 10\% monthly was due thereafter. Its officers were the same as the First National and its stockholders mostly the same. However, it maintained separate existence and survived its parent.

On August 6, 1889, the Bank of Commerce opened in Boshard's new store. Intention was to move into Reed Smoot's new office building when it was finished. However, its next published move was into R. S. Hines Drug store in October 1890. The bank was financed largely by eastern capital. J. A. DeValley was the foremost promoter of the bank and its president;

\(^1\)Tullidge, op. cit., III (July 1884) 259.
C. S. Thompson was cashier. The bank intended to do a real estate and farm property business. In October 1890, it was decided to incorporate the bank under the National Banking laws, and the bank was thereafter called the National Bank of Commerce. R. S. Hines, Elmer B. Jones, and C. S. Thompson became principal stockholders.

The Provo Commercial and Savings Bank was open for business on March 21, 1890. The furniture had not yet arrived, but it was thought that business could be conducted since the new 5,300 pound safe, costing $1,550, was here. Capital was $75,000. Reed Smoot was president and held 225 of the 750 shares of stock. The rest of the stock was held in blocks of eighty shares or less. Smoot resigned as director of the First National and the Utah County Savings to take the presidency of Provo's newest bank.¹

At 11:30 a.m. on June 30, 1893, the First National Bank closed its doors and placed a notice on the door saying, "First National Bank closed temporarily. Depositors will be paid in full." The bank had experienced extreme difficulty in collecting on its paper when it fell due, but had been reluctant to press its debtors because "vital interests" of Provo were at stake. The bank felt it must carry them as the only alternative was their ruin. However, an "evident uneasiness" on the part of depositors was apparent. For the past few days they had been quietly withdrawing their money, and the directors closed the bank when there was only $807.28 in cash left in the

¹Daily Enquirer, Mar. 21, Apr. 16, 26, 1890.
safe. It was pointed out that this failure in no way affected the Utah County Savings Bank.

The next day, the *Enquirer* said that the failure of the bank was due solely to the fact that "the First National simply sacrificed itself to tide [Provo business interests] over a stringent period." It was opined that no one would lose anything "even if the bank never opens again, except under the care of a receiver."¹ The *Deseret News* said that "every sane person must admit that their condition was good."²

The *News* had put it in the plural because the failure of the First National had caused a run on the National Bank of Commerce the next day and the directors had deemed it wise to close, even though the bank was in "excellent condition" while there was still money in the vault. The remaining deposits were largely those of directors. The cashier, H. S. Martin, was in Salt Lake when the run started and tried to get a short loan but could not get a dollar. He was confident that they could open in ten days.³ The author has found no notice of the reopening of the National Bank of Commerce or any other evidence of its continuance. Indeed, it goes unmentioned in other histories of Provo. It may have become the Swasey and Martin Bank, of which little evidence remains. This bank was in Provo in 1895 and 1898, but as can be seen by the lone statement

¹Daily *Enquirer*, June 30, July 1, 1893.

²*Ibid.*, July 5. For the condition of the banks, see respective charts under date June 30, '93 for the First National and July 1, '93 for National Bank of Commerce.

³The law allowed them to close for thirty days.
reproduced in the charts which follow this chapter, it was of
minor proportions.

A plan to reopen the First National without putting it
in receivership was evolved and proposed August 25. If deposi-
tors were willing to accept, the bank would reopen September 1.
Depositors were to accept time certificates for the balance
due them which would be negotiable and bear interest. Twenty
percent would then be payable every three months starting
January 1, 1894. Such a plan had been successfully used in
Denver. However, the bank did not open on the proposed date,
and Jensen says that because the depositors did not accept the
plan, the bank went into the receivership of Douglas A. Swan,
federal bank examiner. Contemporary accounts make no mention
of this, saying that the bank opened at 12:00 noon on September
12 and that many were there with "their deposits and congratu-
lations."¹ Depositors were eventually paid in full. Jensen
says that the Provo Commercial and Savings Bank took over the
First National, but this must have been at a later date, be-
cause both continued to issue separate statements of resources
and liabilities.

Due to the misfortune of the First National, it was
decided that the Utah County Savings Bank would thereafter be
completely separate.

As can be seen by the accompanying charts, the Provo
Commercial and Savings Bank remained in comparatively good

shape through the depression. It continued to prosper until the depression of 1929.

In 1888, W. D. Roberts suggested that a home fire insurance company be organized so no payments would have to be made to eastern companies for insurance. However, his plea went unheard, and the growing need for insurance created by the decline of the old Mormon spirit that would not let a fellow Saint stay down, together with the growth of larger institutions was filled by eastern companies. Several Provo financial institutions and some of the more permanent realtors adopted insurance as a sideline.

In 1889, the Utah County Abstract Company was organized to prepare for Provo's boom. Reed Smoot was president, although most of the capital came from Kansas. On June 7, the company filed bonds of $15,000 with the county clerk. The office was maintained with the Bank of Commerce.¹

The Provo branch of the American Building and Loan Association was started in January 1889. H. H. Cluff was president and John C. Graham was vice president with F. W. C. Hathenbruck as local agent. Five hundred shares had been raised to start the company.²

The Provo branch of the Western Loan and Savings Co. was organized in May 1892 with Provo men as directors. "Class A" stock was for sale for savings, and money was available to

¹Utah Enquirer, Apr. 19, June 7, 1889.
²Daily Enquirer, Jan. 29, 1889. Contains detailed explanation of the workings of the company.
loan on the building society plan. The writer has found no further evidence of the long continuation of either building and loan society.

By the turn of the century, the city of Provo had fundamentally modern financing methods. The church-led economy had been replaced by one dominated mostly by men of capital. Some of this capital had been coming from the east for a decade, but there were more ideas for its use than there was money.

The city was dependent on eastern capital and organizations to conduct some of her business. The old style church-led co-op had become a thing of the past. Banks, the Chamber of Commerce, corporate organization, and eastern capital and organizations were moving to fill the vacuum.

1Daily Enquirer, May 12, 1892.

2While "eastern capital" is often spoken of in the newspapers of this period, it is seldom identified. There are several instances of eastern men coming to invest in banks or real estate.
### Table 2

**REPORT OF THE CONDITION OF THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK**

**DECEMBER, 1885 TO FEBRUARY, 1888**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Dec. 24, 1885</th>
<th>Mar. 4, 1887</th>
<th>Sept. 30, 1887</th>
<th>Feb. 14, 1888</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resources:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans and discounts</td>
<td>$68,241.20</td>
<td>$74,427.60</td>
<td>$76,751.65</td>
<td>$90,153.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overdrafts</td>
<td>1,080.70</td>
<td>1,417.15</td>
<td>6,151.35</td>
<td>3,938.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. S. Bonds to secure circulation</td>
<td>$12,500.00</td>
<td>$12,500.00</td>
<td>$12,500.00</td>
<td>$11,250.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due from other National Banks</td>
<td>$2,691.04</td>
<td>$2,834.86</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due from state banks and bankers</td>
<td>$1,237.24</td>
<td>828.99</td>
<td>1,757.30</td>
<td>2,440.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real estate, furniture and fixtures</td>
<td>$14,691.04</td>
<td>$14,970.99</td>
<td>$14,895.34</td>
<td>$14,895.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current expenses and taxes paid</td>
<td>$1,396.59</td>
<td>2,102.08</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>1,987.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Premiums paid</td>
<td>$2,234.38</td>
<td>$2,234.38</td>
<td>$2,234.38</td>
<td>$2,234.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checks and other cash items</td>
<td>$836.64</td>
<td>$724.19</td>
<td>$184.96</td>
<td>$1,273.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade dollars and bills of other banks</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>$1,026.00</td>
<td>$231.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fractional paper currency, nickles and pennies</td>
<td>$8.60</td>
<td>$95.25</td>
<td>$149.45</td>
<td>$61.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal tender notes</td>
<td>$2,004.00</td>
<td>$1,261.00</td>
<td>$6,133.00</td>
<td>$3,554.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specie</td>
<td>$5,148.50</td>
<td>$8,794.25</td>
<td>$9,096.60</td>
<td>$8,303.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 2--continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Dec. 24, 1885</th>
<th>Mar. 4, 1887</th>
<th>Sept. 30, 1887</th>
<th>Feb. 14, 1888</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resources:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redemption fund with U. S. Treasury (5% circulation)</td>
<td>$562.50</td>
<td>$562.50</td>
<td>$562.50</td>
<td>$562.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Resources</td>
<td>$113,042.97</td>
<td>$123,258.24</td>
<td>$133,082.53</td>
<td>$142,134.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Liabilities:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital stock paid in</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surplus fund</td>
<td>4,500.00</td>
<td>4,475.00</td>
<td>5,000.00</td>
<td>5,278.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undivided profits</td>
<td>2,396.65</td>
<td>3,539.37</td>
<td>2,931.28</td>
<td>3,838.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National bank notes outstanding</td>
<td>11,250.00</td>
<td>11,250.00</td>
<td>11,250.00</td>
<td>11,250.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dividends unpaid</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>15.00</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual deposits subject to check</td>
<td>43,309.09</td>
<td>46,984.36</td>
<td>42,201.34</td>
<td>48,110.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demand certificates of deposit</td>
<td>1,582.23</td>
<td>6,721.51</td>
<td>11,112.47</td>
<td>10,850.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due to other National Banks</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>10,587.44</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Liabilities</td>
<td>$113,042.97</td>
<td>$123,258.24</td>
<td>$133,082.53</td>
<td>$142,134.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Utah Enquirer, Feb. 24, 1888; Territorial Enquirer, Jan. 5, 1886; Mar. 29, 1887; Oct. 14, 1887.
TABLE 3
REPORTS OF CONDITION OF FIRST NATIONAL BANK
FROM APRIL, 1888 TO JUNE, 1893\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Apr. 30, 1888</th>
<th>Feb. 28, 1890</th>
<th>Mar. 6, 1893</th>
<th>Jun. 30, 1893(^b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resources:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans and discounts</td>
<td>$101,586.90</td>
<td>$195,029.62</td>
<td>$81,937.10</td>
<td>$76,336.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overdrafts</td>
<td>6,353.34</td>
<td>14,909.61</td>
<td>9,406.90</td>
<td>4,737.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. S. Bonds</td>
<td>12,500.00</td>
<td>12,500.00</td>
<td>12,500.00</td>
<td>12,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due from state banks and bankers</td>
<td>1,146.27</td>
<td>3,653.31</td>
<td>136.52</td>
<td>83.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real estate, furniture and fixtures</td>
<td>14,885.34</td>
<td>15,553.00</td>
<td>18,000.00</td>
<td>18,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current expenses and taxes paid</td>
<td>2,727.17</td>
<td>2,402.15</td>
<td>3,816.96</td>
<td>951.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Premiums paid</td>
<td>2,234.38</td>
<td>****</td>
<td>****</td>
<td>****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Premiums on U. S. bonds</td>
<td>****</td>
<td>2,000.00</td>
<td>****</td>
<td>****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checks and other cash items</td>
<td>630.55</td>
<td>22.08</td>
<td>155.60</td>
<td>****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bills of other banks</td>
<td>301.00</td>
<td>275.00</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fractional paper currency, nickles and cents</td>
<td>69.70</td>
<td>126.40</td>
<td>108.29</td>
<td>807.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specie</td>
<td>7,143.60</td>
<td>18,429.90</td>
<td>6,537.80</td>
<td>****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal tender notes</td>
<td>2,960.00</td>
<td>3,484.00</td>
<td>2,270.00</td>
<td>****</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 3—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Apr. 30, 1888</th>
<th>Feb. 28, 1890</th>
<th>Mar. 6, 1893</th>
<th>Jn. 30, 1893£</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resources:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redemption fund</td>
<td>$562.50</td>
<td>$562.50</td>
<td>$562.50</td>
<td>$562.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stocks, securities, etc.</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>2,583.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due from national banks</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>198.70</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due from approved reserve agents</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>614.31</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total resources</strong></td>
<td>$153,110.75</td>
<td>$269,261.93</td>
<td>$138,599.23</td>
<td>$116,562.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Liabilities:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital stock paid in</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surplus fund</td>
<td>5,278.00</td>
<td>12,500.00</td>
<td>15,000.00</td>
<td>10,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undivided profits</td>
<td>6,275.79</td>
<td>6,647.12</td>
<td>2,465.92</td>
<td>1,854.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National bank notes outstanding</td>
<td>11,250.00</td>
<td>11,250.00</td>
<td>11,250.00</td>
<td>11,250.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dividends unpaid</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual deposits subject to check</td>
<td>50,051.23</td>
<td>117,366.62</td>
<td>37,791.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demand certificates of deposit</td>
<td>12,230.69</td>
<td>32,092.85</td>
<td>7,909.89</td>
<td>6,927.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time certificates of deposit</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>708.49</td>
<td>....</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due to other national banks</td>
<td>18,024.84</td>
<td>33,824.22</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>2,661.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 3—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Apr. 30, 1888</th>
<th>Feb. 28, 1890</th>
<th>Mar. 6, 1893</th>
<th>Jan. 30, 1893&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liabilities:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due to state banks and bankers</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>$4,872.63</td>
<td>$9,675.41</td>
<td>$6,927.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes and bills rediscounted</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>5,500.00</td>
<td>6,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bills payable</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>2,000.00</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total liabilities</td>
<td>$153,110.75</td>
<td>$269,261.93</td>
<td>$138,599.23</td>
<td>$116,562.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<sup>a. Daily Enquirer, Mar. 13, 1890; Mar. 21, 1893; June 30, 1893; Utah Enquirer, May 8, 1888.</sup>

<sup>b. Date of failure.</sup>

<sup>c. Advertised in 1892 as $25,000.00.</sup>
TABLE 4

REPORTS OF CONDITION OF FIRST NATIONAL BANK
FROM OCTOBER, 1893 TO SEPTEMBER, 1895a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Oct. 3, 1893</th>
<th>Sept. 28, 1895</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resources:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans and discounts</td>
<td>$62,905.96</td>
<td>$34,604.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overdrafts, secured and un-secured</td>
<td>2,789.82</td>
<td>1,482.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. S. Bonds</td>
<td>12,500.00</td>
<td>12,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stocks, securities, etc.</td>
<td>2,124.66</td>
<td>3,932.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due from approved reserve agents subject to check</td>
<td>65.56</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due from other national banks subject to check</td>
<td>1,610.82</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due from state banks and bankers subject to check</td>
<td>61.55</td>
<td>1,225.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking house</td>
<td>18,000.00</td>
<td>18,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current expenses and taxes paid</td>
<td>3,103.09</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawful money reserve in bank, Viz:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specie</td>
<td>4,412.90</td>
<td>3,937.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal tender notes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes of other national banks not subject to check</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redemption fund</td>
<td>562.50</td>
<td>562.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checks and other cash items</td>
<td>132.67</td>
<td>337.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign coin, nickels and cents</td>
<td>162.38</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bills of other banks</td>
<td>35.00</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total resources</td>
<td>$109,158.91</td>
<td>$87,772.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liabilities:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital stock paid in</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surplus fund</td>
<td>10,000.00</td>
<td>5,000.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

113
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Oct. 3, 1893</th>
<th>Sept. 28, 1895</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liabilities:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undivided profits</td>
<td>$3,208.21</td>
<td>$997.23b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National bank notes outstanding</td>
<td>11,250.00</td>
<td>10,850.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dividends unpaid</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time certificates of deposit</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>3,696.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual deposits subject to check</td>
<td>9,275.26</td>
<td>11,704.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demand certificates of deposit</td>
<td>2,845.41</td>
<td>1,340.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certified checks</td>
<td>710.00</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due to other national banks subject to check</td>
<td>168.66</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due to state banks and bankers subject to check</td>
<td>3,880.74</td>
<td>1,684.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes and bills rediscounted</td>
<td>5,150.00</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bills payable, including certificates of deposit representing money borrowed.</td>
<td>12,500.00</td>
<td>2,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total liabilities</td>
<td>$109,158.91</td>
<td>$87,772.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Less expenses and taxes paid
# TABLE 5

REPORTS OF CONDITION OF FIRST NATIONAL BANK
FROM DECEMBER 1895 TO OCTOBER 1897*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Dec. 13, 1895</th>
<th>Dec. 17, 1896</th>
<th>Jy. 23, 1897</th>
<th>Oct. 13, 1897</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resources:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans and discounts</td>
<td>$35,746.73</td>
<td>$27,221.45</td>
<td>$30,417.69</td>
<td>$32,688.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overdrafts, secured and un-secured</td>
<td>1,338.96</td>
<td>1,576.17</td>
<td>2,160.41</td>
<td>1,294.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. S. bonds</td>
<td>12,500.00</td>
<td>12,500.00</td>
<td>12,500.00</td>
<td>12,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stocks, securities, etc.</td>
<td>3,425.08</td>
<td>8,567.50</td>
<td>8,510.45</td>
<td>8,510.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking house</td>
<td>18,000.00</td>
<td>18,000.00</td>
<td>18,000.00</td>
<td>18,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other real estate</td>
<td>10,824.50</td>
<td>10,824.50</td>
<td>10,474.50</td>
<td>10,374.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due from national banks</td>
<td>4,900.00</td>
<td>6,455.90</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>69.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due from state banks</td>
<td>4,820.00</td>
<td>5,942.45</td>
<td>133.01</td>
<td>492.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checks and other cash items</td>
<td>137.99</td>
<td>235.74</td>
<td>144.63</td>
<td>114.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes of other national banks</td>
<td>45.00</td>
<td>22.00</td>
<td>48.00</td>
<td>98.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fractional paper currency, nickels and cents</td>
<td>11.25</td>
<td>7.80</td>
<td>5.40</td>
<td>8.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawful money reserve in bank, Viz: Specie</td>
<td>12,811.75</td>
<td>11,880.35</td>
<td>5,053.60</td>
<td>5,864.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 5—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Dec. 13, 1895</th>
<th>Dec. 17, 1896</th>
<th>Jy. 23, 1897</th>
<th>Oct. 13, 1897</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resources:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal tender notes</td>
<td>550.00</td>
<td>3,355.00</td>
<td>215.00</td>
<td>85.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redemption fund</td>
<td>562.50</td>
<td>562.50</td>
<td>562.50</td>
<td>562.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total resources</td>
<td>$105,674.44</td>
<td>$107,141.36</td>
<td>$88,225.19</td>
<td>$90,661.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liabilities and net worth:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital stock</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surplus fund</td>
<td>5,000.00</td>
<td>4,000.00</td>
<td>4,000.00</td>
<td>4,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undivided profits less expenses and taxes paid</td>
<td>526.64</td>
<td>435.49</td>
<td>772.88</td>
<td>346.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due to state banks and bankers</td>
<td>1,337.34</td>
<td>1,863.80</td>
<td>1,664.36</td>
<td>2,808.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National bank notes outstanding</td>
<td>11,250.00</td>
<td>11,250.00</td>
<td>11,250.00</td>
<td>11,250.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual deposits subject to check</td>
<td>34,055.14</td>
<td>29,436.18</td>
<td>12,303.60</td>
<td>14,289.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demand certificates of deposit</td>
<td>1,168.76</td>
<td>7,655.89</td>
<td>1,872.70</td>
<td>2,124.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time certificates of deposit</td>
<td>2,336.59</td>
<td>2,500.00</td>
<td>3,877.27</td>
<td>3,342.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bills payable</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>2,500.00</td>
<td>2,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due other national banks</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>44.38</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total liabilities</td>
<td>$105,674.44</td>
<td>$107,141.36</td>
<td>$88,225.19</td>
<td>$90,661.69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 6

**REPORTS ON CONDITION OF UTAH COUNTY SAVINGS BANK**  
**FROM MARCH, 1893 TO OCTOBER, 1897**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Mar. 10, 1893</th>
<th>Sept. 30, 1893</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resources:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash in First National Bank</td>
<td>$5,634.69</td>
<td>$708.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash on hand</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bills receivable</td>
<td>105,480.33</td>
<td>82,613.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current expenses</td>
<td>1,612.43</td>
<td>1,660.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture and fixtures</td>
<td>600.00</td>
<td>600.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real estate</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advances on mortgaged property</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stocks, securities, etc.</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total resources</strong></td>
<td>$113,327.45</td>
<td>$85,579.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Liabilities:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital stock</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surplus</td>
<td>5,570.00</td>
<td>5,570.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undivided profits</td>
<td>2,479.37</td>
<td>768.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due depositors</td>
<td>55,898.08</td>
<td>27,409.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bills rediscouned</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bills payable</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>650.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total liabilities</strong></td>
<td>$113,327.45</td>
<td>$85,579.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Daily Enquirer, Mar. 21, 1893; Oct. 9, 1893; July 10, 1895; Dec. 28, 1895; Dec. 31, 1896; Oct. 12, 1897.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>June 29, 1895</th>
<th>Dec. 13, 1895</th>
<th>Dec. 21, 1896</th>
<th>Oct. 5, 1897</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$ 953.80</td>
<td>$ 561.54</td>
<td>$ 1,887.80</td>
<td>$ 314.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60,053.99</td>
<td>62,156.69</td>
<td>53,697.59</td>
<td>56,608.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,521.56</td>
<td>527.58</td>
<td>546.20</td>
<td>18.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600.00</td>
<td>600.00</td>
<td>600.00</td>
<td>600.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9,700.05</td>
<td>10,998.49</td>
<td>11,351.10</td>
<td>12,076.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>758.88</td>
<td>1,030.54</td>
<td>995.62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>1,263.50</td>
<td>1,745.80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$74,829.44</th>
<th>$75,623.18</th>
<th>$70,376.73</th>
<th>$69,359.16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,570.00</td>
<td>5,570.00</td>
<td>5,570.00</td>
<td>5,570.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,022.88</td>
<td>2,120.07</td>
<td>1,472.15</td>
<td>1,459.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,565.56</td>
<td>11,753.11</td>
<td>11,904.58</td>
<td>11,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400.00</td>
<td>3,000.00</td>
<td>7,000.00</td>
<td>6,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000.00</td>
<td>3,000.00</td>
<td>400.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| $74,829.44   | $75,623.18   | $70,376.73   | $69,359.16   |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>May 1, 1890</th>
<th>Aug. 15, 1890</th>
<th>Sept. 30, '93</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resources:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans and discounts</td>
<td>$45,440.18</td>
<td>$89,917.97</td>
<td>$105,899.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking house</td>
<td>3,731.05</td>
<td>19,063.60</td>
<td>20,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overdrafts</td>
<td>618.24</td>
<td>3,722.49</td>
<td>29.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due from national banks</td>
<td>3,413.44</td>
<td>3,178.90</td>
<td>14,076.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash in state banks</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>439.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenses</td>
<td>833.11</td>
<td>1,344.45</td>
<td>1,930.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash on Hand</td>
<td>5,790.20</td>
<td>10,115.66</td>
<td>15,360.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real estate</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stocks and securities</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total resources</strong></td>
<td>$59,826.22</td>
<td>$127,343.07</td>
<td>$157,736.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liabilities:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capital stock paid in</td>
<td>$35,025.00</td>
<td>$74,525.00</td>
<td>$75,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demand deposits</td>
<td>22,903.13</td>
<td>37,172.89</td>
<td>43,809.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savings deposits</td>
<td>650.15</td>
<td>11,144.82</td>
<td>16,396.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>1,247.94</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undivided profits</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>3,038.05</td>
<td>8,477.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bills rediscounted</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>3,200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dividend unpaid</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>854.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surplus</td>
<td>10,000.00</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due state banks</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>1,462.31</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total liabilities</strong></td>
<td>$59,826.22</td>
<td>$127,343.07</td>
<td>$157,736.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Daily Enquirer, Aug. 15, 1890; May 14, 1890; Oct. 9, 1893; July 12, 1895; July 21, 1896; Dec. 28, 1896.*
TABLE 7--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>June 29, 1895</th>
<th>Sept. 29, 1895</th>
<th>July 14, 1896</th>
<th>Dec. 21, 1896</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$118,904.16</td>
<td>$119,894.99</td>
<td>$131,463.16</td>
<td>$120,639.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,000.00</td>
<td>20,000.00</td>
<td>20,000.00</td>
<td>20,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,807.46</td>
<td>6,864.46</td>
<td>2,546.81</td>
<td>6,531.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33,337.80</td>
<td>33,738.86</td>
<td>21,297.89</td>
<td>7,548.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>920.60</td>
<td>756.87</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11,831.11</td>
<td>8,547.08</td>
<td>11,731.85</td>
<td>14,423.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,171.93</td>
<td>12,171.93</td>
<td>14,485.81</td>
<td>14,485.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,390.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$199,973.06</td>
<td>$201,972.19</td>
<td>$201,525.49</td>
<td>$252,451.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$75,000.00</td>
<td>$75,000.00</td>
<td>$75,000.00</td>
<td>$75,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57,233.14</td>
<td>59,305.19</td>
<td>46,479.38</td>
<td>99,164.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47,411.50</td>
<td>47,216.85</td>
<td>58,623.8x</td>
<td>55,341.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7,879.91</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8,115.92</td>
<td>8,524.99</td>
<td>8,983.33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>175.50</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000.00</td>
<td>10,000.00</td>
<td>10,000.00</td>
<td>10,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,205.00</td>
<td>1,913.16</td>
<td>3,349.62</td>
<td>3,960.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$199,973.06</td>
<td>$201,973.19</td>
<td>$201,525.49</td>
<td>$252,451.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 8

REPORT OF CONDITION OF SWASEY AND MARTIN, BANKERS, TO SECRETARY OF STATE

CONDITION OF THE BANK AT THE CLOSE OF BUSINESS, DECEMBER 1, 1898.*

Resources:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loans and discounts</td>
<td>$14,246.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overdrafts</td>
<td>$7,933.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonds, stocks, certificates, etc.</td>
<td>$842.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking house and real estate</td>
<td>$9,502.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due from national banks</td>
<td>$8,730.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash on hand</td>
<td>$10,916.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current expenses and taxes paid</td>
<td>$950.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total resources</strong></td>
<td><strong>$53,123.59</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Liabilities:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capital stock paid in</td>
<td>$15,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surplus fund</td>
<td>$2,259.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undivided profits</td>
<td>$2,632.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual deposits</td>
<td>$31,252.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certificates drawing no interest</td>
<td>$1,969.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certified checks</td>
<td>$10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total liabilities</strong></td>
<td><strong>$53,123.59</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---Herman S. Martin, Cashier

*Utah County Democrat, Dec. 21, 1898.*

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**TABLE 9**

**REPORTS ON CONDITION OF NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Sept. 30, 1892</th>
<th>July 1, 1893</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resources:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans and discounts</td>
<td>$57,044.65</td>
<td>$59,903.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. S. Bonds to secure circulation</td>
<td>12,500.00</td>
<td>12,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due from approved reserve agents</td>
<td>1,071.18</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due from other national banks</td>
<td>1,029.35</td>
<td>2,025.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking house, furniture, fixtures</td>
<td>2,966.78</td>
<td>2,966.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current expenses and taxes paid</td>
<td>648.18</td>
<td>1,674.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checks and other cash items</td>
<td>127.25</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fractional paper currency, nickels and cents</td>
<td>77.55</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specie</td>
<td>8,816.85</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Legal tender notes</td>
<td>308.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Redemption fund with U.S. treasury</td>
<td>562.50</td>
<td>562.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Profit and loss</td>
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<td>527.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total resources</strong></td>
<td><strong>$85,151.29</strong></td>
<td><strong>$81,779.18</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Liabilities:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital stock paid in</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Surplus fund</td>
<td>15500.00</td>
<td>2,000.00</td>
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<td>Undivided profits</td>
<td>1,085.03</td>
<td>2,618.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National bank notes outstanding</td>
<td>11,250.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Individual deposits subject to check</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>15,840.39</td>
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<td>Demand certificates of deposit</td>
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<td>Certified checks</td>
<td>249.48</td>
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<tr>
<td>Due to other national banks</td>
<td>963.38</td>
<td>67.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due to state banks and bankers</td>
<td>167.46</td>
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<td>Cashiers checks outstanding</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>4.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circulation</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>11,250.00</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total liabilities</strong></td>
<td><strong>$85,151.29</strong></td>
<td><strong>$81,779.18</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

--Thos. Green, Cashier

*Daily Enquirer, Oct. 18, 1892, July 1, 1893*
CHAPTER VI

A SHORT HISTORY OF AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES AND AGRICULTURE IN PROVO TO 1900

During Provo City's first fifty years, her feet remained deeply rooted in the soil. Far more people received their livelihood from agriculture than from all other pursuits combined.

Almost the first activity of the pioneers of Provo after their arrival was to irrigate, plough, and plant 225 acres to wheat, rye and corn. Starvation would soon have been upon them if they had not done so. Planting, caring for, and harvesting of crops and raising stock were long the major livelihood and the economic basis on which Provo rested. The Chamber of Commerce chose for it the name, "The Garden City," in 1888 and the name was used until 1941 when this agricultural base had made The Garden City ready for its new name of "Steel Center of The West."

Provo's first agriculturists had only the most primitive of tools: wooden plows, sticks and branches for cultivators and harrows; scythes, sickles, and cradles for the harvest, and only the lumbering ox or perhaps even the family cow for draft animals. To thresh there was the back-breaking flail or the threshing floor and many pourings were necessary to wind winnow the grain. Hours of labor were long, often the
whole family being required to do the work, and returns were small, although the land was rich and prolific. Irrigation was an absolute necessity and much profitless experimenting was done before the best ways to use the water were found. Grasshoppers were a continuous threat. In 1867 Bishop A. H. Scott caught and killed 73 bushels of them.\(^1\)

To make useful some of the farmers' products, some other activities were necessary, notably that of the miller. Reference has already been had to some of Provo's earliest millers in Chapter One. Flour mills continued to flourish in Provo. They became less primitive as improved machinery was more easily available due to accumulation of capital and better transportation.

Myron Tanner purchased Kelting's grist mill in 1860 and operated it for many years, at least until 1877. One of the streams coming through the city was long known as Tanner's Race. John Mills started a grist mill in 1860. George T. Peay had a patent from the city to operate machinery by water power in 1877.

In 1877 George Beebe owned and operated the Excelsior Flour Mills, making what was reputed to be the best flour in the territory. He received in that year several hundred dollars worth of new machinery, including screens and elevators. He could grind eight tons of flour in three days, and supplied many of the mining camps.\(^2\)

In 1881, the New Glenwood Mills were prepared to make

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\(^1\)"History of Utah Stake," II (June 28, 1868), 14., MSS.
\(^2\)Utah County Enquirer, November 10, 1877.
the best XXXX flour, with P. C. Petersen and Co. proprietors.

The Excelsior Mills had come under the control, or at least the management of J. R. Hoover in 1888. The mill was located in a tall white wooden building which still stands on Fifth North and Third West. In this year, improvements were made in the mill amounting to $8,000, bringing the total value of the mill to $16,000. The major improvement consisted of replacing the old burrs with rollers, and the old mill wheel was replaced with a thirty-five or forty-five inch turbine which supplied thirty-five horsepower. When the machinery was installed, the plant could handle grain completely by machinery from the bin to the flour sack. Wheat was cleaned, washed, then rolled and screened into the various grades of flour. The separating and dressing machinery were quite elaborate. The flour was finally sacked by a "Daisy" flour packer. The old capacity of the mills was five bushels of grain per hour, but the new machinery was variously estimated as able to do fifty bushels per hour, fifty barrels of flour a day or five tons in twenty-four hours.

The old practice of taking a toll from the farmers' grain was discontinued in favor of keeping a stock of flour on hand and giving the farmers flour in exchange for their grain so they would not have to wait. After a month of operation, it was reported that the mill was being forced to run night and day because of the demands put on it by enthusiastic farmers. Solely custom work was being done, so no flour was for sale.¹

In 1896, the Excelsior Mills was once again renovated, $1,000 in old machinery being discarded and $3,000 in new being installed.

In 1893, the Provo Milling and Manufacturing Co. was organized with $20,000 capital and Reed Smoot as president. The mill was very similar to the Excelsior and was also situated to draw its power from the factory race in the vicinity of the railroad tracks. William Ashworth was the lessee of the plant for a short time; then it appears to have come under the management of the Provo Lumber, Manufacturing and Building Co., with D. R. Beebe as manager.

In 1889, the millers of the territory thought that they were being discriminated against by the railroads which charged only thirty cents per hundredweight to ship grain to the east, but one dollar for the same weight of flour. Since such an arrangement was an extreme detriment to their business, they attempted to organize to force the railroad to give concessions. It was hoped that all the millers would join, but the writer has not learned of any concrete results obtained.¹

Other mills of some importance were the molasses mill and the cider mill. Andrew H. Scott had a cider mill, and often advertised that he was prepared to make cider for anyone who desired to bring apples to his farm. Provo had several molasses mills, but very little documentary evidence of them survives because the machinery for crushing the juice out of cane stalks was very easily made.

¹Utah Enquirer, Nov. 15, 1889.
The people of Provo sometimes felt the need for stimulating liquid refreshment, but the supply might be good or bad, according to the temper of the current city council. Provo was known for its "rowdyism" during the early sixties, and the church authorities thought it no mean accomplishment if a public celebration could be concluded without the appearance of a demon rum. Concessions for distilling spirituous liquors were at various times held by city officials, private individuals, and after Mayor Smoot's accession by the city for "medicinal purposes only." Much of the time Provo was nominally dry. Even so, the "rowdies" often appeared. In 1860 the distillery of Thompson and Wilson burned mysteriously one dark night. The News commented that it was suspected that the "daughters of the Rechabites had come to the conclusion that the concern was a nuisance that ought to be abated, and took the matter in their own hands without referring it to the city authorities." Later, the News cheered "Good for Provo" when two bootleggers were fined one hundred dollars each.

In 1874, Uebel and Co. were operating the Provo Brewery near the Provo River Bridge. Shortly thereafter, Rudolf Liesinger and H. Hornung were operating the brewery. The Times seemed to approve of the enterprise and said that the place had been a scene of great merriment on the Fourth of July.

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1Jensen, op. cit., pp. 214-217— a good account of the hectic history of Provo's liquor ordinances.

2Deseret News, X (1860), 200.

3Ibid., XIII (1864), 379.
One of their advertisements said their product was a "first class drink of home manufacture, healthy and palatable, purifying the blood and invigorating the nervous system."

This drink was only $2.60 per dozen quarts. Change of ownership was rapid, and in 1877 Henry Welman offered to sell his half of the company, now the Provo Brewery and Malt House, on very reasonable terms. However, a few nights later the brewery was terminated by one of the peculiar occupational hazards of the Mormon country. It was destroyed by fire with a $3,000 loss. It was reported that "examination was being made to ascertain whether it was by accident or design."¹

Little commercial brewing or distilling was done in Provo after the seventies, but there was always a supply available for those desiring to dissipate. In 1888 the city fathers decided to give up trying to fight the liquor traffic and legalized saloons.

The farmers of Provo and vicinity were producing enough in the eighties to make Provo capitalists look for a method of using their perishable truck. A cannery was the most desirable means of doing this and was discussed for years before anything was done. E. J. Loder was in town in November 1887 and had local people all enthused on the prospects for a cannery, but after he left town it was discovered that he was a fraud and had no connection with the interests he pretended to represent. However, the glowing figures he had presented, to the effect that a $3,000 investment would produce 10,000 cases

¹Utah County Enquirer, Feb. 7, 21, Jan. 7, 1877.
per year with a tidy $10,000 profit, caused local entrepreneurs to start a cannery of their own. The Provo Canning Co., with A. A. Noon as principal stockholder, bought a lot near the railroad and proceeded to build in April 1888. Tomatoes were to be the biggest item preserved, but the tomato crop failed, and it was decided to manufacture jellies and other such things as could be done. Although capacity was figured at 30,000 cases, only 10,000 were contemplated for the first season. On August 1 the cannery started doing three to five tons of tomatoes and apples and other fruits per day. Fifteen or twenty girls were employed. The cans were sealed with solder, a small vent being left to be finally sealed after cooking. Business was not too good, and it was necessary to advertise that fruit would be put up for private parties at fifteen cents for a three-pound can, the cannery furnishing the sugar and the can. Mr. Thomas Norton, "a competent chemist... and a first class businessman," was in charge. However, all did not go well. Plans for leasing the plant in winter for canning milk went awry; Mr. Norton left town and was identified as the "bilk" who later turned up in Winnemucca and Elko. Finally, in the spring of 1890 the Enquirer remarked that "a fruit canning establishment in Provo would be a paying investment if it was properly managed."

L. O. Taft and Royal Barney, Provo merchants, were looking to the establishment of a cannery in March 1892, but no evidence of their having succeeded was found.

1Utah Enquirer, Nov. 18, 1887; Apr. 21, 24, Aug. 3, 10, 1888; Dec. 7, 1889; Daily Enquirer, Apr. 25, 1890; Utah Industrialist, II (Aug. ’88), 26; (Oct. ’88), 92.
The major crop in the early years was grains, with some vegetables and hay to help tide the stock over the winter.

Within a very few years the subsistence level was passed and the farmers were able to turn over to the merchant some of their produce in exchange for goods of both foreign and local manufacture. In 1865 the major exports from the territory were flour, grain, dried peaches, butter, bacon, and home-made socks and yarn, according to Samuel Bowles, a visitor. He said that the territory had sent 200,000 pounds of dried peaches to the mining areas of Idaho and Montana in 1864. However, there was not always an exportable surplus. President Smoot was conducting investigations in 1868 to see if there was not enough flour to sustain the people. He said, "and the man who takes any to the mines or otherwise will be remembered." This was practically Provo's last famine year, and in 1887 an abundance could be reported. The following are "from figures compiled by leading business men" for the year 1887. Provo merchants "handled" 50,000 pounds of butter, 25,611 dozen eggs, and shipped to eastern markets 96,000,000 pounds of potatoes. There were 2,400,000 pounds of wheat, 800,600 pounds of oats, and 400,000 pounds of barley.

Three things characterized the development of agriculture after 1858. One of these was a greater diversity in the

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2 *Early History & Records of Provo, Utah*, (Apr. 12, '68), MSS.
3 *Utah Enquirer*, Jan. 6, 1888. These figures may well include considerable produce from outside the city handled by Provo's produce commission agents.
crops raised. In the sixties the Deseret Agricultural and Man-
ufacturing Society offered prizes for vegetables in great var-
iety, indeed for practically every vegetable in common use to-
day. Competition in this class was always lively because nearly everyone had a lush, well cared for garden and could find among his cabbages, cucumbers, corn, peas, watermelons, cantaloupes, squash, carrots, lettuce, turnips, potatoes, or tomatoes a specimen sure to win a prize. Most gardens also included fruit trees such as apricots, peaches, pears, apples, cherries and plums, Daniel Graves of Provo was famous for his grapes of which he harvested 3,500 pounds in 1869. Charles Twelves challenged anyone in the territory to better his record for strawberries and further bet anyone in the territory one hundred dollars on the quality and quantity of his tomatoes and cucumbers.1

Attempts were made to grow things not suited to this climate. At Father Graves' "Perseverance Cottage" were to be found some fig trees, as well as a peach orchard, two apple orchards, an acre of grapes, and innumerable mulberry, walnut and locust trees. Mr. Graves reported he had five hundred kinds of seeds to plant in 1860.

Another important change in the nature of agriculture was the increasing use of machinery. The flail disappeared and the cradle was less often used. The early period had seen

1Deseret News, XVIII (1869), 301, XIII (1864), 279, 369. These two named men were either the plague or the joy of the editors of their day, always appearing at the office to leave some of the season's earliest or choicest fruits. They won many more than their share of prizes.
the building of some threshers, and by 1870 there were enough of them, both imported and home-made to take care of the grain. They were by modern standards crude and were operated by water or animal power. San Francisco firms advertised reapers in the Deseret News as early as 1861, but there is no evidence of any being in Provo during the Civil War period. By 1871, Z. C. M. I. was able to offer reapers, also iron plows, mowers, and threshers for sale in the territory, and it is probable that some found their way to Provo.\(^1\) Within a few years, several Provo firms were offering farm machinery and wagons for sale. In 1881, Alex Wilkins was manager of a recently imported steam thresher that could produce fifty bushels of barley in 23 minutes. Besides those mentioned, row cultivators and furrowers drawn by horses came into general use along with less primitive harrows. These implements were made mostly of wood.

Prizes at the fairs ran high for agricultural implements, Valley Tan brand. In the 1858 fair, the best plow or best drill and irrigator paid ten dollars. A corn cultivator or a corn sheller could win five, a butter tub two, and a hayfork one dollar. Twenty dollars in prize money awaited the exhibitor of the best reaper or thresher. A corn and cob mill, a hemp and flax dressing machine or a straw and hay cutter could win ten dollars.\(^2\) However, there were few takers for these prizes. While competition was lively in most other classes at the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society's

\(^1\)Ibid., XIII (1864), 151.

\(^2\)Ibid., VIII (1858), 100.
fairs, lack of iron, shop facilities, and know-how made machinery of any proportions quite a curiosity at the fairs. Grain cradles, axes, pitchforks, nails, shoe pegs, brooms, baskets, rope, cooper ware, an "evaporator," a wheelbarrow, a wagon, and other such minor items were the usual run of exhibits in Provo. At times there did appear "a valley made cast iron sugar mill," a threshing machine, and a horse rake. This may mean that people were not interested enough or did not care to move their machinery, but it also shows that after the fifties, imported machinery was of greatest importance. By the eighties, several of Provo's stores carried large lines of imported farm machinery and wagons.

The next important thing about agriculture was its continued expansion. Each year saw new irrigation projects and new land under the plow. The late sixties saw the beginning of farming on Provo Bench. A visitor in 1871 said:

Crossing the Provo Bench, which used to be such a long stretch of dusty dry road, I was pleased to see streams of water coursing over it in many places and farms laid out on either side of the road. There was little to be seen of the crops, the grasshoppers evidently having visited them. From present prospects, the east side of Utah Valley from Lehi to Santaquin will be one continuous line of settlements and fields.¹

New land continued to be taken up and farming was carried on farther from the city, but it was many years until it was all taken up. As late as 1890, a man could have come into what is now Pleasant View and homesteaded 160 acres.² By 1889 the available water was nearly all used up in the low water

¹Ibid., XIX (1871), 263.
²Interview with Walter Cox, April 5, 1949, Provo, Utah.
season, and the first reservoirs were soon made on the lakes at the headwater of the Provo River and their flow regulated.\footnote{Utah Enquirer, June 28, 1889.}

These three factors, diversification to truck type crops, increasing use of machinery, and expansion continued to set the pattern for agriculture until the turn of the century.

With the advent of the improved transportation offered by the railroad, an effort was made to improve the stock of the city. W. D. Roberts was an early leader in this movement. He went east in 1871 under the auspices of the Deseret Parent Society for the Improvement and Cultivation of Stock, Bees, Etc., and brought back 240 swarms of bees, three pairs of blooded pigs, three Sumatra Pheasants and forty-two quail.\footnote{Deseret News, XIX (1871), 387; XX (1871), 37.} He made other trips and brought back sheep, cattle, and horses. In later years, several prosperous farmers kept blooded stock, especially stallions, which stood for a fee.

Interest in apiculture grew in Provo late in the sixties. A. F. MacDonald and W. D. Roberts led in organizing the beekeepers of Provo and vicinity to learn more about bees and secure a better stock. This was the first such organization in the territory.\footnote{Ibid., XIX (1870-71), 15, 221, 397.} The industry grew to such proportions that for many years the county kept a county bee inspector.

One reason for the number of beekeepers was the desire for "sweet." Sugar was an expensive item to import and wide fields of sorghum cane were to be found throughout the territory.
Late in the season it was mowed and taken to the cane mill, a device for crushing the stalks and squeezing out the juice, usually powered by a patient mule walking in circles. The juice was boiled down to make molasses, a usual crop of which was one hundred gallons to the acre of cane.\(^1\) The mill was usually small like a cider mill and home made. The rollers might be made of wood or iron or even an old cart wheel.

Molasses was sweet, but it would not take the place of granulated sugar. However, after the Deseret Manufacturing Co. debacle in 1853, nothing was done about getting a plant to free Utah from the necessity of importation till 1889 when church leaders began to promote a project for raising and refining sugar in Utah. The articles of incorporation of the Utah Sugar Co. were filed with the Secretary of State in September 1889 and subscriptions taken for stock. The territorial legislature provided for a one cent per pound bounty on sugar produced in a $200,000 plant in Utah which made fifteen tons per day. The Provo Chamber of Commerce tried to get the plant erected in Provo, but was unsuccessful, the plant being built in Lehi. However, this was of considerable importance to Provo farmers who held a meeting with company representatives in March 1891 where many of them were persuaded to raise beets. They were promised a minimum price of $4.25 per ton for all they could raise. After that year, sugar beets assumed an ever increasing importance in the economy of the Provo farmer, not to be diminished until about 1942.

\(^1\) Codman, \textit{op. cit.}, pp.202-203.
The farmers of Provo and of the territory often thought it expedient to organize themselves so as to produce better crops by learning from each other. The first such organization was the Utah County Branch of the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society. However, its purpose was more than just education. The state directors said when announcing their first fair in 1858:

It is plain therefore that we can not export sufficient to warrant us in depending upon importation for what we need. . . . We must devote our spare means to the supplying of ourselves with the materials of manufacture we need.\(^1\)

The Utah County branch of the Society was organized in Provo January 9, 1859. James C. Snow was president and Isaac Bullock vice president. Elias Blackburn, Dominicus Carter, Andrew H. Scott, Dr. John Riggs, John B. Milner, Daniel Graves, and Anson P. Winters were directors. Twenty members joined on January 16, paying two dollars for the privilege and one dollar per year thereafter to keep up their membership. The membership rose to four hundred for the first four years, but membership declined thereafter. "Father" Daniel Graves remained the foremost exponent of the Society for many years until its final extinction sometime in the middle eighties.\(^2\) The membership fee was $5.00 in 1868, but was later reduced to one dollar and then to twenty-five cents in 1877 to get more members. The Society petitioned the county court in 1881 for funds so that

\(^{1}\)Deseret News, VIII (Aug. 4, 1858), 99.

\(^{2}\)Ibid., VIII (Feb. 2, 1859), 206. Territorial Enquirer, Jan. 22, 1881.
a fair could be held.

The major activities of the society were holding a fair and awarding prizes every fall, although there were also projects such as raising seeds and improving stock. The nature of the prizes was such as to encourage new activities and cause the people to look for new horizons in their economic pursuits. Prizes were ordinarily offered in about fifteen classes which included field crops—grains and cotton; all common vegetables; fruit, flowers, and medicinal plants; cattle and other livestock, some blooded; farming implements; machinery and industrial products such as glass and copper; leather; domestic dry goods; clothes, hats and caps; furniture; painting, engraving, etc.; cutlery and hardware; ladies ornamental work; produce; and essays on agriculture, irrigations, and forest culture as applicable to the territory. Lists like this are misleading, however, because there were very often no takers whatever for prizes in the machinery class. The fairs came more and more to be solely agricultural, and the Society's members and its concerns were fundamentally agricultural. In 1887, when a fair was held for the first time in six years, blooded horses and cattle were practically the only things shown, except for some molasses made by Robert Edwards. The society did a good work, but it never had the membership it deserved and struggled along, only a name to many, but an inspiring

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1 Deseret News, XII (1862), 70. This list for the year 1862 is typical. About 550 first and second prizes were offered this year, payable in cash and strawberry plants from the garden of T. W. Ellerbeck. Subscriptions to agricultural magazines were more common as prizes.
dream to some, such as Father Graves. In its most active years in the sixties and seventies it was probably successful in its object of imbuing the people with the myriad possibilities of improvement before them.

Other agricultural organizations included the Provo Gardeners and Mechanics Institute which was organized in August 1863. Meetings were held twice monthly in summer, weekly in winter, at which the membership heard lectures and essays and viewed outstanding specimens of produce or work. Charles Twelves was one of the leaders of this group.¹

In August 1877, the Gardeners Club was organized at Orson Twelves' home. While everyone ate his excellent fruit, Mr. Twelves was elected president. The Gardeners Club had a building on Center Street in 1879.²

The Chamber of Commerce heard a series of lectures on agriculture in 1889.

The Utah County Fruit and Agricultural Society, organized about 1895, was a marketing association as well as a group who tried to learn to do better farming. F. J. Covert acted as manager or marketing agent for the society, evidently a full time job. However, he was forced to resign because the ninety-nine members, mostly Provo agrarians, did not supply enough produce to make a livelihood for him. C. F. Decker, already a produce commission agent, took over the management of

¹Ibid., XIII (1864), 297, 399.
²Utah County Enquirer, Aug. 20, Sept. 26, 1877; Territorial Enquirer, Mar. 5, 1879.
the Society's business.\(^1\)

This society must have been short-lived, because at a Farmers Institute, at which addresses on farming methods were heard, held in Provo in March 1897, steps were taken to form an agricultural society for the county. The Utah County Agricultural Society was shortly organized "to advance the knowledge and promote the interests of agriculture, horticulture, dairying and stockraising" at a monthly meeting held in Provo.\(^2\)

All these organizations had a long way to go to put farming on what would be accepted today as a scientific basis. For instance, in the seventies the Codling or Apple Moth was making inroads on the fruit and several remedies were published in the *Enquirer*. D. Lee said that a tub of soap suds in the orchard with a lamp in the middle would lure the moths to death, indeed, "it is supposed to be the most effectual method yet adopted, or discovered." Daniel Graves suggested six or eight ten penny nails in the lower tree trunk, while another correspondent said that the horticulturist should pluck and burn the apples remaining on the trees during the winter to kill the Codling Moth.\(^3\) Some pests were even turned loose; for instance, Walker Brothers imported two hundred English Sparrows in this same year and a plea was made for the protection of these birds "held in estimation as destroying insects of various

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\(^1\) *Daily Enquirer*, Mar. 27, 1895, Feb. 24, 1896.


\(^3\) *Utah County Enquirer*, Mar. 14, 21, 24, 1877.
kinds.¹

The co-op movement had its effect in agriculture. A threshing machine was purchased by the people of the Second Ward under the leadership of Bishop Scott in 1868 on the co-op basis, a share costing $25.00.²

Discussions of a co-op stock herd were had in bishop's meetings in 1870. It was thought that this would make it so the people could have more meat because more people could be encouraged to keep their calves; better organization would keep people from losing their stock and that intolerable nuisance, loose calves in the street, would be abated. Andrew H. Scott, W. A. Follet, J. P. R. Johnson, and David John were appointed a committee to arrange for a herd ground, write a constitution, and hire a herder. Herd grounds around Tintic and Cherry Creek were considered, there being none available near Provo. In January 1871, a committee, possibly the same one, was appointed at conference and the project was reported "unanimously sustained among the people." A citizen's meeting was held and the Utah County Co-op Stock Association was organized, and a president, board of directors and superintendent appointed. L. John Nuttal, secretary said, "This is a move in the right direction and no doubt will tend to uniting the people, and those who may feel a little fearful at present, will ere long have a desire to be found among the willing and obedient." The capital of the company was set at $100,000. All stock in

¹Utah County Enquirer, Mar. 21, 1879.
²"History of Utah Stake," II (1872), 239, 253., MSS.
the herd were to carry the same brand. People who desired stock in the association gave their animals in exchange for stock on which they received dividends when the herd prospered. Thus they were relieved of the responsibility of caring for them but could get some benefit from them. In a statement of its resources in 1877, the association valued its sheep at $46,590, horned stock at $8,878, and horses and mules at $4,385 plus sundry dairy fixtures and camping equipment, bringing total assets to $60,788. Superintendent James A. Bean claimed a gain for the year of $5,217.50. A ten percent dividend was declared.1 How long the association continued after 1880 is unknown to the writer.

The idea of the Co-op stock herd is similar to one in use in Provo from its earliest days until very recent years. Dairy animals and others that had to be kept near the city were placed in a co-op type pasture, usually there being one pasture company to each ward. Everyone paid his share of maintenance and pay for the herdsman according to the number of cattle kept in the herd. The herd boy brought the herd home every evening to be milked and took them to the pasture again in the morning. The passing of the herd was a familiar sight in the writer's boyhood, although the land had by then passed into the hands of private owners, and the herd was no longer on a co-op basis.

1"History of Utah Stake," II (1870), 114-5, 119; Desert News, XX (1871), 83, 140; XIX 557; Utah County Enquirer, Dec. 22, 1877. It is obvious from the above figures that the paid up stock of the company did not amount to $60,000.
The irrigation companies of Provo were also co-ops, in fact the irrigation companies of Utah were unique in that they were not under private ownership, but belonged to those who used them. The Turner ditch and the East union canal were dug in 1850. The Provo Canal and Irrigation Co. was incorporated by the legislature in 1855. In 1868 work commenced on the Provo Bench Canal, and in 1874 the upper East Union Canal Co. was organized. Others included the Fort Field Irrigation Co., the West Union Canal Co., and the Smith Ditch Co.¹

One hundred seventy-five miles of canals were to be found in Provo by 1889. Sixteen thousand acres were under cultivation and 9,000 more were available, but there was not enough water. The previous year's drouth had destroyed eight hundred acres of crops, a small loss compared with other parts of the county.²

Peter Madsen and his family were members of a profession even older than that of the farmer in Provo from 1850 to the present day. They made fishing and hunting their business and it must have been an enjoyable one because one could still catch one hundred pounds of fish in one day with a hook and line on the Provo River in 1863. In 1877 the Madsen brothers killed eighty-eight ducks (worth only about twelve dollars) with the discharge of five barrels of shot. On occasion,

¹Jensen, op. cit., 244-46, and George Thomas, The Development of Institutions Under Irrigation, (N. Y: Macmillan, 1920), 48. See the latter work for irrigation laws, customs, and methods in Utah.

²Utah Enquirer, Aug. 13, 1889.
Father Madsen took thousand pound loads of fish to Salt Lake City. However, as early as 1873 it was reported that Utah Lake trout were declining due to heavy seining. Fifty thousand pounds had been taken in 1868. Chubs and suckers were becoming more numerous. The state fish commissioners took it upon themselves to plant millions of shad and whitefish in the lake, but these failed to multiply. However, the carp which they planted did multiply. The death knell for the Utah Lake trout was sounded at the turn of the century because they were robbed of their spawning grounds when the power company put a dam across the river. Even before this the Madsens had found it necessary to go into Strawberry Valley part of the time to ply their trade.¹

Silk raising was one of the projects dear to Brigham Young's heart, but the industry never did have the interest of enough people to make it an important one. Daniel Graves of Provo was a writer of many articles on sericulture and lectured in most of the counties of the state on the subject. He invited the silk growers of Utah County to meet in American Fork on June 3, 1877, to effect an organization. The Utah County Branch of the Deseret Silk Association continued until 1906, but only a few articles were made in that time. The many mulberry trees planted for sericulture had a far more lasting effect on the

¹Deseret News, XIII (July 1863), 163; XV (July 1886), 255; Utah County Enquirer, October 10, 1877; Utah Industrial-ist, II (September 1883), 36; and interviews with Charles Madsen in August 1949 on Strawberry Reservoir.
community than any silk made.¹

Let us read Phil Robinson's description of agricultural Provo in 1882:

Provo... has a variety of wooden and adobe houses, with an appearance of solid comfort. It has woolen factories, its "co-op" and its lumber yards. There is the same profusion of orchard and garden, the same all pervading presence of cattle and teams. The daily life is the same too, a perpetual industry, for no sooner is breakfast over than the family scatters—the women to the dairy and household work, the handloom and the kitchen; the men to the yard, the mill, and the field. One boy hitches up a team and is off in one direction; another gets astride a barebacked horse and is off in another; a third disappears inside a barn, and a fourth engages in conflict with a drove of calves. But whatever they are doing, they are all busy, from the old man pottering with the water channels in the garden to the little girls pairing off to school; and the visitor finds himself the only idle person in the settlement.²

The farmer desired to gain as much for his produce as possible and as a service to the community in general as well as to farmers, the newspapers intermittently published produce price lists telling what a citizen could expect to get for his produce in exchange for merchandise at the stores. The selection of the particular dates used was governed by a desire to show the maximum shifts in prices and also by whether a list was available.³


²Phil Robinson, Sinners and Saints... Three months among the Mormons, (Boston: Roberts Bros., 1888), p. 149.

³Except for the first list which comes from the History of Utah Stake, II (Sept. 12, 1872), 254, MS, and the last from Utah County Democrat, Jan. 18, 1899, all entries are from The Utah County Times, Utah Enquirer, or the Daily Enquirer for the date listed.
### TABLE 10

PRODUCE PRICES, 1872--1889

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<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Sept. 12, 1872</th>
<th>Sept. 12, 1874</th>
<th>Mar. 16, 1875</th>
<th>May 18, 1888</th>
<th>April 10, 1889 Buying</th>
<th>April 10, 1889 Selling</th>
<th>Nov. 30, 1889</th>
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CHAPTER VII

HISTORY OF MERCHANDISING AND COMMERCE
IN PROVO 1849-1900

Early Provo and Utah territory were so isolated from the rest of the world that the "importation" of bulky goods was extremely expensive; therefore, the pioneer was forced to depend largely on his own resources for his sustenance. However, some things, especially iron and tools, were absolute necessities, which he was not eminently successful in making for himself. Others, such as cotton cloth, tobacco, coffee, etc., were considered necessities by many and found a ready market even though the church leaders frowned on the expenditure of valuable money for them. The importation of the tools in order to make possible the easier production of consumer goods was the policy of the leaders. Much controversy was to revolve about this point, as many were quite willing to export their agricultural surplus in order to procure immediately the "luxuries" of life.

At the time of the first settlement of Provo (1849), many finished goods were being sold very cheaply in Salt Lake City by overladen gold seekers eager to press on to California. Many of these goods found their way down to Provoans who were, however, unable to gain as much by the low prices of the fluctuating Salt Lake City market as those who first got the goods
and made large returns on them. Immigrants were also a continuous source of new goods, and Provo regularly received her share of those.

The prosperity wave which the gold rush had brought receded with the heavy losses of the Mormon people in the attempts at manufacturing iron and sugar. This also coincided with the panic of 1857 and a balance of trade running heavily against the territory. Although the prosperity wave of Salt Lake City merchants reached Provo only as a ripple, Provo was not alone in a complete draining of specie. Even so, there were times in the early years when food was so scarce that gold could not buy food.

An expedient system for importation of goods to the territory was soon found. As soon as the grass was green in the spring, wagons drawn by oxen and mules would head east laden with grain and flour. Cattle and other surplus livestock were driven with them. These would be exchanged for the goods desired in the east, and the wagons would turn westward laden with goods for the territory. Each merchant tried to be the first one back to Salt Lake City with "fresh" goods, i.e., only four months old. To arrive after conference time was considered fatal. October first each year was the time when the Mormons came to Salt Lake City, not only to hear the gospel, but to buy. Large sales forces were necessary in the crowded stores at conference time. The profits of the trade were immense.

1A. L. Neff, History of Utah 1847 to 1869, (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), pp. 354-350. See for a more complete explanation of the foregoing.
Nails were considered cheap at thirty cents per pound in 1864.¹ After selling what they could in Salt Lake City, some of the merchants moved on to California to make further profits with the agricultural surpluses they had bartered for at comparatively low prices in Utah.

After mining became a major industry in the state and surrounding areas, a different pattern emerged. Merchants would gather the produce, or turn it over to a produce agent. Very often, farmers would take their produce to mining camps themselves. Then the money or credits obtained for produce would be used to get dry goods, groceries, manufactured goods, and other needs from the east. In 1884, the Utah Directory estimated exports from Utah at $11,525,000. Of this, mining products totaled $9,000,000. Livestock was estimated at one million dollars, and the rest was largely various agricultural produce.²

Most of the merchants were Gentiles or Jews. One very good reason for this was that Mormon merchants too often allowed the brethren to cajole them into granting credit and found themselves bankrupt. Prominent Gentile merchants of Salt Lake City were Livingstone and Bell, Gilbert and Garrish, and John Kimball. Provo's merchants were more often Mormons.

Provo's merchants do not appear to have bought in the east and brought their wares to Provo. They were more often

¹Codman, op. cit., pp. 199-203.

just local citizens with a little cash or with the means of
obtaining credit in Salt Lake to purchase a stock of goods to
bring to Provo to sell. Their major service then was merely
the transportation of the goods from Salt Lake and the collec-
tion of agricultural surpluses (most payment was on a barter
basis) for the Salt Lake City merchants to take east the next
year. It is for this reason that Provo, even though it was
the commercial center of Utah Valley, never approached the
bustle of commerce in Salt Lake. Provo was still a village.

Andrew J. Stewart opened Provo's first store in 1853.¹
His store was at first in his home on present Fifth West be-
tween First and Second South. Later, he built a store on
West Center, the first of any importance in Utah County, which
later became the West Co-op.² Levi Stewart and Huffaker opened
a store in the city before the Utah War. In 1859, Benjamin
Bachman and Hanks were ready to do business. Mr. Bachman was
a Jew. Bishop Wooley of Salt Lake opened up temporarily dur-
ing the "move." Eighteen fifty-eight also saw Henry Larkin
Southworth open a merchandising business in Provo which contin-
ued to 1870. His was the famous Provo Octagon Store, so named
for its unusual shape. He returned again to Provo in 1878 and
later established a branch store in Pleasant Valley Junction.

"About that time" Bishop Miller had also set up a store in Provo.³

When the federal army moved out to Cedar Valley, Camp

¹Tullidge, op. cit., p. 252.
²Jensen, op. cit., p. 304.
³Tullidge, op. cit., p. 252.
Floyd temporarily became a commercial center. Many, like the Walker Brothers, laid the basis for future fortunes, while Andrew Stewart and Peter Stubbs got good starts in business.

The army expedition to Utah was not meant to help the Mormons, but in the end it proved very profitable for them. When the army left the camp in 1860, $4,000,000 worth of goods were disposed of for $100,000. Iron, for an instance, had been worth one dollar per pound but became plentiful.¹

Foremost among those in Provo who took advantage of this opportunity was Peter Stubbs. Living at American Fork when the army came in 1858, he started a bakery and provision store at the camp. In the fall of 1860, he went into partnership with a Mr. Birch and brought to Provo a stock of goods bought from Dyer Brothers, and Co., army sutlers. Their clerk, R. C. Kirkwood, was left in charge of the Camp Floyd store and another branch was opened in Salt Lake City. Birch and Stubbs are considered the fathers of Provo merchants.² Two of their clerks, Samuel S. Jones, and James Dunn, later were among Provo's foremost merchants. The following is their advertisement in the Deseret News, which first appeared in January 1861, and for several months thereafter:

Birch and Stubbs: Fancy dress goods and calicoes, domestics, denims, drillings, woolen and cotton flannels, blankets, shawls, silk and cotton handkerchiefs. Ready made clothing, hats, caps, shirts, overshirts, drawers, hose, and a good assortment of notions. Also a large and splendid stock of gents boots and shoes, ladies boots and shoes; a good stock of groceries, dye stuffs, cotton yarns,

¹Neff, op. cit., p. 777.
²Tullidge, op. cit., p. 252.
school books, stationery, etc., hardware, cutlery and tinware; whitewash, paint, blacking, horse and scrubbing brushes; saddles, bridles, and many other things too numerous to mention, all of which we will sell as low as any other house in the territory for cash, grain, stock, butter, eggs, etc., and will allow 10 per cent on all purchases over five dollars paid in cash, and over one hundred dollars paid in grain, stock, etc. The Enterprise, grain, provision and general trading store, Birch and Stubbs.

The Civil War ushered in great prosperity, at least for merchants. Considerable improvement in the organization and methods of the transport into the west added to the prosperity and occasioned this remark in the Deseret News:

The time was once when imported articles could only with difficulty be procured in the territory, but as circumstances have changed and facilities for ruinously squandering our money abroad have greatly increased, nothing but the fact of personal advantage to the purchaser is likely ever to command the choice between home and foreign manufacture.

There was also a wider market for agricultural products due to the war and the growth of closer markets in the mining camps sprouting in the west. However, the merchants absorbed most of the profits. In 1860, coin was the only currency, large payments being made in the Mormon five dollar gold piece which contained only $4.30 in gold. However, with the inflationary federal policies, Gresham's law pursued its inexorable course and specie disappeared in favor of greenbacks.

Communities such as Provo still proceeded on a largely barter basis. This usually operated to the disadvantage of the

1Deseret News, X, (Feb. 6, 1861), 390.
2Deseret News, X, 261.
3Neff, op. cit., p. 779, quoting J. H. Beadle.
agrarian producer and occasioned the following letter in the Deseret News from a Utah County Farmer in 1863:

    Brother farmers, can we not come to a noble resolution and unite ourselves... against the army of sharpers that lie in wait to consume the products of our toil, and fatten upon our sweat and blood.¹

    "Cease paying exhorbitant prices demanded by disinterested persons... and hundreds of thousands of dollars may be saved annually by the saints," said Brigham Young.²

    This was the beginning of an effort in 1864 by agrarians under church leadership to fix the prices of grain and other produce so the farmers would not have to sell in the ruinous open market. Appeals and threats from the pulpit had been fruitless. Early in 1866, the Utah Produce Co. was organized to buy up all the flour in the territory and by means of its monopoly to hold up the price. By doing this and insisting on quality flour, it was estimated that $200,000 annually could be saved the Saints.³ The whole movement soon collapsed, and it was then that recourse to co-operative merchandising was had.

    The sixties had meanwhile seen new commercial developments in Provo. Mr. Birch had severed his relationship with Peter Stubbs and formed Birch and Robinson, who were soon bought out by Samuel S. Jones, who entered into a partnership with Benjamin Bachman. Kimball and Lawrence, a Salt Lake City firm, began a general merchandise store in 1868 which cost them $10,400 to erect and was built by Smoot and Sheets. This was the situation in Provo—three or more general merchandise

¹Deseret News, XII, 62. ²Ibid., XVI, 12. ³Ibid., April 5 1866.
stores—when the co-operative movement began.

The approach of the railroad appeared to many to be a threat to the church, and in October conference of 1868 a resolution was passed by which the people pledged to be self sustaining. This was interpreted by Brigham Young to mean that the Mormon people were to trade only with those of their own faith and boycott the Gentiles. Many of the people did this, but business with Gentiles did not immediately cease. In any event, he did not receive full co-operation from his people. He had been trying to get the Salt Lake Mormon merchants to form a corporation to co-operatively import from the east all the goods which might be needed by the Mormon people. However, his efforts had thus far brought no action from the larger Mormon merchants whose help in the project was vital.

Meanwhile, President Smoot in Provo had been smoothing the way for the organization of a co-op store in Provo. A public meeting was held December 4, 1868 to evolve a plan and organization for a proposed co-op. As was usual at such gatherings, favorable speeches were made by A. O. Smoot, S. S. Jones, David John, Peter Stubbs, Myron Tanner, and E. F. Sheets. A preliminary organization was formed and subscriptions or pledges amounting to a total of $4,850 were taken. At the next meeting on December 29, an additional $12,000 in subscriptions was taken and it was decided to begin in the spring. The project was assured of success on February 8, 1869 when Brigham Young and several of the apostles together with Henry W. Lawrence and others from Salt Lake attended. Brigham congratulated the
brethren and offered to take $5,000 in stock himself. He suggested that they do their buying in the east and undersell the Salt Lake merchants. There were evidently some small merchants who had not been taken into the plan or were unwilling to participate. These the people were to ignore and to do all their buying at the co-op. Mr. Lawrence offered to sell his new store and stock of goods to the corporation for $10,000 and $22,000 respectively, a total of $32,000. The offer was accepted, the goods inventoried and one of Utah's first co-operative stores opened under the management of R. R. Hopkins who had also been Lawrence's manager.¹

The store was a financial success. Profits from February 15 to July 15, 1869, were $1,635.65. Dividends for the six months ending in April 1874 were 10%, to be paid in merchandise or capital stock. The like period ending October 1877 realized a profit of $5,000. Dividends in April 1879 were 10% and in the following October 13-3/4%.²

The next step in the co-op movement came when the sisters of the Female Relief Society were persuaded to take a part in the movement. At first, it was thought that a store in each ward should be established, but it was decided to begin with only one store after consultation with President Smoot and other church officers in March 1869. Subscriptions were taken and the building, erected by A. J. Stewart, was purchased after being rented for a time from W. Miller. The older co-op

¹ Jensen, op. cit., p. 309.
took a block of stock in the new one and sold it some of its first stock of goods. The new store was first known as the "Female Store," and later was more commonly called the West Co-op. S. S. Jones, who had separated himself from Ben Bachaman after Brigham Young's interdict, took the management of the new store. In August 1870, he succeeded Hopkins at the larger East Store and James Dunn took over the West Co-op.¹

The West store was also an immediate success. By July 15, 1869, profits amounted to $254.15. From January 10 to July 10, 1871, profits were over $1,000 or 23%,² which would place the original investment at only about $4,500. In August 1872, James Dunn declared that for the preceding six months only a 20% dividend would be declared because of lowered prices as it was felt that the 30% dividend as before was too high. The west co-op was able to pay these higher dividends because its original stock of goods was brought on the railroad, while the east co-op had bought at a time of falling prices due to lowering freight costs. The thirty cent pound of nails in 1864 could now be had for about eight cents and in fifteen days instead of four months.

The West Co-op was incorporated in January 1871, and the East Store followed suit in April with a capital of $50,000 which was raised to $50,000 in 1882. Though the two were separate, they always worked together very closely, and it is

¹Jensen, op. cit., p. 310.
²Utah Industrialist, II (March 1889), 239.
often difficult to differentiate between the dealings of the two. This is because the directors of both were often the same men, and bishop's meeting was considered a most proper place for the discussion of their affairs and policies.

The bishops of Provo, echoing a proclamation of Brigham Young, thought it imperative that the people trade exclusively at the co-op stores. Bishop Andrew H. Scott said at a meeting March 24, 1869, "If we do our duty these outside stores will fail and close out."¹ It was thought that either Ben Bachman or Peter Stubbs could be bought out to start the West Store. In any event, both were to be put out of business, Stubbs, "not because he is a bad man, but because he does not comprehend his duty."² Of Ben Bachman it was said, "Ben Bachman is not our Friend."³ On October 12, 1869, teachers were to be instructed to find out who traded at Bachman's. Their names and reasons were to be reported. This evidently did little good, as it was reported to the bishops November 12, 1872, that Ben was enjoying an increasing trade, including one hundred dollars worth in the last week from a member of the board of directors of the co-op. A likely reason advanced for this was that Mr. Bachman was extending credit while the co-op was not.⁴ Peter Stubbs had meanwhile capitulated.

The co-ops probably got their goods from Z. C. M. I., which was speedily put into operation in Salt Lake after

¹"History of Utah Stake," II, 50., MSS.
²Ibid., p. 69.  ³Ibid.
⁴Ibid., p. 238.
Brigham Young went back there from Provo to imply that the Provo co-op might become the basis for his planned Mormon-dominated wholesale house. So far as the author has been able to learn, no wholesale buying was done in the east by the Provo stores. As was pointed out, the stores were joint stock companies and not co-operatives in the modern sense, unless one considers the elimination of the Gentile merchant elimination of a middleman. In any event, this had already been accomplished as best it could be by Brigham Young's proclamation. Really little was changed. All of Provo's Mormon merchants became stockholders (merely by putting in their stores and goods), directors, superintendents, and clerks in the Provo Co-op Institutions. The only major change was that commerce, which heretofore had gotten along only too well independently, was brought more closely under the patronage and supervision of the church. It was started at the behest of Brigham Young, and after his death in 1877 there were no new co-ops in Provo.

The word co-op did possess a certain degree of magic when used to promote a new enterprise, but the methods were usually much the same as those the Mormons had used since their arrival in the territory. The only innovation was payment

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1Webster defines a co-operative as "any association for buying or selling to better advantage by elimination of middlemen's profit." W. C. A. Smoot, Jr. & Co. talked of starting a true co-op in 1889 where the purchaser was to be awarded scrip allowing him a certain portion of the profits. A board of directors was elected and stock subscribed, but there was found no evidence of the company going into business. Utah Enquirer, June 25, 1889.

2Tullidge, op. cit., p. 252.
in stock for materials, labor, or capital contributed.

The early 70's saw a rash of co-ops in Provo. There was the Co-op Boot and Shoe Store, a Co-op Grist Mill, and Zion's Co-op Pottery under the management of Wm. D. Roberts, who had long been known as "Potter Roberts" and made his livelihood on earthenware in Provo. The woolen mills were also sometimes known as the Co-op Woolen Mills. The Utah Southern Railroad was extended from Lehi to Payson on a co-op basis. The Utah county co-op stock herd was organized in this period. Then Wm. W. Allen began making bricks "under the auspices of the United Order,"¹ which many thought was to follow after the co-op movement. In some cases, like the pottery, the co-ops may be discounted, but in others, such as the railroad or the woolen mills, the organizational genius of church leaders such as Brigham Young and A. O. Smoot must be given credit for completion of vital projects which might otherwise have been impossible or long delayed. The co-op was a device used by church leaders for marshalling their people's meager capital. It was a means by which any farmer could become a capitalist by trading his labor and his agricultural surplus for stock.

Provo's co-op stores branched out into other enterprises which went by the co-op name. A meat market was established in conjunction with the West Store in 1877; the East Store had earlier established one.² These stores bought animals

¹Provo Tri-Weekly Times, May 28, 1874.
²Utah County Enquirer, Sept. 26, 1877.
on the local market, slaughtered them, and sold them over the counter. The butcher shop of those days would not have appeared very inviting to the modern customer. Halved and quartered animals hung on one wall; the butchers worked in view of all behind the counter; and the floor was covered with sawdust. Joseph Nuttal managed the East Store and Luke Cook was head butcher at the West Store.

In 1874, the clothing or tailoring department was opened under the direction of Albert Singleton to "make up" clothing exclusively from factory cloth. Tailored suits were only a part of the business. Flannel overshirts and underclothing to be sold in nearby mining camps were also made. By 1889, the tailoring department occupied a two story building 26x62 feet and regularly employed from seven to fifteen men.¹

In 1879, the stores had for hire a hay baler, and in 1881 had a lucerne seed fan and a corn sheller.²

Provo had no drug store in January, 1879, and it was hoped that when a new store came it would not be a dram shop.³ Perhaps to meet this need the Co-op Drug Store was opened some time later. It featured a "Full stock of Pure Drugs and Medicines and (for medicinal purposes only) a well selected stock of Wines and Liquors. First class tobacco and cigars. Physicians prescriptions carefully compounded."⁴

A stationery department was conducted in conjunction

¹Utah Industrialist, II (March 1889), 223.
²Territorial Enquirer, Aug. 23, 1879, and Dec. 3, 1881.
³Ibid., Jan. 11, 1879. ⁴Ibid., Jan. 29, 1881.
with it where schoolbooks and supplies, magazines and newspapers were sold. Reed Smoot and N. C. Larsen bought out the Co-op Drug Store in December, 1884.

In 1889, the East co-op advertised a jewelry department, a silk department, stoves, carpets, a cloak and "Newmarket" corner, tea, trunks, crockery, curtains, dress goods, flannels, and blankets.\(^1\) They, of course, had the usual stock of dry goods, millinery, men's and women's furnishings, boots and shoes, groceries, canned goods, wagons and farm machinery typical of the larger general store of their day.

The co-op stores did most of their buying in Salt Lake\(^2\) and consequently did not go into the wholesale business as suggested by Brigham Young. However, in 1881, there was an attempt made at starting a wholesale business. The company announced:

as Inducements to Wholesale Buyers the Provo Co-op Institution now offer special figures on the following named goods. They will guarantee to furnish these articles at the same prices as Salt Lake houses ask of country buyers: Durham Tobacco, Horseshoe Tobacco, Kingsford Silver Gloss, Starch, Babbitts' Soda, Choice brands of Teas, Green Coffee,...all sizes rope, New Currants,...Mens straw hats in endless variety...Mens summer underwear.\(^3\)

The total number of items was only twenty-three. It will be observed that the merchandise offered consists generally of two types: first, imported goods with Brand names, e.g., the tobacco or starch, and second, local manufactures, e.g., rope, hats, and underwear. Neither of these was the basis for

\(^1\)Utah Enquirer, Sept. 17, 1889.
\(^2\)Ibid., July 9, and Oct. 15, 1881.
\(^3\)Ibid., Feb. 23, 1881.
a real wholesaling business because the first group could be ordered by anyone from the east, and the second were to be had locally in the retail outlets connected with the manufactories. The author has found no evidence to indicate that a real wholesaling business grew up.

Meanwhile in 1878 R. C. Kirkwood had assumed the superintendency of both the East and West Stores and their subsidiaries. At a meeting of directors in 1881 it was decided that the load was too great for him to manage alone, so Reed Smoot was made superintendent of the East Store, John E. Booth superintendent of the Drug and Stationery Stores, and Mr. Kirkwood retained the West Store and tailoring department.

The co-ops were among Provo's largest produce dealers and often had advertisements such as "10,000 lbs. of dried fruit wanted;" "Lucerne seed, dried apples, ground cherries and plums and all kinds of grain are wanted."¹ In 1881, competition was growing keener, and they advertised their offers for produce for the first time. Oats brought $1.60 and barley $1.40 per hundred pounds in September. Peaches were 11¢ per pound in "bright halves" or 15¢ peeled. Apricots were 15¢, plums 12¢, and apples 6¢. Prices were on the uptrend, however, and by October 12, oats were $1.75 and eggs 25¢ a dozen. Three days later, the West Store was offering $1.90 for oats, $1.50 for barley, $1.40 for corn and $1.50 per hundred pounds for wheat. Eggs were now 30¢.²

The credit system was a threat to the co-op stores as

¹Ibid., Jan. 28, 1881.
²Ibid., Sept. 7, 28, Oct. 12, 15, 1881.
it had been to all Mormon business establishments. In April 1874, it was decided to extend no more credit. Clerks who gave credit were to pay up the account themselves. However, it proved always difficult to deny credit to the brethren and "bad accounts" were listed as among the causes of the failure of the West Co-op.

Business was good for the co-op stores until 1886, an average twenty per cent dividend being nearly always paid. In 1880, the East Store built a two-story addition as evidence of its prosperity, and in 1879 alone employed five clerks. In 1888, the Provo Woolen Mills "Factory Store" was purchased and the hardware department moved there. In 1884, a separate boot and shoe store was maintained.

However, in 1888, the West Store was driven to publication of notices such as this:

The West Co-op make another kind and gentle reminder to those knowing themselves indebted to the institution. It is expected that they will pay up their accounts within 30 days. Provo, August 10, 1888.

Customers were enticed into the stores with offers such as a "fine shawl and bundle holder" with each three-dollar purchase at the East Co-op. When the twenty year charter of the East Co-op expired in 1891, the company was re-incorporated with a capital stock of $48,000 and most stockholders saw fit to renew their stock. However, at the same time it was announced that "For several years the store has been slightly under a

1Provo Daily Times, Apr. 2, 1874.
2Utah Enquirer, Aug. 31, 1888.
cloud, but by the tact and business sagacity of... management has been placed on a solid footing."

Debts had been reduced $18,000 in the last six months and a 5% dividend declared for the first time in five years. This was at the beginning of Provo's first great boom for which the co-ops were soon to pay. Shortly after, it was necessary to cut the expenses of the institution, and Albert Singleton was made manager of all the enterprises of the East Co-op. He had formerly directed the clothing department only. He was only successful in putting off for a time the inevitable disaster.

The West Co-op was among the first firms to fail in the general depression of 1891-95. On February 8, 1892, an assignee's sale was commenced to sell out the goods of the store to pay off its debts. Preferred creditors were paid 90%, while others only got 40%. However, it was pointed out that this was better than many failing firms had done in these general hard times. S. P. and Andrew Eggertsen, who held about three-fourths of the stock at that time, bought the store for $6,674. Three dollars in dividends had been paid out to stockholders for every dollar originally invested.

A report submitted at the last meeting of the West Co-op stockholders December 28, 1892, assigned the following causes for failure:

- Purchase of the East Co-op stock in the West branch and consequent outlay of cash.
- Failure of other institutions which threw a surplus

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1Daily Enquirer, April 4, 1891.
of goods on the market.

General business depression
The fire which destroyed the barn and machinery of the institution.
An investment in alfalfa which resulted in a heavy loss.
Bad accounts.
The improvements made.

A motion was made and passed that the company be dissolved.¹

The East Co-op and the clothing department closed March 14, 1895. Z. C. M. I. foreclosed on a chattel and real estate mortgage aggregating $25,198.35. An attachment had previously been made for $1,700 by the First National Bank of Provo. After the foreclosure, Clark Elbridge and Co. of Salt Lake collected $790. Liabilities aside from the Z. C. M. I. indebtedness totaled about $11,000. Albert Singleton, who was manager at the time, had been paying off the debts, but not that owing to Z. C. M. I.

The West Co-op was operated for a few years by S. P. Eggertson. Z. C. M. I. operated the East Store until 1897 when it was purchased by Jesse Knight. In 1900 the building was razed to make room for the Knight Block, which stands on the site today. Albert Singleton continued to operate the clothing department, under the name of Singleton Bros. Clothing Co.

Among the causes of failure must be named the general business depression, ineptness on the part of the rapidly changing series of managers in the last years, growing competition, declining faithfulness on the part of the Mormon people, and the desire of the stockholders for continued high dividends.

¹Daily Enquirer, Dec. 29, 1892.
The last named cause did not allow accumulation of capital to meet any emergency, although this could easily have been done with the usually high profits.

The co-op stores did not bring about the desired result of putting merchandising into the hands of Mormons only. Only for a very short time were the co-op stores the only Mormon stores in Provo. They failed to put Ben Bachman out of business, and soon many other establishments sprung up beside them. The co-ops were the school in which many of these new merchants grew up. James Dunn, S. S. Jones, F. W. C. Hathenbruck, Farrer Bros., R. C. Kirkwood, Reed Smoot, John E. Booth, Joseph A. Harris, and others worked as clerks or managers in the stores before going into business for themselves.

Provo was still a village in the late seventies, and the character of its business showed it. Some "stores" were a sideline conducted by the women and girls of a family in a room of their home. Others were retail outlets maintained as part of their trade by artisans such as carpenters, potters, tailors, and blacksmiths. Some were agents for various expensive imported articles, especially sewing machines and farm machinery. The real stores were small by modern standards, disordered and cluttered, and crammed with a wide variety of goods. As an example, the co-op stores dealt in dry goods, groceries, boots and shoes, millinery, tobacco, grain and produce, hay, meat, wagons and farm machinery, locally made hats and clothes as well as imported, and other articles too numerous to mention. However, large stocks of any one item were not usually kept.
Many people were in business because of the rich profits to be enjoyed by the most competent enterprisers. This made many small establishments and a high mortality among them. It also contributed to the wide variety of pursuits a man might take up in his lifetime. For instance, William Freshwater started Provo's first specialty store with home-made candy and confections in 1871. Two years later, the business became one in general merchandise. He built a new store in 1878 which in time became a hardware and sporting goods store. Charles Twelves was long one of Provo's foremost gardeners. In 1874 he opened "The Nonpariel Ice Cream Gardens." In 1880 he had a seed store on Center Street. By 1886 he had added fruits and vegetables, groceries and dry goods. In April of that year, he added a lunch house. A Book Store was also part of the store. The prime example is, of course, Abraham O. Smoot, father of industry and capital in Provo. Besides being mayor for twenty-two years and serving a like period as Bishop and Stake president, he was president of the Woolen Mills, both co-op stores, a lumber company, and two banks aside from numerous smaller enterprises. He also found time to maintain four wives and families in different households.

One of Provo's most important stores in the seventies belonged to George Taylor, who made and sold furniture, also sold pianos and other musical instruments. He began business in 1866. H. H. Cluff was likewise an important furniture maker and dealer as was P. C. Jensen.

Among general merchandise dealers must be mentioned
Peter Stubbs, William Freshwater, and Ben Bachman, who sold out to Mrs. E. Horton in 1877. Mrs. E. Harrison, William Gill Mills, and W. Fordham and Co. had stores in Provo during the seventies.

Another business of importance was Paxman and Smoot's Lumber and Coal Yard, founded in 1870. In 1877, it was reorganized as Smoot, John, and Co.¹

These days also saw ice cream and soda water make their appearance to alleviate the heat of summer. It might be sold at Doctor Rogers' drug store or at Peter Stubbs' store on Monday, Wednesday and Saturday evenings. Albert Haws sold ice and ice cream. At Startups one could get "Philadelphia ice cream" or "ice cold cronk beer."

Stronger liquid refreshments could be had at the Provo Lager Beer Saloon, Thad Fleming, proprietor, or the Gem Billiard Saloon which was closed out to Peter Stubbs in 1874. The Centennial Barber Shop offered cider at 25¢ per quart. At the Provo Brewery, Rudolf Liesinger and Co., a "First class drink, of home manufacture, healthy and palatable, purifying the blood and invigorating the nervous system" could be had for $2.60 per dozen quarts.²

After Doctor Rogers closed his drug store in early 1879, Coltrin and Co. opened. J. G. Coltrin was one of the more interesting products of the period, being the sole manu-

¹For more complete list, see appendix. For more details, see Territorial Enquirer, and especially the Utah Industrialist.

²Utah County Enquirer, Jan. 20, 1877.
facturer of Coltrin's Chinese Laundry Bluing, Coltrin's Universal Vegetable Pills, and Coltrin's Electric Liniment. He was also an agent for the Davis Sewing Machine and later became a farm equipment agent.

C. A. Wallace maintained a news depot and variety store as did also Captain J. C. Stevenson. The Coray Brothers were stationers and booksellers.

Butcher Shops were in abundance and included George W. Jacques Meat Market; the People's Meat Market, Samuel Harding, proprietor; Provo Meat Market, J. C. C. Glenfield, proprietor; and the East and West Stores.

After the railroad arrived in Provo, a "Market Train" was run to Salt Lake City from Utah County on which the housewife might go to the capital city, do her shopping, and return the same day. Prices were lower in Salt Lake, and so many took advantage of this opportunity. Local boosters and merchants could not, of course, approve of this and "Observer" wrote a letter to the Enquirer in June 1877 urging the people not to go to Salt Lake to give their money to Jews and Gentiles and be cheated. Provoans were urged to stay home and support the Co-op.¹

Provo City's laws in the seventies regulating business and commerce were few. License fees were required of most businesses. Banks, of which there were none, could be licensed for from $50.00 to $300.00 if one had $300,000 capital. Merchants' licenses were from $15.00 up to $225.00 for $100,000

¹Utah County Enquirer, June 16, 1877.
capital, hotels from $20.00 to $100.00. In order to make the price of sin high, billiard tables were licensed at $100.00 each for three months, while bowling alleys were $300 for a like period. Hack and dray drivers were charged $12.00 each. No license was required to sell home manufactures exclusively. ¹

In order that Provo might present a better appearance, all citizens were compelled by law to pave the side walk before their homes, plant shade trees, and erect suitable hitching posts. ²

During the eighties, Provo's business, commerce and manufacturing made the progress which marked it as no longer being a village or town, and allowed it the title of city. There was now a whole solid block of stores and talk of a waterworks for Provo. The waterworks did not materialize until 1892, but Provo's merchants continued to expand. S. S. Jones left the co-op in 1879 to enter the merchandising business. His store was among Provo's most important in the eighties. He also was engaged in other enterprises, notably furnishing ties for the D. & R. G. W. R. R., and he owned charcoal kilns in Spanish Fork Canyon. In 1880, he took over Peter Stubbs' store, then moved to the "Old Kinzie" store and finally built his own "Peoples Emporium" on the main Business block of Provo. ³

¹Revised Ordinances of Provo City, 1877. Title VI, Chapter 5, Section 110, pp. 64-86.
²Ibid. Title VII, Chapter 3, Section 125, p. 90, and Chapter 8, Section 128, p. 91.
³Utah Industrialist, II (March 1889), 233.
He was unable to pay his debts in the panic of 1893, and his doors were closed by his Salt Lake creditors in July. Z. C. W. I. bought his stock at auction.

Walter Cox, Thomas W. Allen, and the Provo Meat Market Association's Excelsior Butcher Shop had been added to the roll of butchers in the eighties, as was the Empire Meat Market; Cook, Scott, and Co., proprietors.

J. S. Lamb in 1881 began Provo's first advertised Restaurant outside of her hotels. Meals were to be had at his Pioneer Lunch House at all hours on the European plan.

Some of Provo's furniture makers had branched into the undertaking business. David Cluff, Jr. was the "oldest and only undertaker in Provo that keeps a full and complete stock of undertakers' goods on hand... furnished on short notice."¹ P. C. Jensen's Second Ward Furniture Store was the "only place where a complete stock of coffins, handles, and ornaments is constantly kept on hand... at wholesale prices."² Cluff and Booth had advertised coffins as early as 1877. Provo's most important undertaker was Ole H. Berg, who came to Provo as a carpenter in 1866. By 1887, he was "prepared to furnish a coffin, complete, of any size and trimming to suit anyone in 3 hours."³

James Dunn began in 1887 a store doing business in

¹_Territorial Enquirer_, Feb. 2, 1881.
²_Ibid._, July 2, 1881.
³_Utah Industrialist_, October 1887, p. 127.
cash only.¹ This store also was an outgrowth of Peter Stubbs' business. In 1889, Dunn and Co. occupied their own two story store 25 X 90 feet and employed five men. They also did a wholesale business in hides and wool.² J. R. Boshard purchased Charles Twelve’s store in 1886 and continued to specialize in green and staple groceries. He and his three employees also boasted that they did a strictly cash business.³

Peter Stubbs did a great deal of moving, but he continued in business. In April 1884, he opened his "Farmer’s Exchange" in what had been S. S. Jones' store. He did a general merchandise business and specialized in taking produce when others were emphasizing cash.

W. H. Gray and Co. did a business in glassware, reapers, mowers, etc., and general dry goods through the eighties. Thomas Startin and A. Greenhalgh were also among the general merchandise dealers.

Reed Smoot bought out his partner, J. H. Larsen, to form Smoot and Co., druggists, in 1884. Other druggists included Doctor F. H. Simmons' and R. S. Hines' Palace Drug Store. Mr. Hines was strongly suspected as a druggist because he did not have the required $1,000 in drug stock required to sell liquor for "medicinal purposes only," and was twice brought before the city court for selling more liquor than drugs.⁴

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¹Ibid., (April 1889), p. 289. ²Ibid.
³Ibid., (March 1889), p. 239.
⁴Territorial Enquirer, Sept. 28, 1881 and Feb. 2, 1886.
The drug store of that day was a fascinating place, and a bewildering variety of herbs and extracts was necessary to meet the demands of the people for the medicines prescribed for them by their doctors. The following are some extracts from the prescription book of Dr. John Riggs, one of Provo's foremost physicians from 1851 till his death in 1892. They illustrate some of the things it was necessary for the druggist to keep in stock, as well as the State of Medicine in Provo. The doctor prescribed; the patient or the druggist did the compounding.

FEVER AGUE
To cure, take from one-third to half a teaspoonfull of Detergent powders once in two hours till they operate as pyic /sic/; then take a teaspoonful of the acitic tincture of Blood root every half hour during the fever. When the fever is off, take from ½ to a tablespoonful of the following preparation /sic/ every two hours: one part tinct of golden seal, one part Blackroot tinct; one part peruvian Bark tinct and 3 parts of Blood root tinct mixed, take this till the fever comes on, then the acitic tinct so alternately till cured. Take small portions of the Detergent powders every night and morning to keep the bowels loose; for bitters take equal parts Florida cinnamon bark and golden seal finely pulverized put into wine and take freely 3 times a day.

DOG OINTMENT--FOR GOUT, RHEUMATISM, WEAK NERVES, CRAMP, AND INFLAMATION OF SIEVES /sic/
Take a young fat dog. Scald the hare /sic/ off and make a hole in his side and take out the guts; then put into his Belly 2 handfuls of Nettles /sic/, 2 oz. of Brimstone, 1 dozen of Eggs, 4 oz. of turpentine, 1 dozen red peppers, 1 pt of angleworms, 2 handfuls of Sassafras bark of the roots and from 6 to 12 large Bullfrogs. Sew him up again and roast him and save the drippings.

INDIAN RECEIPT FOR TO CURE THE LIVER AND DISSOLVE GALLSTONES
Take Indian pipe or convulsion root, 1 oz. Indian physic, 1 oz. the gall of Earth, 1 oz. the Extract of the heart of Iron wood, 1 oz. and a large single handful of dandalion /sic/ root and add 1 pt of whiskey and let it stand till it gets the strength out and then take it
as the stomach will bare [sic] of standing 10 days.¹

Many of Provo's promoters thought its "natural advantages" should make it a wholesale center for Utah Valley and the southern parts of the territory. However, wholesaling did not become a major Garden City industry. There was the attempt at wholesaling by the Co-op cited. Smoot & Co. announced a wholesale cigar business in 1898, but shortly thereafter discontinued it. Z. C. M. I. built a warehouse in Provo in the early eighties and did a considerable business especially in groceries. The State directory in 1884 said that Provo, while the third largest city in the state, was fourth in commercial importance. It assigned as a reason the fact that Provo was tributary to Salt Lake.² This is probably true. Goods could be had on the railroad from Salt Lake in only two more hours than they could be had in Provo. Local business men often took overnight trips to Salt Lake to do their buying. The best Provo merchants could usually promise to do was to meet Salt Lake prices.

It was thought that the coming of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad might make this city more independent, but that proved to be a vain hope, the railroad not being disposed to give the necessary freight reductions.³

In the late eighties and early nineties, Provo "boomed," first in real estate, then in building and commerce. In 1887,

¹Dr. John Riggs, "Prescription Book," (Provo, Utah), MS. While the second of these prescriptions is not altogether atypical, it is included more for its humorous aspects.

²Utah Gazettér and Directory, 1884, p. 356. ³Tbid.
the Enquirer said that merchandise sold in Provo amounted to two million pounds, valued at $18,000,000. In 1888, the Enquirer estimated the aggregate business of Provo at $1,000,000. Building had amounted to $50,000 in value, the Provo Lumber, Manufacturing and Building Co. alone having twenty-six contracts. Eastern real estate men had left $100,000 here in exchange for property. In 1890, building amounted to $328,062. This consisted of quite a number of business buildings and some residences. The next year saw less business property built, but there were 16 projects under way in May, while in May of 1892 there were 18 buildings in progress or planned, of which four were substantial business properties. Next year the editor of the Enquirer was able to list 22 buildings in progress, all residences, but things were not going so well as several were those he had listed last year. There was some building on through the depression, but many were forced to leave vacant the lots they had purchased to build on. During this period, the business district of Provo, with, of course, several notable exceptions, acquired the silhouette it has today.

Prosperity had put enough money into circulation, that

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1Utah Enquirer, January 6, 1888. A very doubtful figure, but it may include ores or other things which the editor was able to construe as being sold in Provo.

2Ibid., Jan. 1, 1889. Probably $1,000,000 retail business.

3Daily Enquirer, Dec. 4, 1890.

4Ibid., May 14, 1891; May 14, 1892; June 8, 1893.

5Salt Lake Herald, Christmas issue, Dec. 1890, p. 16, Il.
in November of 1887 the Provo (East) Co-op decided to issue no more scrip and that in circulation was called in; the following May $3,000 worth of it was burned. Other stores followed suit, although some had long had a cash only policy. In December of 1888, the city council voted to accept no more scrip in payment of license fees. The city had accepted it at a discount. It was termed a "perfect bother," and the mayor agreed to try and find a buyer for the flood of it in the city safe. The East Co-op announced that after February 1, 1890, it would accept no scrip except that of the Woolen Mills. To help take the place of scrip, Superintendent Hathenbruck of the East Co-op, "imported" fifty dollars in one and three cent pieces which he put in circulation as change.

The real estate agent was the most active exponent of The Garden City's "Boom." Each spring in the late eighties saw a new crop of them setting up business in Provo. By fall, all but a few local men were gone and a new crop appeared in the following spring. A typical crop was that of 1890 when the Enquirer noted that there had been sixteen licensed realtors, none of whom were expected to renew their licenses. The Enquirer also declared in 1888 that too many owners try to sell their property themselves instead of allowing agents to get them a quick sale. There were more buyers than sellers. How-

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1 *Utah Enquirer*, Dec. 11, 1888. This was really a move against the billiard saloons who paid a license of $1,200 yearly. By giving the city scrip for their license fees, they were assured of more business if the city was to make a return on its fee.

2 *Daily Enquirer*, Jan. 8, 1891.
ever, the vacuum was soon filled and the Enquirer changed its mind six months later and remarked, "The real estate "Boomists" have ceased booming Provo. . . . Provo can prosper better without such agencies." 1 At that time some good building properties on Center Street were bringing as much as one hundred dollars per front foot. Later in the year, Mr. J. L. Davis of Pueblo purchased 352 lots in the Oakdale division of Provo, stating that he had great faith in Provo's future. This was only one of several subdivisions around the city's edges. The boom went on its merry way, and the Enquirer saw fit to put its foot down as the speculators mushroomed again in 1890, saying:

The Enquirer shall put itself in the way and fight all speculative booming that does not attend to progress as Provo has had enough of that already. Prices have been ballooned higher in this city than what solid improvements have warranted and the result is that we are now experiencing a business lull. 2

The next day, the Enquirer sought to see if it was alone and interviewed some of the city's business men. Except for a minority, who were ardent boomers, the consensus of opinion was well expressed by Luke Cook, butcher: "The Real Estate Boom never done this town any good. The boom is dead and will be buried next month and the real estate agents had better go and hoe corn for a living." 3

Another who spoke for many was William Freshwater, one of the city's more venerable merchants: "We want manufactures. They are good and solid. Real estate booms are merely a flash

1 Territorial Enquirer, July 18, 1888.
2 Daily Enquirer, Apr. 10, 1890. 3 Ibid., April 11.
in the pan.\textsuperscript{1}

The handwriting was even then on the wall for all to read. Prosperity continued in Provo until late fall, but from Salt Lake it was reported that, "Salt Lake is desperate in Real Estate matters... There is no money to be borrowed... and the whole city is for sale."\textsuperscript{2}

This warning went unheeded by many who went ahead with their plans to build; locations for businesses were in great demand and many could not find them. The \textit{Tribune} eulogized Provo and gave a list of enterprises she thought the Garden City could use and would surely soon have. These included a carriage factory, a cannery, a meat packing house and stock yards, a broom factory, a nursery and floriculturist (which Provo had had for several years), smelting works, gas factory, more builders and contractors, and iron and sugar factories.\textsuperscript{3} It will be noted that no mercantile or purely commercial ventures are suggested. Perhaps the \textit{Tribune} knew that Provo was already beyond the saturation point.

The \textit{Enquirer} happily totted up the statistics compiled by J. E. Hall, assessor, showing Provo's commercial and industrial prowess in 1890:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expenditures in 1890 for Private Building</td>
<td>$220,971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditures in 1890 for Public Building</td>
<td>129,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of industrial concerns, 1890</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hands employed</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages paid</td>
<td>$99,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of plant</td>
<td>228,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of raw material</td>
<td>184,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount of raw material\textsuperscript{7}</td>
<td>2,569,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of annual product</td>
<td>$256,659</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid. \textsuperscript{2}Ibid., Apr. 16. \textsuperscript{3}Ibid., Aug. 13, 1890.
Horse power employed 214  
Capital invested $441,000  
Number of stores 47  
Capital invested $290,400  
Amount annual sales 793,460  
Number of employees 138  
Population 5,260

During the happily prosperous year of 1890, Provo City issued licenses to a total of 120 businesses. There were sixty-three licensed merchants, two banks, six hotels, six restaurants, seven meat markets, three livery stables, eleven saloons, two wholesale liquor dealers, four fruit peddlers, and sixteen real estate agents. Some businesses requiring licenses such as "job wagons," of which there were five, are not included in the foregoing, while many others, notably manufacturing, required no license.

Depression came to Provo unobtrusively and quietly, settling down like the snow in the winter of 1890. It froze liquid capital and caused "one of the hardest times to raise money to meet bills I have experienced," according to S. S. Jones, one of Provo's oldest and most distinguished merchants. Rumors were about that numerous firms were on the verge of failure. The Enquirer said, "These are close times that business men of Provo are passing through. Never in the history of the city has trade been more dull." Merchants must stick together and not demand payment in order to avoid "more failures."

These were reverbrations from the city's first major publicized failure, that of Dunn & Co., who were assigned on

1Ibid., Aug. 8, 1891.  2Ibid., Jan. 8, 1891.  
3Ibid., Apr. 18.  4Ibid., Apr. 17.
April 15. George A. Sutherland, company attorney, said he intended to keep the business going, but was able to for only a short time before its final closure. For the next five years, every few months saw the failure of large and long established firms. Among them were the West Co-op; S. S. Jones; Kerr Bros; the Sun Foundry; Julius Jensen; the Provo City Street R. R; The Provo Lumber, Manufacturing, and Building Co; Cluff, Booth, and Co; C. D. Glazier; Alex Hedquist; and others. The only thing that kept the woolen mills going was a willingness on the part of stockholders to lose money so the hands could keep their jobs. Two of Provo's major banks closed their doors for a short time in 1893 when the nation-wide panic made conditions their worst. The total number of failures is difficult to ascertain. Probably many a small marginal entrepreneur was wiped out and went back to the farm. Many of the sixty-three merchants licensed in 1890 disappeared. Their advertising and other evidence of them is found no more. The chart found on pages 188-9 gives known relevant data on those of which the author found documentary evidence of assignment, receivership, foreclosure, attachment, etc.

In addition to the above cited cases, there were many foreclosures, suits, and attachments. Any copy of the Enquirer from 1893 to late 1897 has from two to nine notices of trustee's, sheriff's, and Marshal's sales (some notices carried for 30 days, some for 90 days). The courts were busy with litigation over suits and attachments which were reported with monotonous regularity and little clarity by the papers.
### TABLE 13

**A LIST OF FAILING BUSINESSES IN PROVO IN THE DEPRESSION OF 1893, TOGETHER WITH KNOWN RELEVANT DATA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME AND TYPE OF BUSINESS</th>
<th>DATE OF FAILURE</th>
<th>EXPLANATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enterprise Restaurant</td>
<td>4/9/91</td>
<td>Attachment of goods and chattels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunn &amp; Co. (Mercantile)</td>
<td>5/15/91</td>
<td>Assigned to A.E. Ford, later to E.L. Jones. Assets, $37,000. Liabilities, $28,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Co-op (Merc.)</td>
<td>2/8/92</td>
<td>Assigned to E. A. Wedgwood. Liabilities, $23,000. Purchased by S. P. and Andrew Eggertson for $6,674.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provo City Lumber Co.</td>
<td>6/29/92</td>
<td>Assigned to A. Saxey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado Lumber Co.</td>
<td>8/27/92</td>
<td>Wm. H. King, receiver. Purchased by Ainslie Lumber Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Roberts &amp; Son (Merc.)</td>
<td>4/22/93</td>
<td>Assigned to N. C. Larsen. Enough resources to cover. Liabilities, $7,092.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provo City Street RR.</td>
<td>10/4/93</td>
<td>Marshall's Sale at suit of Dan P. Kellogg and A.A. Noon; suit not paid up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluff, Booth and Co. (Undertakers)</td>
<td>12/3/93</td>
<td>Sherrif's Sale at suit of Jas. A. Bean.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provo Dispatch Co. (News)</td>
<td>11/30/95</td>
<td>Sherrif's Sale. J. C. Graham bid $100 and sale mysteriously called off.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.D. Glazier (Hardware)</td>
<td>4/3/95</td>
<td>Bankrupt. Stock purchased by Western Hardware Co.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*a This includes only the stock of S. S. Jones. Other assets included the building, a safe, horse and wagon.

*b Julius Jensen's major creditor gave him an extension and the business continued.

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### TABLE 13--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME AND TYPE OF BUSINESS</th>
<th>DATE OF FAILURE</th>
<th>EXPLANATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alex Hedquist (Boots and shoes)</td>
<td>2/14/96</td>
<td>Assigned to G. E. Wright.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excelsior Paint and Drug Co.</td>
<td>2/23/97&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Assigned to E. L. Jones. Assets, $7,425. Liabilities, $4,911.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. C. Withers (Saddlery)</td>
<td>9/1/97</td>
<td>Assigned to Jos. T. Farrer. Assets or resources, $600 and book accounts to cover. Liabilities, $1,200.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Co-op (Merc.)</td>
<td>3/20/95</td>
<td>Sheriff's Sale under attachment of ZCMI, 1st Nat'l Bank, et.al. Assets, $35,000.&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt; T.G. Webber, agt. ZCMI. Pur. pr., $5,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Co-op Clothing Dept.</td>
<td>3/20/95</td>
<td>Sheriff's Sale under attachment of ZCMI, 1st Nat'l Bank, et.al. Assets, $6,000&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt; Purchased by T. G. Webber for $1,950.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>The Excelsior Paint and Drug had been bankrupt for some time but had been kept in business by Mr. Nathan Sears. That gentleman being deceased, his heirs pressed for payment.

<sup>b</sup>These figures include only inventory of stock, and not the two large buildings of the establishment. Some other minor assets were sold separately.

The dates given above, coincide with notices published in the Daily Enquirer giving details of individual assignments and sales. For details on the failure of the banks, see chapter on finance and banking. For details on some industrial concerns, see chapter on industry.
Many firms were reluctant to press their creditors, and others claimed they took assignment only for the benefit of creditors in order to assure that all would be paid. The spirit of the pioneers that dictated that all stand or fall together was still here, but the creditors outside the territory and the will to survive by individual firms here made it impossible to keep bankrupt enterprises from failing. The case of A. Roberts & Son is the only one on which the writer has found a complete record of indebtedness. A total of $3,200 was owed to nineteen firms outside the territory. Wholesale and manufacturing concerns within the city and territory were creditors to the extent of $3,891 and numbered thirty-one.¹ Thus, it can be seen, that at least in this case, a local moratorium could not have prevented failure, because by 1893 the stringency of credit was nationwide.

By November of 1891, scrip was again in general circulation in Provo. The city and the county found themselves in narrow financial straits and issued warrants which were in effect scrip, adding to the flood already put out by business houses. Specie and greenbacks disappeared. The Provo Co-op advertised in 1893, "Dig up the gold, silver, and greenbacks you have in that stocking, shoe, stovepipe or other safe place and bring it to us."² Unfortunately, the scrip, which amounted to nothing more than an I. O. U., could not generally be used in the payment of debts. Provo City even refused to take some

¹Ibid., Apr. 22, 1893. ²Ibid., Aug. 16, 1893.
of its own warrants in payment of license fees.\(^1\)

Aside from some whistling in the dark, no glad sound was heard from Provo's business men until the fall of 1897 when the Enquirer announced that although Provo had been harder hit by the "Democratic" depression than most towns, things were now looking brighter. The Woolen Mills was even receiving orders by mail, a $250,000 power plant was to be built in Provo Canyon, and the D. and R. G. R. R. was going to build an extension from Provo up the Canyon to Heber. The paper itself carried substantial evidence of prosperity. Advertisements had once more taken the place of the notices of Sheriff's sales and foreclosures. There was one solitary notice of foreclosure in that issue.\(^2\)

There was no return to the prosperous booming of 1890. Indeed, Provo has never before or since experienced such a rash of building of business property.\(^3\) Affairs moved back to an even keel; there were substantial improvements. Those who had survived enjoyed a reasonable prosperity. The few enterprises borne of the hard times generally prospered.

The closing years of the century also brought a new infusion of capital into the Garden City, when Jesse Knight brought here the rich fruits of his strikes made in the Tintic district in 1896 and 1897. This city enjoyed perhaps more than any other the life giving flow of capital from that esteemed

\(^1\)Ibid., May 5.  \(^2\)Ibid., Sept. 25, 1897.

\(^3\)The residences built in early World War II would, of course, dwarf anything done in the period spoken of.
gentleman's enterprises and philanthropies. Perhaps symbolic of the new era was the purchase of the A. O. Smoot estate by Mr. Knight in August 1897. Although the estate was valued at well over $75,000, the executors found themselves unable to meet obligations of $30,000, so elected to put it on the block. The major portion of the estate was purchased by Mr. Knight for $30,000. It consisted of a "large amount" of Provo real estate, 300 acres of farm property, 454 shares of stock in local corporations, the entire plant of the Smoot Lumber Co., and minor items.  

Major mercantile establishments in Provo during the nineties included the Provo Co-op; Boshard, the grocer; Sam Schwab, clothier; W. H. Gray & Co., general merchandise; F. W. C. Hathenbruck, general merchandise; H. A. Irvine and R. A. Barney, clothing and dry goods (for the latter half of the decade these two gentlemen conducted business separately); and Farrer Bros., general merchandise. Parley Hindmarsh's grocery store was born of and thrived during the depression. People liked his low prices. Another that grew in the face of adversity was the New York Cash Store in Dunn and Company's old stand.

Before their failure, McEwan and Company's Chicago store was a flamboyant distributor of general dry goods. C. D. Glazier and Ben R. Eldridge were important among hard-

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1 For a history of the Jesse Knight Enterprises or the Knight Investment Co., see J. Wm. Knight, The Jesse Knight Family, (Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City, 1941), p. 140.
2 Daily Enquirer, Aug. 28, 1897.
ware dealers in the early half of the decade.

Taylor Brothers' furniture store did a large business, selling throughout the state. Gates and Snow, earlier known as Snow Bros., were also leading furniture dealers.

Mrs. Weidner's and Jane Bee's millinery stores outlasted many others of their kind that reflected a growing consciousness of her clothes by milady. These were Provo's first specialty stores to occur in any number. However, most were short lived and the marriage of the young lady operator often pronounced their end. Mrs. Annie Jones Atkins opened up S. S. Jones' old stand and featured not only feathers, ribbons, and trimmings, but the latest styles from Paris and New York. A number of seamstresses were kept busy under the direction of Madame Coleman readying frocks for the style-conscious ladies of Provo.

In the book and stationery trade were the Felt Bros. with their Provo News Depot, and the Provo Book and Stationery Co. In the middle of the decade these were joined by Skelton and Co., who were also leaders in the rapidly growing bicycle trade.

Smoot and Co. continued to be leading druggists. Pyne and Maiben sold druggs as well as paints and oils. These gentlemen also catered to "the Family Trade." Let their advertisement speak for itself:

Being advised by our friends and patrons to take out a wholesale liquor license for the purpose of dealing in wholesale liquor for the family trade, we do so, trusting that the people of Provo and vicinity, when in need of pure liquors for medicinal purposes, will give us their
support. In conclusion we will say that we have not taken this move to encourage tippling, as our license will not admit of anything of this kind; neither do we intend to let this departure interfere with our regular paint, oil, and drug business. We wish it distinctly understood that we will in no way encourage anything but a legitimate family trade. . .

Respectfully,
Pyne & Maiben

Among Provo's druggists in the late eighties were R. S. Hines and Dr. Shoebridge, both of whom often ran afoul the law for selling "tanglefoot" for other than medicinal purposes. Due to the extreme difficulty of enforcing the law and the pressure of a vociferous minority, Provo's prohibition law was repealed once more in 1888. In order to make the price of sin high and fill the city coffers, the license for saloons was set at $300 per quarter. The saloons were to be strictly regulated. The business must have been very good as the saloons soon numbered eleven, but this is probably the most there ever were because this business suffered like every other after 1891. The saloon keepers petitioned for lower license due to the hard times. The city council voted for a reduction to $250, but public opinion would not allow it, and the mayor vetoed it. Knight Brothers' saloon chose in May 1893 to close their bar and do a family trade only, thus avoiding the prohibitive saloon tax. The Enquirer, which thought the tax justified due to the increased costs brought on the city by the trouble saloons caused, estimated the annual take for liquor in Provo at $135,000, only $7,000 of which was sold by licensed drug stores and $1,500 by other drug stores for

1Utah Enquirer, Nov. 1, 1889.
medicinal purposes.\textsuperscript{1}

In the forty-seven years from the opening of Provo's first store by Andrew Stewart, until the end of the century, the village of Provo had become a city. The old fashioned general store was on the road to extinction, although several major stores were still of that type. Beginning with the grocery, drug, and book and stationery stores, then the dry goods and millinery store, Provo's merchants were leaning more to specialization. The department store was to be a twentieth century phenomenon.

The economy was primarily based on money. Many continued to take produce, but the trend was rapidly away from this. Merchandising was becoming a more specialized business. It was no longer necessary for the merchant to be his own banker, produce agent, clerk, builder, and, as had often been the case, manufacturer.

The city ordinances for 1893 testify to Provo's graduation to the rank of a city. Gone is the 1877 provision requiring shade trees, etc. But we do find it provided that the "city scavenger shall perform such duties as are in reference to the public health and cleanliness of the city."\textsuperscript{2} Banks, which the city now had, could be licensed for from twenty-five dollars to three hundred and fifty dollars. Hotel licenses had increased to from sixty dollars up to two hundred and

\textsuperscript{1}\textit{Daily Enquirer}, Feb. 14, 1891. Undoubtedly a liberal estimate.

\textsuperscript{2}\textit{Revised Provo City Ordinances}, 1895, Chap. XXIII, p. 90.
twenty-five. Restaurants could now be licensed for from fifteen to fifty dollars. A merchant's license might be as cheap as ten dollars or as high as four hundred dollars if the stock was worth $500,000. Billiard tables were now only forty dollars per year. Throughout, a more extensive and wider range of business was provided for; for example, Provo in 1893 contemplated licensing plumbers, electricians, photographers, assayers, and many others. These were laws for a commercial city operating in a money economy, while those of 1877 had been for a village which traded with scrip and grain.

Thirty-two of Provo's prominent business men met on September 10, 1887 to organize a Chamber of Commerce or Board of Trade for Provo City. All present agreed that Provo's natural advantages and possibilities should be advertised more widely. W. H. Dusenberry (Provo's mayor) was elected president and James Dunn and A. A. Noon were first and second vice presidents. George Sutherland was secretary and E. L. Jones treasurer. The board of directors were: S. S. Jones, Reed Smoot, W. C. A. Smoot, Jr., Amos D. Holdaway, Dr. F. H. Simmons, Robert Brereton, W. R. Paxman, Dr. Pike, and S. R. Thurman. The latter two gentlemen resigned because their professions were already represented on the board.

The first project was appointment of a committee to put an advertisement in the Salt Lake Enterprise, but the ad was not placed, and the Enterprise remarked that "Provo should

\[1\text{Ibid.}, \text{ Chap. XLVII, Secs. 340-353.}\]
organize a Board of Trade.\textsuperscript{1}

Some typical business at the regular Friday meeting included: voting to uphold the Salt Lake City Chamber in whatever they might do to stop the Union Pacific Railroad from discriminating against the territory; contracting with an eastern firm to print 7,500 copies of a forty page booklet to "Boom" Provo; taking joint action with Salt Lake to protest proposed reductions in lead and wool tariffs; and planning a grand excursion from the east for tourists to Utah cities. The Chamber was often called upon by the Enquirer to find a solution to various problems; for example, in October of 1887: "How is it that better coal can be delivered anywhere in Salt Lake for $5 per ton than the people of Provo pay $6.25 for? Chamber of Commerce please explain."\textsuperscript{2}

The Chamber also took up even weightier matters, such as getting the territorial capitol moved to Provo in 1892 because Provo was "morally cleaner" and better located than Salt Lake City. The city fathers were asked to contribute suitable grounds for the location of a capital building.\textsuperscript{3}

In 1888, the Chamber selected for Provo the very suitable appellation, "The Garden City," by which it was known until 1940.

The Chamber promoted any enterprise—railroads, pig iron plants, manufacturing, new schools for Provo—that was

\textsuperscript{1}Territorial Enquirer, Sept. 13, Oct. 4, 1887.
\textsuperscript{2}Ibid., Oct. 21, Dec. 18, Oct. 4, Sept. 30, 1887.
\textsuperscript{3}Daily Enquirer, Jan. 7, 12, 1892.
thought to be for the good of the city. It provided leadership in economic activities that had once been provided by church leaders. However, it must be noted that there was a very fundamental change in orientation. One of the Chamber of Commerce's primary concerns was getting new capital and enterprise into the city from outside the territory. Leaders of the earlier generation had not considered such a thing. Its existence and activities are very symbolic of the breakdown of the old order in which the territory tried to be an economic entity, and the emergence of the new in which Provo's natural advantages would promote her growth within the great economic sphere of the whole United States.
CHAPTER VIII
THE HISTORY OF PUBLIC UTILITIES IN PROVO TO 1900

During the late eighties, the growing realization of Provo's "maturity" as a city prompted civic leaders to see if the city could not be supplied with electricity as some of the smaller towns in Utah were doing. The movement to get electricity for Provo came to a head in 1889. The city commission indicated that it thought that the city should have electric lights on its dark streets.

The Provo Electric Light and Power Company was organized in February 1889 and granted a fifty year franchise by the City Council in May. However, this franchise was voided in November because the company failed to start work on its plant and distribution system within six months, as required by the franchise.¹

Several petitions to fill the gap were immediately filed with the city council. Two were granted, one to Reed Smoot, A. O. Smoot, and others representing the Provo Manufacturing Co. and another to T. E. Daniels and others. It was not the policy of Provo's leaders at the time to grant exclusive franchises. The Woolen Mills franchise was for making "electrical currents...for lighting and propelling machinery and for other purposes; and also conveying steam by means of

¹_Utah Enquirer, Feb. 28, May 31, 1889._

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pipes." The Daniels Electric Light and Power Company had a franchise for making "electric currents for electric light and power," as did the Woolen Mills, for erecting "suitable works for manufacturing and transmission."\(^1\)

The first electric light in Provo City was furnished by the Daniels Electric Light and Power Company some time in late April or May, 1890. The light was furnished to a few stores in Provo's west end by a small home made dynamo made by T. E. Daniels and Henry Stagg with castings from the Sun Foundry. The dynamo could run fifty lights of sixteen candlepower, and it was claimed that this four horsepower machine wasted no magnetism and was therefore equivalent to the ordinary six horsepower.\(^2\) With a capacity as small as this, it is evident that the company could not supply the street lights desired by the City Council.

The Woolen Mills was meanwhile going ahead with plans to install a generator that would supply the immediately foreseeable needs for street lighting as well as some residential and business lighting. Reed Smoot notified the city that each arc light would cost about fifteen dollars per month. The council debated where to put each light so that all sections of the city could receive some benefit. They finally agreed on seventeen lights to be placed mostly in the business section. Poles were to be placed in the middle of the streets. On

\(^1\)Ibid., Dec. 6, 1889; Daily Enquirer, Jan. 28, 29, 1890.
\(^2\)Daily Enquirer, April 23, 24, 1890.
August 6, 1890, the Enquirer first reported that the city was now lighted by the Provo Woolen Mills. That the lights were visible from Utah Lake or even from Pleasant Grove was the proud boast of a contemporary. There were twenty-one arc lights of which four were privately owned. There were about two hundred incandescent lights of sixteen candlepower each. Arc lights cost fifteen dollars per month each for 12:00 p.m. service; incandescent lights cost $1.25 a month for service until 9:00 p.m., $1.50 for 10:00 p.m. service, and $2.00 to use one light until 12:00 p.m. for a month.

The plant was made in Pittsburgh and operated both by steam and water power. The poles for the service system came from Idaho.¹

Provo City soon overextended itself in its exuberant spending on public improvements and found itself unable to pay for the lights it had contracted for. The city voted to discontinue the lights as a "retrenchment" measure in April 1892. There followed several months of disagreement between the city and the management of the Woolen Mills over lights that failed to burn and reduction of rates, the mills finally having to settle for $12.50 per light per month. The city had meanwhile been in darkness for a part of the time. There continued to be considerable dissatisfaction on the part of the city fathers and they even thought of selling land to buy a power plant of their own.² However, the Woolen Mills served

¹Ibid., Aug. 6, 1890.
²Ibid., Apr. 12, 15, Aug. 9, 30, 1892.
most of the time until 1899, when it transferred its system to
the Electric Company which was the distributing agent for the
Telluride Power Company.

Engineering work for a power plant in Provo Canyon was
started in 1895 under the direction of P. A. Davis of Salt Lake
and L. L. Nunn of Telluride, Colorado, with F. J. Kramer as
engineer. The company was then called the Provo River Power
Co., but in 1900 became the Telluride Power Company. The plan
in 1895 was to start work in the spring of 1896 on a dam sixty
to eighty-five feet high to furnish the desired water pressure.
The plant was to cost $1,250,000. However, the dam was not
built because of a suit entered over the right of way by the
D. & R. G. R. R., and the plant was built substantially as it
now is in Provo Canyon, but was not finished until 1899. The
plant was built primarily to supply the needs of Mercur, Eureka,
and Bingham via long distance, high voltage lines, a field in
which this company pioneered.

The Woolen Mills service had evidently not continued
to light the city, and in 1898 the Democrat said that a good
and reliable electric system was finally in prospect for Provo.
There was no immediate action to negotiate with the company
building in Provo Canyon, and it was reported that the "member
from the 5th Ward" of the city council was obstructing acquisi-
tion of the Woolen Mills franchise. Finally, the Telluride
Company announced on May 6 that it was doubling capacity and
power would be available in Provo in seventy days. The Council
voted to have fifty lights of thirty-two candlepower in the
city. Some time in late 1899 Provo had her first dependable and adequate electric power turned on from the Telluride Power Co. plant.¹

A waterworks for Provo City was considered for years before anything was done. In 1880, the city fathers considered piping water from Oak Springs, three miles east of the city, but nothing was done. Most people in early days got their culinary water from surface wells or from irrigation ditches or other streams. Those who had the money and desired running water, could have it at relatively low cost by driving an artesian well to a depth of one or two hundred feet. Such wells were common in Provo in the late eighties, and they, of course, did not help to bring to the city a water system, although they might create the impression with the casual visitor that the city did have a water system.

Agitation for a water system reached a point in Provo in 1889 where it became a political issue, and the city officers for 1890 were elected on a waterworks platform. A few fires in the city had served to show the dire need for an adequate water supply, as well as for a fire department. The people were for it, and the Chamber of Commerce voted in favor of bonding the city to make possible this project.

The first estimate and plan for a waterworks was made by Sturgiss and Bryant of Salt Lake and published in the Enquirer on February 12, 1890. The water was to be brought from

¹Ibid., Nov. 9, Dec. 23, 1895, Apr. 6, 1896; Utah County Democrat, Oct. 8, 1898; Feb. 1, 18, May 6, June 7, 1899.
the Provo River by a three-mile-long canal to a settling basin, thence to a 1,000,000 gallon distributing reservoir near the mouth of Rock Canyon. The system would be built so it could be easily expanded to serve a population of 20,000 people. Cost was estimated at $65,000 or $44,000 with wooden mains. The City Council voted to float $40,000 in six per cent bonds and make up the remainder of the cost from current revenues. However, no action toward definitely starting or hiring a contractor was taken.1

While the City Council vacillated, Witcher Jones, a promoter with only small capital of his own, came forward with a plan which he presented to the City Council. His corporation (not yet organized) would install and operate the waterworks and give the city an option to buy them in twenty years. Jones estimated that the cost of the works would be $122,000. The reaction of the City Fathers was immediately favorable, and within ten days after Jones' first proposal they abandoned the principle of home ownership and financing so cherished by their fathers and signed a contract with Jones and awarded him a franchise. Water was to be on Center Street by Christmas.

The waterworks company was quickly organized with a capital stock of $250,000 divided into 25,000 shares. Of these, Jones owned 24,990, the remainder being divided among the president and board of directors, all prominent Provo men. Jones had said that he would put up for sale in Provo $50,000 worth of stock, but none but the ten shares was sold. Jones was

1Daily Enquirer, Mar. 25, Apr. 15, May 13, 1890.
going to raise $50,000 by himself and get the rest of the capital by selling $200,000 in seven per cent bonds.\(^1\)

Complications soon developed; in order to pay the interest on the bonds, Jones had to have $14,000 a year. The only way that that amount could be raised was for the city to subscribe $7,500 a year for hydrants. The city council would not do this as they said that city taxes would have to be raised 66\%, which they refused to do. The council felt that it had to give the company no more support after it had granted the franchise. In spite of all Jones' pleas, the fathers remained adamant. The Chamber of Commerce voted to support their action. The impasse continued from September 1890 into the next summer. Jones continued to plead and the Council reasserted its firm stand. Meanwhile, E. Lund of Salt Lake City told the council they should own their own water system at a cost of no more than $75,000. In May, the Council voted to forfeit Jones' franchise. Jones appeared before them with new propositions, but they turned a deaf ear towards him.\(^2\)

In August 1891, the Mayor received communications from two Colorado firms who offered to put in the waterworks in exchange for the city's bonds. On September 1, 1890, three bids were received. One from Witcher Jones for $120,000 was rejected because the council thought him unreliable. The lowest bid, submitted by D. J. McCanne, for $103,500, was hardly even considered, possibly because the terms were cash on completion.

\(^1\)Ibid., June 18, 26, 28, July 1, Sept. 19, 1890.
\(^2\)Ibid., Sept. 19, 25, Oct. 13, 14, 21, 1890.
The bid of Rhodes Brothers of Colorado for $120,000 in six per cent bonds was accepted. J. E. Rhodes had been in Provo during August and had advised the council to have their own system. The contract with Rhodes Brothers was signed immediately, and the waterworks was to be finished by January 1, 1892. The city floated 125 $1,000.00 bonds which were sold to Rhodes Brothers for $975.00 each.

The new contractors proved to be very rapid. Within four days, twenty-five carloads of pipe were on their way and the work was finished by December 4. As completed, the system consisted of a dam in Provo River with a wooden pipe to convey the water to settling basins. From here the water went into the seventeen miles of pipe of the distribution system and the eighty hydrants on the system.1

However, there was still a fly in the ointment; when the system was only seven months old, there were complaints that the wooden pipe was leaking. May 1, 1893, Melinda Baum presented claims for $25.00 for chickens and turkeys drowned by leaks in the waterworks. Other claims followed, all of which were turned over to Rhodes Brothers by the City Council. In July, the city brought suit against Rhodes Brothers for breach of contract, i.e., installing a defective system. The suit was withdrawn when the contractors put additional bands around the pipe and stopped the leaks.2

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1Ibid., Feb. 11, May 19, June 9, Aug. 26, Sept. 1, 2, 5, 30, Dec. 4, 1891.
2Ibid., May 2, July 18, 1893.
The waterworks was thereafter extended when the need was apparent. The system was soon extended to the Territorial Insane Asylum. In 1895, the council voted to extend the system to the cemetery. Subscribers were to dig the trench themselves. A sinking fund for paying off the waterworks bonds was not set up immediately because of the condition of city finances, but plans for such a fund were made in 1895. One hundred thousand dollars of the bonds were refunded in 1902. New bonds for expansion of the system were sold in 1910.

During the period in which the city started paying for electric lights and installing waterworks, the merchants and people of the city demanded other services, notably a fire department. The national depression in 1893 caused the city's sources of revenue to be curtailed and it found itself unable to meet its obligations. The new fire engine went unpaid for and money had to be borrowed to pay the interest on the waterworks bonds. City warrants in circulation amounted to $11,455.20 in December 1893. Taxes were raised far above the limits which the city fathers had refused to pass when Witcher Jones was trying to get them to pay the interest on his bonds (from 2½ to 10 mills). However, this new tax rate, more commensurate with the services the city was now offering, was soon able to make the city government solvent once more. In 1896, the city had no debt except the waterworks bonds.¹

Sewers for the public were a post-Nineteenth Century

¹Ibid., May 9, 10, July 5, Aug. 29, Dec. 19, 1893; Dec. 3, 1894; June 25, 1896; Jan. 8, 1896.
phenomenon in Provo, although a sewer line from the court house was put in in 1892, as well as one from the Brigham Young Academy. Some citizens connected on these lines, which were condemned when a new system was put in in 1909. Many homes had pipes laid to the Factory Race or the East Drain, which the city had only recently dug in 1890. Many homes, of course, used the cesspool or even more primitive means of disposing of their wastes.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, Aug. 17, 1892; Jensen, \textit{op. cit.}, 210-11.}

Provo had no gas works before 1900, but a franchise for gas works was granted to St. V. LeSieur, J. H. Van Horn, and J. M. Stull on March 2, 1891. These gentlemen planned to commence work immediately, but were unable to do so. Their franchise was forfeited in January 1893.\footnote{\textit{Daily Enquirer}, Nov. 7, 1890, Mar. 3, 1891, Jan. 17, 1893.}
CHAPTER IX

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION IN PROVO TO 1900

When the pioneers came to Provo, the area was naturally devoid of any well established roads. True, there had been trappers and traders journey through here before, but they had done so only with horses and burros, the wagon not being ordinarily used by them. But when the Mormons came to make an agricultural settlement, they brought with them this necessary implement of husbandry. This posed a new problem in transportation. The horse or donkey could thread its way through the tangled brush of the canyons, but a span of oxen with a heavy wagon could not. So, as time went on, these hardy pioneers built trails or roads through the canyons so that their commerce and trade could move more freely. The valleys did not pose nearly so great a problem as the canyons and hills, because they were covered only with low brush and grass through which a wagon could pass with relative ease.

The first trail to Provo was that which the original pioneers made to the new colony when they first came. The journey from Salt Lake City was probably not a difficult one, except for the distance around the point of the mountain. This trail came to be known as the State Road and followed very nearly the route of Highway 91 before 1940. It was then, as
it is now, the most important artery of commerce for Provo. The road was soon extended to the south on approximately the route of present Highway 91 as other settlements were made south of Provo. By 1860, a similar road was made down to Sanpete along the present general route of Highway 89. Later, a road into Pleasant Valley was made. All these in their early years were only trails with the major obstacles removed. Very little grading was done and bridges were constructed only when absolutely necessary or heavy traffic made them desirable. Crews of men under one of the Bishops often went out to make more passable these bumpy and dusty trails. As far as the writer has determined, the maintenance of roads was considered a local matter, although a complaint from Brigham Young would probably have speedily brought a crew to repair the offending portion of road. The maintenance of the roads was a subject of constant concern to the bishops of Provo.¹

Instead of going over all the difficulties of road building and maintenance, let us examine the case of the Provo River Bridge on the state road immediately north of Provo. The pioneers elected to build their city on the south side of the river, and because of the difficulty of fording the river, especially in high water, and the comparatively heavy traffic over it, decided to build a bridge. This bridge was carried away in 1854. A new bridge one hundred and twenty feet long and costing $6,500 was built in 1855. In 1864, the bridge was

¹"History of Utah Stake," II; 10, 12, 164, 221, 246, 247, 254 and numerous others, MSS.
made stronger with an abutment on each end. However, in 1866, the river refused to run under this improved bridge and ran around one end leaving the bridge high and dry. The following year, during the high water season, the bridge floated away one night at about 8:30 p.m. The next week a woman was drowned on the ferry that had been installed. A new bridge was built at a cost of $8,000 that served with only minor interruptions of service until the night of June 17, 1872 when the citizens were roused from their beds by the meeting house bell to secure the north abutment of the bridge which had commenced a voyage down the river. Only twelve days earlier, with the threat of high water, fifty men and twenty teams had put in two days work at the bridge under the personal supervision of Abraham O. Smoot. J. P. R. Johnson had gone up to check the bridge on the Provo Canyon Road at the mouth of the canyon on June 5, and it washed away the day after he reported it safe.

Just about a year later, the News reported that recourse was once again had to the bell at night because the river was once more threatening the north approach and trying to flow around instead of under the bridge. The citizens hauled large trees with their teams to the danger point. At 2:00 a.m. it was decided by county road commissioner James W. Loveless that they could return to their beds until daybreak, when work would be started again. The next month, a man was drowned crossing the river on a stolen horse which he did not want to be seen with in town. The bridge was once more being repaired in 1877. In 1881, the Enquirer reported that;
The dangerous condition of the road leading to the Provo River bridge has already been referred to; but the matter is daily growing more serious; while the bridge itself is known to be in such a condition as to endanger both animals and men. Complaints are becoming numerous and loud, and instances of horses narrowly escaping broken legs are being reported.

In 1892, the bridge was reported "in bad condition, one span being broken down," and it was to be rebuilt once more. Such were the difficulties before the days of structural steel, concrete, and earth moving machinery.¹

The roads of that day were very changeable according to the weather. Wet weather mired down the large wheels of the wagons, while in dry periods the dust choked men and animals. Winter made canyon roads impassable and restricted travel greatly. For instance, the Times reported on April 23 in 1874 that travel was finally starting to open up after a hard winter.

Wm. M. Wall was empowered by the city in 1855 to make a wood road into Rock Canyon on which he could collect a toll of fifty cents per load of wood.

In January of that same year, the Provo Road Co. was incorporated by the Territorial Legislature. This was really a co-op or joint stock company, and stock could be had in exchange for labor. Most of the stockholders were Provo citizens. The road was completed to Kamas Prairie by July 1858. Toll rates were as follows: wood brought out of the canyon, $1.00

per cord; rock or stone coal, $1.00 per ton; light carriages and wagons, 50¢ round trip; horses, mules, and cattle, 10¢ per head; a man and a horse or mule, 20¢ round trip; sheep and pigs, 5¢ per head; heavy freight wagons drawn by oxen, $1.00 per ton; heavy wagons drawn by one span horses or mules, 50¢ per ton; additional span of horses or mules, 12½¢; vehicles drawn by one horse or mule, 20¢.¹ A toll gate was kept about where Spring Dell is at present.

The road amounted to little more than a poorly drained trail, and had in it some turns so sharp that it took an excellent driver to get around them with a heavy wagon and three span of oxen.

In spite of the fact that this road was theoretically the property of a private company, the bishops of Provo had men go in groups from Provo and work on it under their supervision. Perhaps this was done because it was necessary to the common weal, and the men may have been paid in stock or tolls. Many used their stock in the company to pay their tolls. It was necessary to repair the road almost every spring, the vernal freshets often making it unfit for travel.

When the company's charter expired in 1887, stockholders were given certificates of stock in the Provo Wagon Road Co. to the value of $10.00 for every $26.50 in stock held in the company. In 1891, Utah and Wasatch counties agreed to buy the company for $3,000 and $1,000 respectively. However, the County Court decided not to pay for the road as no improve-

¹Jensen, op. cit., 129; Booth, op. cit., 74.
ments had been made since the charter expired and the road passed into the hands of the public.¹

The streets in Provo were originally laid out on the farsighted plan generally used in the Mormon community. They were straight and at right angles and wider than any contemporary need called for. They were soon lined with irrigation ditches, trees and walks. Some of this work was done at public expense under the direction of the City Superintendent, but citizens were required by law to plant shade trees and gravel their walks although this was poorly observed.²

Little was done about the streets themselves for many years, and the main thoroughfares were mudholes in wet weather and very dusty in dry. Center street was graded in 1865. The irrigation ditches posed a continual problem, the streets very often being flooded by them. In 1888, the city began sprinkling the streets to alleviate the heat and dust of summer. Bids were received on the sprinkling, the contractor furnishing his own team and wagon for the ten hour work day. A large tank to fill the sprinkler wagon quickly was erected on the courthouse block, which was kept filled by an artesian well drilled for the purpose. The city later took over the sprinkling completely.

In February 1888, the Provo Asphaltum Co. was organized to develop mines in Emery County with a capital stock of $200,000. Several prominent Provo civic leaders were included among its

¹Territorial Enquirer, June 30, 1887; Daily Enquirer, Jan. 31, Apr. 1, 1881.
²Provo Tri-Weekly Times, Apr. 18, 1874; Territorial Enquirer, Feb. 27, 1879.
officers. The company did some asphalting around some private homes in Provo and tried to get the city to surface some streets. The Council decided in March 1889 to pave one street on a trial basis, the property owners to pay one-half of the $300 per block cost for an eight foot wide strip with gravel shoulders. In 1890, several blocks were to be paved, some eight, some twelve, and some twenty feet wide, with an assessment of $1.25, $1.90, and $3.10 per foot on abutting property owners. Most businessmen were in favor of paving and it was decided to pave the sidewalks before the most important business blocks, the businessmen to meet all costs. Some asphalt was laid on streets and sidewalks. However, the arbitrariness of the Council caused much dissatisfaction, and the coming of the depression postponed the project. Many were also very dissatisfied with the quality of the paving. Some graveling of sidewalks in the business district was done in 1892 and 1893, but most street improvement had to wait until after the turn of the century.  

The reader must not assume that the transportation of the horse and buggy days was without hazards similar to those of today's swifter transportation. The runaway was a common, and sometimes tragic, phenomenon. Here is an account of one in Provo's business district that ended up more happily than some.

The most exciting runaway that Provo has witnessed for years took place last evening, starting in front of the

East Co-op. As Mr. T. J. Patten, with his wife and youngest boy, was driving past the courthouse one of the tugs came down, the fractious horse Mr. Patten was driving lunged forward, but was set back in his place by the bits. The next lunge, however, broke one of the lines and left the occupants of the carriage at the mercy of the now thoroughly frightened team. With one line yet in hand, Mr. Patten kept the horses from running forward, and, with the tongue down the vehicle described four or five circles just in front of the East Co-op at a fearful rate of speed. Just how it all happened is hard to tell, but as about twenty men came up the carriage was thrown upside down with its occupants underneath and the other line was broken. Now left to their own heads the horses dashed up the street in the direction of the asylum. Just as the team started off, the carriage was providentially lifted off the ground on one side and the late occupants escaped unhurt, with the exception of a sprained foot by Mrs. Patten, and a few flesh bruises by her husband. After dragging the vehicle about a rod, the horses became entirely disengaged and, circling about the northeastern part of town, were caught at the end of a two miles race at the corner of Mr. J. B. Waltons place where they had run astride a tree.¹

For the relief of the weary traveler, Provo had hotels where he could stay overnight. Dominicus Carter built Provo's first hotel while the city was yet very young. Called the Lion House, it had but six rooms. In the sixties the Octagon House, named for its unusual shape, did duty for a time as a hotel. The Bullock house was for many years the leading hotel of Provo and central Utah. It was comparatively well finished and lodged most of Provo's prominent visitors as well as caring for their horses during its ascendancy. The Pulsipher house was one of Provo's early hotels and had several rooms for the accommodation of guests. W. D. Roberts, Jr. purchased this hotel, thereafter called the Roberts House, and around the turn of the century started to enlarge it to make it into what

¹Utah Enquirer, Aug. 31, 1886. Cf. Ibid., Nov. 18; May 20, June 28, 1889; Daily Enquirer, Feb. 18, 1890.
is now the Roberts Hotel. It has been the foremost hotel in Provo for at least sixty years. Another hotel, known as "Billie Ferguson's Halfway House," was located near Bridal Veil Falls from 1889 till it was destroyed by a land slide in 1897.\(^1\) These were only a few of the many hotels found in Provo during her first fifty years. (\textit{\ldots \ldots})

As the garage is necessary to the upkeep of the automobile, so was the livery stable a valuable aid when the horse ruled the road. The livery stable provided hay and overnight shelter for the travelers' horses and any other necessary services to the wagon, harness, or animals. It also rented horses and wagons and often served as a base for hack and dray drivers who served the public much as the modern taxi and truck driver do. Provo had several livery stables, mostly of minor proportions. A few, like that of McClellan and Drake, were representative of a considerable outlay of capital. McClellan and Drake's "elegant livery stables" could accommodate fifty horses in the basement in 1889. The well ventilated first story held harnesses, buggies, and the office, while hay and carriages were kept on the second floor. An elevator that could lift two tons added the final touch to this "largest and best appointed stable\(^2\) in the Territory."\(^2\)

Probably the biggest single event in the economic history of Provo was the arrival of the railroad in the territory

\(^1\)\textit{Huff, op. cit.}, pp. 118-121. For others, see appendix. 
\(^2\)\textit{Utah Enquirer}, July 19, 1889.
and then in the city itself. Of course, Provo’s citizens of that day realized this also and helped lay the grade of the Union Pacific to Ogden. The Utah Central Railroad was soon connected with Salt Lake City, but it was not until 1871 that the Utah Southern was organized to come south from that city. The people of Provo were eager for the arrival of the trains, and the city council moved in August 1871 that:

The Utah Southern Railroad Company be invited to run their road through, or as near to the city as will be practicable for the interest of the company, and that as a Council we tender our best wishes and influence for the welfare of and speedy construction of said railroad.1

However, construction was not as rapid as Provo would have liked, and in July 1873, the leaders of Provo decided to take action and get the road built beyond Lehi. A. O. Smoot, John B. Milner, and George Halliday went to Salt Lake as representatives of a committee of thirteen appointed by the people of Utah County. They bought all the shares in the Utah Southern that they could find for sale. The plan was for the people to pay for the shares in labor and materials by building the grade, laying the rails, building stations, and supplying ties. Each city was to buy some of the 3,700 shares for sale at $100.00 each, Provo’s suggested share being seven hundred shares. Work went ahead rapidly once the plan was evolved. Twenty-five teams were at work on Provo City’s portion just outside the city in September.2

The grand day arrived on November 15, 1873, when the

1 Jensen, op. cit., p. 231.
2 Deseret News, XXII (1875), 412, 461.
first train was able to come into town at 10:45 a.m. bearing Brigham Young and other dignitaries. They were greeted by the firing of cannon, the Provo Brass Band, and 4,000 people. Speeches were made by A. O. Smoot, George A. Smith, and Brigham Young. A grand railroad ball was held that evening at the courthouse.¹

The railroad was soon extended on south to Payson and thereafter was occasionally extended south until it reached Frisco. The road was later combined with the Utah Southern extension and the Utah Central under the name of the Utah Central Railway. It then became part of the Union Pacific, then the Oregon Short Line, then of the San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake, and finally went back to the Union Pacific which extended it to Los Angeles. Local people could not approve of these manipulations, and the Enquirer remarked in 1879 that people should go to conference in Salt Lake in their wagons before they rode on the Utah Southern and gave their money to Jay Gould.²

Earlier editors had not looked on the railroad with such disapproval. The following was printed just two years earlier:

THE UTAH SOUTHERN TRAINS
These daily trains arrive regularly and seem to be well patronized and doing a good business in the passenger and freight departments. They are always punctually on time and have every convenience and comfort for the trav-

¹Tullidge, op. cit., p. 273. Jensen, loc. cit., gives the date as Nov. 25.
²Territorial Enquirer, Mar. 8, 1879.
elers. The conductor and other hands are always prompt, energetic, and obliging, and seem to have not only the interests of the company at heart, but also the accommodation of the traveling public. The agent is always attentive to his duties, and obliging to all enquirers, giving the public the benefit of his extensive knowledge of the business, and saving them great inconvenience and expense by his timely advice well given.  

The Utah and Pleasant Valley Railroad was built from Springville to the Pleasant Valley coal fields in 1877-79 by Milan Packard of Springville and others. When the road reached Springville in the latter year, Provo citizens desired its immediate extension north to their city. The accepted procedure when action was desired was to hold a mass meeting of citizens, and this was done on November 13 at the behest of the City Council. The people requested the Council, in light of the many benefits accruing to the city, if coal could be brought here more easily, to appropriate $1,000 to buy a right of way in Provo for the railroad. The necessary land cost $1,318.60 but the railroad paid the extra cost and the extension was soon made. Provo was a railroad terminus for only a very short time, the company soon being sold to a New York company and soon thereafter becoming a part of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad.

This latter company was incorporated in Colorado in 1881, and in October of that year petitioned the City Council of Provo for the right to construct and maintain a railroad on present Sixth South Street. It was speedily granted and constructed, the narrow gauge rails of the former Utah and Pleasant Valley road being extended on to Salt Lake City. The narrow

1*Utah County Enquirer*, Jan. 20, 1877.
gauge rails were widened to standard gauge to match the road's tracks beyond Pleasant Valley in 1889.

The coming of the Denver and Rio Grande did not bring the hoped for lowering of the railroad tariff to the east, but Provo could boast that it was on the "only line between Ogden, Salt Lake, and Provo and Denver without a change of cars, [and the] only line to Chicago with but one change of cars."\(^1\)

In 1896, D. & R. G. surveyors were in Provo Canyon laying a line for tracks to Heber. It was decided that Provo should work to "become the principal junction city of the state," and have the line brought to this city instead of American Fork. Whether or not these were the railroad's original plans or not, it was soon made known that the road was to terminate in Provo. A right of way was granted on Second West Street, although many people opposed this flagrant violation of the peace of the city and threat to the sanity of their horses. However, to have another railroad was considered worth almost any cost, and the road was finished to Heber in 1899.

All through the last three decades of the Nineteenth Century, Provo, once the second city of the territory, but now the third, looked enviously at Ogden, the Junction City, and hoped that similar good fortune might some day befall her. Whenever a new paper railroad appeared in the west, Provo citizens were immediately at work to see if their city could not be a terminus or on the route. In 1874, it was rumored that

\(^1\)Territorial Enquirer, Jan. 4, 1887.
an English company contemplated a line from Provo to Coalville via Provo Canyon. In 1877 surveying was being done for a narrow gauge road from Provo to Sanpete. A mass meeting of citizens was held in April 1887, to see what Provo citizens could do to have the Colorado Midland built to Provo and meetings of property owners on the east bank of the Provo River were held to see if a right of way could be purchased. The Denver and Salt Lake Short Line was to be built from Provo to Denver in 1889, according to rumor. These were only some of the "Railroad Rumbles" that had Provo citizens astir in those days of railroad expansion.¹

Buoyed by the boom, some of Provo's entrepreneurs decided in 1889 that the city had reached the point where it needed a street railroad. At a meeting called by the Chamber of Commerce in January, subscriptions to the amount of $3,000 were gathered, later to be increased to $7,800, of which ten per cent was paid. By April of 1890, $25,500 was subscribed of the $100,000 capital stock. J. D. Jones and Wm. Probert were foremost in its promotion.

The City Council refused to sell the west half of the court house block, but they did grant a franchise (not exclusive) which they extended three months when the company failed to have one mile of track laid within a year as required by the franchise. However, the City Council later refused to

¹Provo Tri-Weekly Times, Apr. 11, 1877; Utah County Enquirer, Nov. 17, 1877; Territorial Enquirer, Apr. 19, 22, 29, May 6, 10, 1887; Utah Enquirer, Mar. 1, 1889.
allow them to lay tracks on streets other than Center Street and University Avenue. A steam engine was consented to; the horses would just have to get used to it.

On July 4, 1890, the company had enough tracks laid to take celebrators part way to the lake where hacks took them on to the resorts so popular on summer holidays then. Within two weeks the tracks were laid to the lake and the company was running cars every hour from the depot to the lake. Taking people to the lake for relief from summer's heat was the major source of the companies revenue, and cars were loaded to capacity on holidays. Fare in the city was five cents, to the lake was ten cents.

Service was not the best. On July 18, the Enquirer indignantly reported that due to some difficulty, a drunk engineer or running out of coal, several hours were required for the round trip to the lake and some couples who were forced to walk home arrived at 6:00 a.m. The Enquirer later said that service was a failure due to irregularity and they should change to cheaper and quieter mules. The cars did not run in the winter.

Early success moved the directors of the company to a rosy vision of their future. Soon a scheme was afoot to run cars onto boats at the mouth of Provo River and float them to the end of the lake where they could go on rails to Tintic with fresh produce every day. The line would also be extended to Springville. Another spur would go east on Center Street to the Asylum to tap the gravel beds of the foot hills. On
September 4, these were considered a certainty, and running a line up to Bridal Veil falls was considered. There were now enough cars to carry three hundred passengers.

Meanwhile, the world of finance was shaping the fate of the company behind the scenes. It was asked who owned the street railroad, but company officers were silent. It later emerged that John W. Young was the principal stockholder and that $100,000 in bonds had been sent east for him to sell on Wall Street. Nine thousand dollars of this money had been received, but Mr. Young had departed for Europe giving no explanation of the balance, but word was expected from him daily. It was reported that the business of the company was light, but prospects were of course bright. A financial statement of the company at the same time (July 1891) read as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resources</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Road bed</td>
<td>$32,085.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rolling stock</td>
<td>12,008.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real estate</td>
<td>7,279.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous property</td>
<td>55.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repair shop</td>
<td>126.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounts due</td>
<td>403.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss and gain to balance</td>
<td>3,696.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total resources</td>
<td>$55,855.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liabilities</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stock account</td>
<td>$16,700.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overdrawn on treasurer</td>
<td>1,881.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bills payable</td>
<td>16,095.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounts payable</td>
<td>21,677.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total liabilities</td>
<td>$55,855.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can readily be seen, the company was badly in need of a transfusion of capital if it was not to topple from this precarious position. Provo was already experiencing depression.

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1Daily Enquirer, July 21, 1891.
and patronage was poor, so when depression became nationwide, in 1893, the company's fate was sealed. It was sold at a Marshal's sale late in 1893 at the suit of Dan P. Kellogg and A. A. Noon. Suit was brought against stockholders for unpaid stock. The City Council had already voted to forfeit the franchise because the company was not living up to its requirements. They said, "if the Company could be recuperated," another franchise not allowing steam power would be possible. During the next two years the city did allow the cars and tracks to be used in the summer time for the lake trade, but after that the tracks lay unused in the streets for many years as a reminder of the days when optimism was rampant in Provo.¹

Perhaps also connected with the street railroad was the steamer, "Florence," which opened commercial navigation of Utah Lake in May 1891. Fifty people were aboard for the maiden voyage at seven miles per hour over to the end of the lake nearest Tintic. However, the expected delegation from Eureka was not there because they had been disappointed on May 1 when the boat was first supposed to arrive; the band wagon had tipped over and the musicians had been forced to walk home. A man and a boy were there to receive the first cargo, a stage wagon. The boat crew was forced to dismantle it and take the wheels, tongue and other parts ashore in a row boat; when they tried to float the wagon box ashore, it

¹Utah Industrialist, Feb. 1889, p. 224; Utah Enquirer, Jan. 29, 1889; Daily Enquirer, Feb. 20, Mar. 25, Apr. 9, May 5, July 18, 22, Sept. 4, 1890; Apr. 16, 1891; Jan. 9, Oct. 4, 1893.
sank. After the cargo was retrieved and successfully landed, the return voyage proved to be rough and the decks were awash to add to the discomfiture of those who were seasick. An advertisement appearing in the Enquirer a few months later was probably for the "Florence." It said, "Go to Eureka by way of Utah Lake Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. Street car leaves bank corner 7:20 A.M. Steamer leaves pier 6:30, connects with stage at 10:30. Fare $2.65 -- Round Trip $4.25." Thereafter, the boat was only used for a few excursions before it was taken from the lake.

Communication in early Provo was tied to the poor roads and wagon traffic, although if some news such as Indian trouble had to be carried quickly, it could be done Paul Revere style by rider. Telegraphic communication with Salt Lake was established in 1866 when the Deseret Telegraph was extended through the southern communities of the territory. Provo City took six shares at one hundred dollars each in the company. Messages of ten words might be sent anywhere in Utah Territory for one dollar, with additional words five cents each. With the advent of the telephone in Provo, telegraph rates to Salt Lake City were cut to twenty-five cents for ten words and two cents for additional. In 1877, a telegraph office was maintained at the tithing office and also at the Railroad Depot.

1Daily Enquirer, May 8, 1891.
2Ibid., Sept. 1, 1891.
4Territorial Enquirer, Aug. 27, 1887.
In June 1887, C. F. Annett of the Rocky Mountain Bell Telephone Company was in Provo taking subscriptions for telephones. Citizens were asked to extend cash to enable a line to be made and be repaid in services later. Mr. Annett was able to collect only $600 immediately in Provo, while the cost of extending the line to Payson from Salt Lake was estimated at $5,500. The telephone was slated to arrive in Provo in August, but telephonic communication was not opened until September 12, 1887. The city awarded the Rocky Mountain Bell Telephone Co. a twenty year franchise in 1889. For the first few years, there were very few telephones in Provo, but the company built an exchange building in 1891.1

Although transportation was slow by modern standards in Provo's first fifty years, it nevertheless improved. The biggest improvement was, of course, the railroad. It is probable that the iron horse retarded the development of wagon transportation somewhat, but road transport continued to improve. The roads did become better, and there was better organization of transport. At various times regular stages ran from Provo to Park City and to Eureka, as well as some men in the draying business.

The same is true of communication, its most notable improvements being the telegraph and the telephone. The benefits of these were spreading slowly by 1900, but it was still necessary for most people to "ride for the doctor," instant

1Daily Enquirer, Sept. 13, June 17, 1887.
communication not being readily available. After 1890, a daily newspaper constituted a major advance in communication for Provo.
APPENDIX

A LIST OF THE BUSINESSES IN PROVO
PRIOR TO 1900

The writer has compiled the following list of businesses of Provo as a matter of interest and to help substantiate some of the assertions made in the main body of the thesis. Each business is listed under the year that the author first found definite evidence of its existence. If it is known when the business terminated, that information is included, but such information was unavailable on most businesses. The date under which each entry is found does not necessarily indicate that that particular year was when it was started, because some businesses existed for years without leaving any documentary evidence which the writer could find. Documentary evidence is concentrated in certain years and may give a false impression of prosperity for these particular periods.

The major sources for this particular information were the Provo papers and the Deseret News, but many sources were used, indeed, most of those listed in the bibliography. For further information on some of the major businesses see text. The files of the Utah Industrialist have excellent descriptions of the businesses of Provo from 1887 to 1889. The Daily Enquirer carried some good descriptions of them, particularly
just before Christmas in the years 1890-1897. Other descriptions are widely scattered.

Each business has been listed as being either mercantile, manufacturing, or service. Many will obviously be noted to have been otherwise than as listed. The writer has merely tried to put each business into the category in which it did its most important work. For instance, Paxman and Smoot are first listed as mercantile in 1870. When that firm became the Provo Lumber, Manufacturing and Building Co., it was listed under manufacturing, because that became its major function.

1850's

Mercantile

Bachman, Ben, and Hanks, store, opened in 1859.

Birch and Stubbs, store, about 1859.

Miller, Bishop, store.

Octagon Store, H. L. Southworth, 1858-1870.

Stewart, A. J., Provo's first merchant, 1853. Built in 1859, the building that was later the West Co-op.

Stewart, Levi, and Huffaker, merchants, opened in Provo before the Utah War [59-87].

Wooley, Bishop, store, during Utah War [59-87].

Manufacturing

Blackburn, John, hand sawmill.


Clark, Joseph & Riley, sawmill, thresher, molasses mill, and salt grinder.

Clark, Samuel, tanner, 1849.
Cluff, David & Son, and R. R. Rogers, cabinet shop, furniture making to 1870 or later.

Davis, Joshua, first threshing machine and factory for making wooden bowls.

Deseret Manufacturing Co., organized to make sugar in Provo. Failed, machinery taken to Salt Lake. 1853.

Eames, Ellis, malt liquors, 1853.

Goddard, William, saddlery, 1853.

Higbee and Smith, grist mill, 1850.


Madsen, Peter and Peter Jensen, given fishing rights, 1856.

Mecham, Joseph, lime burned.

Miller, Chas. D., and Father Harrison, tan vats.

Mills, John & Martin, sawmill, 1854.

Porter, John, and Alex Williams, sawmill, 1849.

Provo Manufacturing Co., shares $50, capital not over $1,000,000, objective unnamed, 1857.

Roberts, Horace, pottery, 1852.

Rogers, Henry, water-powered sawmill.

Smith, James A., grist mill.

Stewart, A. J. employed women to spin and weave.

Tanner, Myron, 1860.

Service

Brown, George, blacksmith, 1852.

Holdaway, Shadrack, & Alanson Morton, carding mill, 1851-1876.

Johnson, E. F., weekly mail service—Provo to Salt Lake—fare $2.00.
Provo Canyon Road Co., reorganized in 1887 as Provo Canyon Wagon Road Co. Expropriated by Utah County, 1891.

Smith, Wm. T., and Roswell Ferre, threshing machine, 1854.
York, Aaron, blacksmith.

1860's

Mercantile
Bachman, Ben, and S. S. Jones, store. Jones sold out in 1869.
Birch and Stubbs, store. Became Birch and Robison.
Graves, Daniel, seed importer.
Jones, S. S., store. Bought out Birch and Robinson and went into business for himself.
Kimball and Lawrence, store. Started in 1868. Store cost $10,400 to build and later was owned by the Provo Co-op. The building was built by Smoot and Sheets.
Lewis, G. W., store in 1863.
Provo East Co-op Institution, R. R. Hopkins first superintendent, organized December 4, 1869. Bought out Kimball and Lawrence store and goods valued at $32,000. Continued till 1895.

Roberts, William D., drug store, in Boshard's old store.

Manufacturing
Ambroson, tailor, 1864 to 1879 and later.
Carpenter, Wm. H., broom maker, 1861.
Carter, Wm. F., stone sawing.
Chatwins Distilling, ordered removed as nuisance in 1861.
Colton, Philander C., baked bricks.
Co-op Grist Mill, 1869.
Coray, H., circular sawmill, 1866.
Leetham, John, steam sawmill, 1887.
Peck, Martin H., cane mill run by water 1860.

Provo Bench Canal Co., 1860.

Provo Cabinet Shop, David Cluff, Jr., proprietor, 1867.

Reese, Isaac, lime, 1866.

Riley, W. W., tobacco plug pressing, 1862.

Rogers, D. R., and Co., cane mill with iron rollers.

Tanner, Myron, purchased Ketting's grist mill.


Thompson and Wilson, distillery. Destroyed by fire in 1860.

Wilkins, Holdaway, & Co., sawmill, South Fork Provo River, 1860.

Zion's Co-op Pottery, Wm. D. Roberts, manager, wholesale and retail earthenware, 1869.

Service


Deseret Telegraph.

1870

Mercantile

Co-op Boot and Shoe Store.


Stubbs, Peter, store.

West Co-op Store, general merchandise, S. S. Jones first manager. Continued till 1892.

Manufacturing

Bee, F. F., saddlery. Made harnesses, saddles, halters, bridles, etc., in his factory.
Service
Nuttal, L. John, and A. F. Macdonald, printing.

1871
Manufacturing
Freshwater, William, home-made candy and confections.
Provo Co-op Pottery, Wm. D. Roberts and J. Backner, proprietors, wholesale and retail.
Utah County Co-op Stock Association.

1873
Mercantile
Bachman, Benjamin, store. Dealer in drygoods, groceries, clothing, boots and shoes, tobacco and cigars. Agent for Wells Fargo and Co. Continued to 1878.

Coltrin, John G., agent, Davis Sewing Machine.
Freshwater, W. and Son, store. Continued to 1900.
Jacques, George W., meat market.
Livingstone, M., store, general merchandise.
Provo Lager Beer Saloon, Thad. Fleming, proprietor.
Stubbs, Peter, bakery and provision store.
Taylor, George, furniture. Desk and cupboards to order, upholstering, carriage trimming, organs, musical instruments. Continued to 1951.

Manufacturing
Bowen, A. H., City Pottery.
Margetts, R. B., Utah Brewery.
Noon, A. A., [grist] mill for sale.
Twede, C. F., harness.
Service

Gem Billiard Saloon, G. W. Madder, proprietor. Col-
lapsed, sold to Peter Stubbs, March 12, 1874.

Lion House, The, D. Carter, proprietor.

Maiben, Henry, painter.

Pembroke, James E., workman on clocks, watches and
jewelry.

Provo Daily Times, Robert T. McEwan, Robert G. Sleator,
Oscar F. Lyons, Joseph T. McEwan, editors and proprietors.

Provo House, Isaac Bullock, proprietor. Oldest estab-
lished hotel in the city.

Stewart, Andrew J., and Son, civil engineers and U. S.
deputy surveyors.

Thompson and Daily, stage from Provo to Lehi.

Turner and Rogers, agents for Mitchell and Fish wagons,
Dorsey combined reapers and mowers, Ironclad mowers.

Utah Southern Railroad.

1874

Mercantile

Bachman, Ben, store. Sold out to Noon Brothers, store
later in possession of Mrs. E. Horton.

Higley, W. G., watchmaker and jeweler.

Newcomer and Coleman, Wyoming coal.

News Depot and Variety Store, C. A. Wallace, proprietor.

Non-pareil Ice Cream Gardens, Charles Twelves.

Provo Co-op Meat Market, Samuel Harding, superintendent.

Provo Park Gardens, R. Groves.

Reese and Co., lamps, oil, and glassware.

Rogers Brothers Drug Store--Fountain.

Scott, A. H., shade trees.
Stevenson, J. C., merchant tailor.

Wilkinson, Mrs. W. B., milliner, to open in Mrs. Jones' old stand. Grain and produce taken.

Z. C. M. I., millinery store and ladies' exchange, Mrs. L. E. Jones.

Manufacturing

Allen, Wm. W., brick making under the auspices of the United Order, ten laborers and two mills to grind and mix.

Beesley, Thomas, tannery. Hides and skins wanted.

Co-operative Grist Mills.

Henrichsen, E. C., and August, earthenware. Continued to 1924 by E. C. Henrichsen.

Holdaway, S., sawmill in South Fork.

Moore, H. J., tinner.

Provo Brewery, R. Liesinger and H. Hornung, successors to Uebel and Co.

Scott, A. H., cider mill.

Shingle Mill in Provo Canyon, Mills and Conrad.

Smith, James, sawmill.

Staadoling and Co., sawmill in North Fork.

Thussen, D. P., boots and shoes made.

Service

Fennemore, James, photographer. Closed Feb. 28, 1874.

Gledhill, James, house painter.

Gordon and Co., shipping.

Hines, R. S., barber.

Horsely, J. H., blacksmith.

1875

Manufacturing

Provo Co-op Clothing Department, Albert Singleton, Mgr.,
Established by East Co-op Institution.
Startup, Wm. D., candy making.

Service

I. X. L. Bakery, bread, crackers, pies, shortorder meals.

1877

Mercantile

Cluff, David F., Cigars, tobacco, and confectionery.

Cluff, H. H., furniture store.

Freshwater and Son, store, dry goods, etc., fishing tackle.

Glenfield, J. C. C., Provo Meat Market.

Harding, Samuel, proprietor New Meat Market possibly the Co-op Meat Market.

Harrison, Mrs. E., store, general merchandise.

Hindmarsh, T., Provo Basket Store. Ladies' reticules, market, clothes, corn, and potato baskets, bushel and half bushel baskets.

Horton, Mrs. E., store, dry goods, etc. Produce taken in exchange at the Bachman Corner.


Nielson, S., watchmaker, jeweler, and repairer.

Smith, Halma, dealer, plants, bulbs, seeds.

Smoot, John, and Co. former Paxman and Smoot, coal, lumber, lath, etc.

Stevensen, Capt. J. C., stationery, periodicals and news depot. Keeps magazines and church books.

Stubbs, Peter, agent for farming implements, Schutler wagon, and Garden City plows.

Manufacturing

Ambroson, Jensen, tailor.

Cluff and Booth, woodworking, imported and home-made coffins, all sizes always on hand.
Hardy, Charles, tailor.

Moore, Henry J., pumps manufactured to order, cheapest and most desirable of any pumps and will not rust.


Provo Brewery, Rudolph Liesinger and Co. Henry Welman offers to sell his half of Provo Brewery and Malt House as dissolution of partnership with R. Liesinger. Provo Brewery burned down, $3,000 loss.

Provo Candy Factory, W. D. Startup. Startup's honey candy for coughs. Call at Startup's candy factory for toys or fancy goods for birthday presents.

Provo Trunk Factory, David Needham. Job work done, furniture repaired, saw filing, coffins made to order at the lowest figures.


Stultz, Oberg and Co., have arrived with a carload of goods to set up mill with a sweepstakes thresher.

Thomas, Lorenzo, tailor.

Service

"Bills posted and delivered at reasonable prices."

Centennial Barber Shop, Frederick Irvine, proprietor.

Mills, Wm. Gill, notary public.

Peck, E. M., blacksmithing.

Rogers, Dr., soda fountain, ice cream, soda water, and other delicious drinks.

Sward, Andrew and Co., all kinds of metal work, wheelwrights, millwright and turner, furniture and musical instruments repaired.

Utah County Semi-Weekly Enquirer., R. G. Sleator, ed., and proprietor. Published to 1879 when sold to John C. Graham.

1879

Mercantile

Coltrin & Co., R. T. Booth, supt. Partnership dissolved to "Provo City Drug."
Coray Brothers, stationers and booksellers.

Jones, S. S., store, began his own business, expanded and took over Peter Stubbs.

Provo Lumber, Manufacturing and Building Co. are adding a machine shop. Formerly Smoot, John & Co.

Second Ward Furniture Store, P. C. Jensen, proprietor.

Stevenson, J. C., store, branched out to toys.

Talmage, Coltrin and Co., druggist.

Manufacturing

Ambroson, tailor, going into partnership with C. Hansen.

Beesley, J. F., brickyard.


Gray, A. W., manufacturer of carpets.

Hardy, Chas., tailor; called tailor Lorenzo Thomas a liar and dishonest.

Harrison, William, sheet metal.

Poulson, Hans, machine shop.

Service

Davis, Henry, custom threshing.

Haws, Albert, ice and ice cream.

Stubbs, Peter, ice cream and soda water, Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings.

Sward, Andrew, "for house and sign painting, repairing sewing machines and musical instruments, or if you should need a gravestone."


1880

Mercantile

Jensen, P. C., furniture store, organs, coffins, etc.
People's Emporium, S. S. Jones, proprietor.

Twelves, Charles, seed store.

Manufacturing

Edwards, Robert, lime kiln. Built second kiln in 1881, 1,000 bushel capacity.

Provo Marble Works, L. L. Fuller, proprietor. Headstones and furniture marble.

Service

Cluff, D. F., barber.

1881

Mercantile

Brereton and Davis, farm machinery.

Coltrin, and J. G. Roberts, farm machinery.

Co-op Drug Store, R. C. Kirkwood, mgr. Sold to Reed Smoot.

Farmers Exchange, Peter Stubbs, proprietor. Opened in S. S. Jones' old store. General merchandise.


Halladay Brothers, meat market. Opened in Glenfield's old store.

Madsen, P., and Sons, fishery. Fish sold from September 15 to March 15.

Palace Drug Store, R. S. Hines, proprietor, to 1900.


Startin, Thomas, general merchandise.

Manufacturing


Davis, Henry W., vinegar and cider.

Morby, T. T., shoemaker.
Provo Marble Works, L. L. Fuller, proprietor, monuments, headstones, and furniture. Marble made to order.

Service

Cluff, David, Jr., undertaker. Complete stock of undertakers goods.

Denver and Rio Grande Railroad.
Meldrum, David, blacksmith.
Octagon House, Mrs. H. L. Southworth, proprietor.
Pioneer Lunch House, J. S. Lamb, proprietor. Meals at all hours.

Worsley, John, blacksmith. Also sells wagons, harvesting machines, and Avery plows.

1882
Service


1884
Mercantile

Bee, Mrs. Jane, milliner.
Elephant Store.
Freshwater, Wm. and Son, general merchandise.
Greenhalgh, A., general merchandise, paints and oils.
Harrison, Mrs. E., confectionery.
Muhlstein, N., jeweler and watchmaker.
Provo Livery and Feed, J. B. McCauslin, proprietor.
Provo West Co-op, Shoe Department, R. C. Kirkwood, Supt.
Shurtleff, George W., merchant.

Smoot, Reed, and N. O. Larsen, druggists. Bought out the Co-op Drug Store. Shortly after Smoot bought out Larsen.
Southworth, H. L., and Son, store.
Twelve, C., Green Grocery, seasonable goods.
Waters, R., merchant.

Manufacturing

Bee, Stephen, saddler.
Choules, George, shoemaker.
Pyne, Samuel, tailor.
Shaw, Alexander, bakery.
Skinner, H. B., cooper, maker of wooden barrels, tubs, buckets, etc.

Service

Billings, Alfred, contractor.
Collier, Joab, builder.
Driggs, B. W., collection agent, real estate and insurance.
Duggins, S. M., billiard hall and saloon.
Gates, Jacob, notary public and insurance agent.
Halliday, V. L., life and fire insurance.
Hansen, A., photographer.
Osterloh, E. H., bakery and restaurant.
Snow, John C., hotel.
Stoddard, R., restaurant.

1885

Manufacturing

Provo Foundry and Machine Co., Leo Whitehead, supt.,
(in Cluff's Hall).
1886

Mercantile

Allen, Thomas W., butcher

Bee Brothers, dissolved, Stephen Bee leaving business to Robert Bee.


Conrad, S. M., trees—fruit and shade.

Cox, Walter, butcher.

Dunn, James, dealer in wool, also taking hides and pelts.

Empire Meat Market, Cook, Scott and Co., proprietors.

Excelsior Butcher Shop, east shop of the Provo Meat Market Association.

Excelsior Drug Store, Dr. D. F. Simmons, proprietor.

Felt Brothers, magazines.

Gray, W. H. and Co., Joseph F. Thompson sold his interest to George Pickup and Amos D. Holdaway.

Maiben, H. J., and Co., oils, paints, etc.

Riverside Poultry Yard, J. A. Warner.

Snow Brothers, furniture.

Smoot and Co., druggists, George Richards, manager.

Vincent and Shurtleff, dissolved, Mary E. Vincent to take over.

Manufacturing

Vulcan Foundry, T. T. Holdaway, supt.

Service

Carter, W. H., and Sward, blacksmiths.

Daniels, T. E., photographer.
Excelsior Hotel, J. W. Deal, proprietor.
Metropolitan Tonsorial Saloon, H. E. Rawlings, barber.
Provo Theatre, J. C. Graham, manager.
Roberts House (hotel), W. D. Roberts, Jr.
Rushton, Frank, gunsmith.
Twelves, Charles, lunch house, also garden seed, fruits and vegetables, groceries, dry goods, and book store.

1887
Mercantile

Bee, Robert, store, groceries, sporting goods, also buys hides and furs.

Beesley, W. O., store, boots, shoes, dry goods, groceries, notions. George Taylor purchased W. O. Beesley's stock, redeeming his scrip.

Blomsterberg, C. H., plant nursery.
Bloom Nursery, bulbs, trees, etc.
Boshard, J. R., Gardener's Exchange.

Company Book Store.

Continental Oil Company.

Cox, Walter, store, opening store previously occupied by T. Osborne, in Smoot Block. Will continue to run West Meat Market.

Dunn, James, building lots for sale.

Dunn, James, buyer and exporter of Utah wool on commission. His new store to open August 15.


Factory Store, to close April 15.
Greenhalgh, R. A., adding undertaker's goods to his stock.

Hansen, Carl, The Tidy Tailor.

Jepperson, Samuel, fish.

Jepperson, Samuel, ice on hand.

Jensen and Taylor, jewelry, optical goods, watches.

Jones, T. H., store, cheap goods and notions, second hand goods.

Neal, Mrs., store.

People's Drug Store, Dr. Shoebridge. Buildings lots for sale or lease.

Provo Book and Stationery Co., Brigham Smoot taking over operations. L. E. Eggertsen was superintendent.

Provo Paint and Oil House.

Smoot, Richards and Co., "Importers of and wholesale and retail dealers in all kinds of Drugs, Medicine, and Chemicals." (George A. Richards becomes partner of Smoot and Co.)

Smoot, W. C. A. Jr., store, buying out Charles Twelves.

Stubbs, Peter, store. Has closed out and is identified with Dunn & Co. Will redeem his scrip there.

Utah County Fruit Co., chickens, turkeys, eggs.

Wilson and Co., druggists.

Young Brothers Co., M. L. Pratt, manager. Sewing machines, organs, patterns.

Manufacturing

Rassmusen, C. S., tannery.

Singleton Brothers, Associated, ready-made clothing. Making clothing, suits, etc., from cloth from Provo Manufacturing Co. for the Co-op Clothing Store.

Thomas, S., marble works. Thomas taking over after death of L. L. Fuller.

Utah Valley Iron, Mining and Manufacturing Co.
Service

American Hotel, The, G. W. Jaques, proprietor.
Armitstead, J. E., artesian well driver.
Cedarlund, John, blacksmith.
D. and R. G. Hotel, George P. Harlow.
Dewdrop Restaurant, Thomas Harding, proprietor.
First Ward Pasture Co., S. S. Jones, president.
Grier, John, proprietor Central Hotel.
Grier and Halladay, restaurant and hotel, partnership dissolving.
Homer, Charles, restaurant, John Grier taking over.
John and Liddiard's Hotel.
Kenny and Backman, real estate.
Provo Armory Co., gunsmiths.
Rocky Mountain Bell Telephone Co.
Smith, C. W., restaurant.
Smith, F. M., billposter, advertising agent. Orders left at Enquirer.
Sward, August, and William Carter, blacksmiths. Carter dissolving partnership, Sward to carry business.

Tri-Weekly Stage--Provo to Park City, John W. Brown, proprietor. Fare $3.00.

Utah County Real Estate Agency, B. W. Driggs, manager and attorney at law.

Utah Industrialist Co., Felt Brothers, proprietors. Publishers of monthly Utah Industrialist magazine devoted to interests of Provo and Utah County. First issue May 1887; dissolved in October 1889.

1888

Mercantile

Anderson, A. O., painter and paint shop.
Billings, Miss Hanna, millinery and trimmings.
Chicago Store, Isaac H. McEwan.
Dodd and Deal, coal dealers, Pleasant Valley coal.
Hedquist, A., boot and shoe shop.

Jensen and Taylor, jewelry, dissolved. S. Neilson going in partnership with T. N. Taylor, Jensen remaining in jewelry business.

King, Mrs. V. L., millinery, ladies, misses, and children's ready-made clothes.
Lyons, Mrs. Zina, millinery store.
Martin and Drake, imported stock.
Peterson, S., tailor.
Pyne, Herbert S., and Henry J. Maiben, drug store; bought out Dr. Simmons.

Provo Asphaltum Co., Inc., to develop mines in Emery County.

Thurman, T. E., meat market, selling out to Joseph Cheever and William Farrer.

Manufacturing

Harrison, William, tinner, beekeeper's goods.
Provo Foundry and Machine Co., leased for a period of years by T. Peirpont and Sons.
Smoot Richards and Co., soda works. In 1889 sold 500,000 bottles soda water.
Sun Foundry, Devey and Sundberg.

Service

Cluff, O., and Co., barbers. Formerly Cluff Brothers.
Davis Livery Stable.

Excelsior House. Mr. and Mrs. Pettigrew bought it for $10,000.

Hotel Cosmopolitan, William D. Myers.

Leonard, F. J., farm loans.

McClellan and Drake, Excelsior Livery and Feed Stables, purchased from Joseph F. Thompson.

Nelson, Charley, blacksmith.

Nielsen, S., watchmaker.

Occidental Saloon, W. M. Wilson, proprietor.

Omansen, Trevithick and Co., real estate.

Provo City Transfer Co., R. T. Davis, proprietor.

Freight to and from depot.


Rushton, Frank, real estate.

Shaw, Alex, baker.


1889

Birkin, Robert, meat market, purchased from Walter Cax.


Felt Olson and Co., books, stationery, job printing.

Halliday and Gates, Mesdames, ladies store, ladies' and infants' wear.

Harris, Joseph A., store, purchased entire stock of Mrs. E. Horton.

Hathenbruch and Co., ladies and gents furnishings.

Horricks, Mrs. M., and Son, groceries.

Irvin and Barney, to open stock of clothing and gents furnishings.
Nichols, William, stoves.

Occidental Saloon, Jesse Knight to go into partnership with W. M. Wilson, adding a billiard room.

Provo Book and Stationery Co., Inc., Reed Smoot, president, and J. C. Graham, vice president.

Provo Fourth Ward Store, Charles Twelves.

Smoot and Deal, coal.

Snow Brothers partnership dissolved. Jacob Gates and Moroni Snow to continue as Gates and Snow.

Manufacturing

Beesley, J. and Co., brick manufacturers.

Boardman, lime kiln.

Cook, Liddiard and Co., brick machine run by steam.

Fleming, T. E., brick manufacturer.

Hindmarsh, Parley P., basketmaker.

Horrock, Mrs. E., dressmaking. Went out of business November of 1890.

Mammoth Slate mine, W. C. A. Smoot and others, owners.

Nelson, O. J., brick manufacturer.

Provo Marble Works, C. C. Frisbee and J. Q. Davis.


Rassmussen, C. S., saddlery and harness ware.

Smith, Halma, brick manufacturer.

Utah Asphalt Co., "Judge Dusenberry," president.

Utah Mining Co., $100,000 capital, claims in Tintic.

Williams and Co., saddle and harness manufacturers.

Service

Anderson and Co., Charles W. Dusenberry, O. A. Anderson, and Albert Moore, painting, and paperhanging.

Anderson, R., photographer, successor to J. P. Christensen.

B. J. and E., blacksmiths, W. H. Brown going in with Johnson and Evans.

Bachman, Ben, Jr., money to loan on farms and city property.


Berg, Halvor H., bathhouse.

Brown, John, stables.

Coray and Dodd, livery stable, bought out McClellun and Drake.

Coray, Don R., farm loans.

Cosmopolitan House, Johnson and Lynch, managers. Opened June 10, sixty guests may be accommodated in dining room.


Dusenberry, George A., Fire and Life Insurance.

Eldredge Brothers and Co., real estate.

Enterprise Restaurant, Rynders and Kruse, proprietors.

Eureka Investment Co., real estate.

Excelsior Bakery.

Garden City Bathing Resort on Snail Island; Drake, Thompson, and Knight. Twenty bathhouses, steamboat, pier, dancing pavilion, bowery, baseball diamond, race track, etc.

Holdaway Brothers, real estate.

Hartley, George, timepiece repairs.

Hathenbruck, F. W. C., farm loans.

Hill, the Artist, photographer.

Howe, Mrs. Mina, hair work.
Jones and Snyder, real estate.

Knowlden and Co., real estate and loans.

Liddiard, Thomas, builder and contractor.

Martin and Drake, livery stable.

McClellan and Drake, livery stables.

Mickel, G. W., contractor and builder, also lumber.

Oakdale Subdivision, J. L. Davis, proprietor, 352 lots.

Olsen, O. H., undertaker, carpenter, and contractor; Olsen to take charge while O. H. Berg is in Europe.

Omansen, bathing resort. Utah Lake, full band, dancing, boating, swimming. Fare there and back, twenty-five cents. Hacks from McLellam and Drake.

Pacific Express Co.

Patten, Thomas Jr., contractor and builder.

Phoenix Art Gallery, Booth and Wilson, proprietors.
C. A. Conkling, manager (formerly, T. E. Daniels, photographer).

Provo Electric Light and Power Co. Franchise given in May, voided in November.

Provo real estate attracting great Salt Lake interest, at present there are thirteen real estate men in Provo.

Roberts and Elliot, real estate.

Roberts House, W. C. Stone and Bert Brown bought from M. L. Causey.

Roberts, William and Co., real estate.

Saunders, H. A., gunsmith shop.

Sutton, Richard, barber shop.

Towle and Daniels, steamboat, to be launched on Utah Lake.

Utah County Abstract Co., Reed Smoot, president.

Utah County Savings Bank.
1890

Mercantile

Anderson, H. A., typewriters.
Becks, jewelry.
Brown and Willson, liquor store. Jesse Knight sold out to Bert Brown.
Bunnet, Eggerston and Co., "Everything the farmer wants."
Daniels, Mrs. Hannah B. [probably Hannah Billings], millinery.
Eldredge, Ben R., stoves and hardware.
Farrer Brothers and Co., dry goods, notions, hardware, and groceries.

Garden City Race Track.
Hall and Beck, jewelry.
Hansen, Mrs. George, Scandinavian merchandise.
Harrison, Henry, retail liquor.
Hindmarsh, Parley, grocery store.
Hotel Roberts Bar, Peters and Stubbs.
Howe and Taft, grocery.
Jones, Selby, general merchandise.

Jones's. S. S. Jones takes Charles H. Taylor, J. E. Daniels, Jr., A. D. Holdaway, and David Beebe into business with him.

Knight, Newell, Studebaker Wagons.
Nichols and Gray, sheet iron roofing.
Opera Saloon, Knight Brothers, proprietors. Free delivery in city.

Provo City Lumber Co., capital stock, $15,000. Assigned to A. Saxey in 1892.

Riley and Bennett, saloon.
Schwab, Sam, clothier.


Taylor Bros. Co. (formerly George Taylor's), capital stock, $50,000.

Thomson's Store, dry goods, furnishings, and farm implements.

West End Meat Market, Fred Kimber, proprietor.

Williams and Co.

Manufacturing


Provo Canyon Slate Mine, A. O. Smoot, Jr., proprietor.

Thomas Martin, Tin Works.

Withers and Clark, harness and saddles.

Service

Alexander, Frank, building contractor.

Anderson and Crandall, photographers.


Bullocks Hotel, William Rollins, proprietor.

Clayton and Nystron, plumbers, steam and gas fitters.

Daniels Electric Light and Power Co.

Davies, William M., bookbinding.

Davis, T. T., building contractor.

Donaldson, C. T., and H. C. Smith, builders and contractors.

Evans and Nuttal, blacksmiths.

Fletcher and W. D. Alexander, building contractors.

Holdaway, Logan G., real estate.

Horton, G. G., assayer.
Kershaw and Mulinquist, painters, paperhangers, etc.
Martin and Drake, livery stables, J. M. Martin leaving.
Mickesell and Hendershot, architects and engineers.
Miller, Louis, Arcade Restaurant.
Provo City Collecting Agency, A. O. Smoot, mgr.
Provo City Street Railway, failed 1893.
Provo Commercial and Savings Bank, Reed Smoot, president. Capital stock, $75,000.
Provo Lake Resort Co., capital stock, $50,000.
Provo Woolen Mills Power Co., to 1899, when franchise transferred to the electric company.
Towle and Duce, building contractors.
Utah County Troy Steam Laundry, to 1951.
Utah Valley Gazette Publishers.

1891
Mercantile
Allen and Thompson, Utah Lake Ice.
Albshurje, E., clothing.
Brown, E.
Brown, Theo
Brownell, Theo, oyster grotto and candy parlor.
Boorey, F. Jacob, notions, toys, fancy goods.
Boston Lumber Co.
Booray and Milliman, pants.
Bunnell, Stephen, wagons and farm machinery.
Colorado Lumber Co., H. H. Bean, superintendent.
Cook, Scott, meat market.
Cox, Walter, Second-Third Ward Store.
Denhalter, H. and Sons, soda water.
Dodd, Dallas, jeweler.
Duncan, Mrs. W. W., millinery.
Eldredge, Ben R., hardware, tools, etc.
Eldredge Brothers, stoves and hardware.
Fair, The, hardware and furniture.
Flack, M. E., clothing.
Florence Steamer. Go to Eureka by way of Utah Lake, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. Fare $2.65--Round trip, $4.25.
Gardiner and Smith, pastry.
Gibbys South Side Store, grocery store.
Halliday, Mrs. Rose, ladies fancy work.
Hansen and Co., stoves and hardware.
Harris, Joseph A., dry goods and grocery.
Harrison, Henry, Eureka Saloon.
Hines, R. S., saloon.
Kelly and Carter, Diamond Saloon.
Kepercen and Co.
Kerr, George A., produce commission agent.
McArgyle, Leonard, news and tobacco stand.
McBride, A. C., saloon.
McCoard, William, tents and awnings.
Nichols, William, stoves and hardware.
Noyes Brothers, meat market.
Osterloh, Carl, shooting gallery.
Owens and Bennett, books and stationery, successors to Olsen and Co.
Provo Shambles, meat market.
Rawlings, H. E., saloon.
Rawlings and Gray, saloon.
Riley and Bennett, saloon.
Scottorn, Tim, butcher, successor to Farrer Brothers.
Shirley and Snyder, shooting gallery.
Skelton and Co., books and stationery.
Smith and Pitt, saloon.
Stephens, J. R., musical goods.
Sutton, Isaac.
Sutton, Richard, tobacco and cigars.
Taylor, John E. and Co., tobacco.
Thomas, S., monuments.
Thompson, James and Co.
Twelves, Charles, gardener and seedman.
Utah Supply Co., produce dealer.
Waid, D. O., jeweler.
Waters, Sarah A., general merchandise.
Wightmen, Joseph and Sons, meat market.
Wilson and Brown, meat market.
Yost, H. H., jeweler.
Zeigler, W. E., shoes.

Manufacturing
Belmont and Kinney, stone yard.
Boardman, Thomas, line kiln.
Craik, Mrs., dressmaking.
Davies, E. C., galvanized iron and cornice work.
Davies, J. Q., locksmith.
Eldredge, B. R., sheet iron and copper worker.
Gardiner and Smith, wholesale candy manufacturers.
Provo Knitting Works
Shepherd, Miss Julia, dressmaking.
Van Gundy and Co., brick manufactory.
Ward, Miss May, dressmaking.
Service
Alman House Hotel.
Beefsteak, John, Short Order House.
Bigelow, M., auctioneer.
Blomberg, J., hotel.
Boyden, James, job wagons.
Brown, E., Provo City Bakery.
Brown, John A., lunch house. Soon bought out by Wm. Hill.
Clayton, J. L., plumber.
Central Building Co.
Davis and Johnson, job wagons.
Dispatch Co., publishers of the Dispatch.
Dodd, Dallas, watchmaker, engraver, optician.
Donaldson and Smith, contractors, dissolved.
Findley, Frank E., livery stable.
Goeltz, Louis, restaurant.
Halliday and Gates, insurance agents.
Hamelton, Alexander, real estate.
Hang, Chain, laundry.
Hardy, C. H., job wagons.
Harrison, William, job wagons.
Hill, William, lodgings.
Kershaw, painter.
Kopp, Samuel, upholstering and carriage trimming,
Lee, Song, laundry.
Liddiard, S., and Co., steam thresher.
Lund, E., architect and builder.
Moore Brothers, painters.
Phillips and Walther, Provo Steam Laundry.
Provo Branch of Western Loan and Savings Co.
Rathbone Brothers, publishing company.
Roy, Lee, Sacramento Restaurant.
Rynders, restaurant.
Sargent and Cross, architects.
Smith, G. H., blacksmith.
Startin, Thomas, restaurant.
Stephens and Leet, undertakers.
Stubbs, James, job wagons.
Thompson, James, and Co., livery stable.
Union Block, lodgings.
U. P. Eating House.
Walter and Shirley, Star Skating Rink. Cox's Hall.
White, Joseph M., painting and paperhanging.
Wilson, William, real estate.

1892

Mercantile

Bee, Miss Edith, millinery, successor to Mrs. Jane Bee. Will sell business of twenty years' standing.

Colorado Lumber Co., in receivership, Wm. H. King, receiver. To be known as Ainslie and Co., H. H. Bean, mgr.

Deal and Spaffords, coal yard.

Eggertsen, S. P., opening at old West Co-op, Andrew Eggertsen, mgr.

Fish Market, The [probably Samuel Jepperson].

Kerr Brothers, produce commission agents. Assigned to H. M. Edwards.

Madsen, Brigham, and L. W. Carpenter, professional fishermen.

Parcell, J. K., general merchandise.

Pouier and Bachman, Kandy Kitchen.

Provo Book and Stationery Co., and Felt and Olsen, consolidated, George S. Taylor, mgr.

Provo City Lumber Co., assigned.

Provo Meat and Packing Co., wholesale and retail butchers, own ice plant.
Rassmussen, N. C., West End Butcher.

Roberts, A., and Son, store.

Schwab, Clothier, Hatter, and Outfitter.

Spafford and Stubbs, coal.

Speckart, Philip, cash market.

Stickney, Miss Ella, millinery store.

Manufacturing

Bethesda Slate Quarry, employs seven men.

Provo City Lamb Knitting Machine Factory, Mrs. C. M. Bresee, hosiery.

Provo Milling Co., Reed Smoot, president, William Ashworth, manager. Storage and milling.

Rathkey, P. P., wagon and carriage maker.

Service

Crunn, Mrs. Mary, home laundry.

Daniels, Joe E.

Davies, John Q., blacksmith.

Evans and Bresee, blacksmiths.

Grier, John, Grier House Hotel and Restaurant. American or European plan.

Jepperson, Sam, landscape and sign painter.

Kroapa, R. J., assayer.

Provo City Undertaking Co., A. E. Ford, mgr.

Rance and Co., photographers.

Thurman, R. B., and Co., general insurance agents.

Troy Laundry. Perry sold out to Hallistead and Pillisbury.

Watkins, R. C., architect.
1893

Mercantile

Bennett, W. P., Senate Saloon.

Bullock Brothers, Garden City Meat Market.

Choules, George, shoe shop.

Decker, C. F., and Co., fruit and produce wholesalers, work on consignment plan, commissions.

Glazier, C. D., heavy and builder's hardware.

Jacobsen, H., Bankrupt Store, formerly Dunn and Co., soon to be called New York Cash Store.

Knight Brothers, saloon. Closing bar to do family trade only (by the bottle).

McPherson, D., Senate Meat Market.

Parcell, J. K., moved to West Co-op.

Phelps, W. W., and Brothers, The Racket.

Roberts, S. K., kerosene and gasoline.

Sward, Andrew, pianos, organs, musical instruments, and sewing machines.

Weidners, Mrs., millinery.

Manufacturing

Provo Milling Co., Snell and Son now lease it.

Silver Iron Works, William J. Silver, superintendent. At old Sun Foundry location.

Service

Barrett Collection Agency, M. J. Barrett, mgr.

Carson, John, and A. Roberts, Jr., livery, feed and sale stables.

Coray, Don R., money to loan. Long terms (on farms).

Cross and Davies, architects, superintendents, and draughtsmen.

Groneman, C., architect and builder.


Linkleter, A. N., blacksmith and horseshoer.

Massie, E. M., Diamond Hotel.

Roberts, Mrs. M. A., private board and lodging.

Veathch and Barret, collection agency.

Wells and Race, contractors and builders.

Young, C. E., and E. F. Buckley, painting and paper-hanging. Partnership dissolved, Young to continue.

1894

Mercantile

Atkins, Annie Jones, mgr., millinery and ladies furnishings store, at S. S. Jones and Company's old stand.

Bachman and Cunningham, confectionery parlor.

Decker and McCauslin, produce wholesalers.

Harrison, Henry, Provo agent, Chicago Liquor House of Salt Lake. Family trade a specialty.

Jones, S. S. Co., cedar posts, poles, lumber, timber or slabs.

Luft and Wood, Bankrupt Store.

Provo City Bakery and Coffee House.


Schwab, Sam, grocery department at Suttons old stand.

Smoot, A. O., successor to Provo Lumber, Manufacturing and Building Co., which was assigned. A. O. Smoot, Jr., mgr. Smoot probably foreclosed on the mortgage he held.

Taylor and Poulton, grocery store.
Utah County Fruit and Agricultural Society, F. J. Covert, manager and secretary. Produce wholesalers, selling wagons and implements.

Webber, T. G., dry goods store. S. S. Jones' old store and stock.

Wallace, J. Y., agent, Common Sense milking pails, and cans, groceries, school supplies and produce.

Manufacturing

Nielsen, Edward, goldsmith.

Peoples Marble Works, Thomas A. Beesley, proprietor.

Provo Lumber, Manufacturing and Building Co., assigned to Josiah Cluff.

Service

Chamberlain, Joseph, money to loan, 12% interest.

Lawrence Johnson and Co., California Bakery.

Provo City Jobbing Shop, William Tidd, proprietor. Furniture repairing and upholstering.

Provo Lake Resort Co.


Rawlings, H. E., barber, back in business.

Searle, W. B., civil engineer.

Speirs, George, barber.

Thulin, J., blacksmith.

1895

Mercantile

Allen, C. A., Utah Lake Ice.

Barney, R. A., clothing and dry goods.

Boshard and Saxey, fruit and vegetables.

Excelsior Drug and Paint, H. S. Pyne, manager.
Hedquist, Alex, store, took assignment. In 1896 was selling McCoard Brothers shoes in the back of his store.

Irvine and Sons, shoes, millinery, etc.

Provo Hardware and Iron Co., L. D. Waters, mgr.

Singleton Brothers Co., clothing and furnishing, in old co-op clothing department building.

Skelton and Co., books, stationery, bicycles.

Smoot and Co., druggist.

Western Hardware Co., bought stock of C. O. Glazier.

Manufacturing

Corbett and Henricksen, dealers and manufacturers, California potent oil and gas generating stove.

Grand Central Mining Co., capital $250,000, L. Holbrook, president. To work Tintic claims.

Peirce and Hartle, cigar manufactory.


Stagg, Henry, successor to Silver Iron Works. Practical machinist and consulting engineer.

Startup, George, started his own candy shop and makes his own.

Service

Dean, D. L., real estate and loans.

Marwick, J., fire and life insurance agent.


Swasey and Martin, bank.


1896

Mercantile

Covert, F. J., men's clothing. Agent for Wanamaker and Brown.
Druce, Harry, grocery store, Thomas Druce, manager.
Henrichsen Mercantile Co., groceries, boots, shoes, glassware, etc.
Howe and Taft, dissolved, George E. Howe to continue.
Pederson, C. A., groceries.
Provo Coal Co., L. Holbrook, mgr., store.
Smoot and Spafford, coal yard.
Snow and Young, paint store.
Speckart, Phil, Provo Meat Co.

Manufacturing
Alto Mining Co., capital stock, $750,000, claims in Camp Floyd mining district.
Dodd and Whitehead, Misses, dressmaking.
Hansen, P. A., tailor.
Hitchings, S. S., cigar maker.
Peru Gold and Silver Mining Co., S. P. Moore, president, capital stock, $300,000, to work Tintic claims.
Provo Roller Mills, A. O. Smoot, Jr., proprietor.
Ward, E. J., and Sons, planing mill. Also selling Pleasant Valley coal.

Service
Cluff, Hyrum, manager, undertaking and embalming.
Commercial Hotel, W. M. Maude, proprietor.
Pratt, M. L., has fence machine.
Scott, J. W., barber shop.
1897

Mercantile

Boary and Woods, dry goods store.

Cheever, Sam R., grocery store, bought out Saxey’s store.


Provo Bazerette, S. Liddiard, manager, notions and fancy goods.

Provo Music Co., H. E. Giles, Jr., manager.

Resort Saloon.

Singleton Clothing Co.

Manufacturing

Durrant and Thompson, saddlery, bought J. C. Withers stock.


Service

Burbeck, William, cooper shop, mend cooperware.

Flieners, restaurant.

Kelley, F. O., baker and confectioner, successor to Provo Bakery.

Knight and Sharp, livery stables.

Knudsen Brothers, creamery.

1898

Mercantile

Atkin, Annie Jones, Utah Millinery and Dry Goods, to open soon at S. S. Jones’ old stand.

Bailey and Vincent, Eureka Saloon.

Barrett and McKendruck, furniture.
Bishop, Willard, Spot Cash Grocery.
Elkhorn Pharmacy, Sutton, manager.
McAdam and Bunting, cash grocers.
Provo Meat Co.
Skelton, publishing and stationery company.
Smoot and Co, druggists, opening wholesale cigar business.
Manufacturing
Clark, A. E., and H. H. Clark, stoneware.
McCloskey, John E., pottery.
Service
Asper, Mrs. A. A., instructor in dressmaking, square inch system.
Elite Portrait Company.
Lambert's Dancing Academy, R. J. Lambert.
Lewis, John, livery stable.
Provo City Transfer, George Weibel, proprietor, moves everything.
Silver, William P., printing.
Utah County Democrat, Fred Nelson, editor, semi-weekly, $2.00 a year.

1899
Mercantile
Central Meat Market, Charles L. Grier, proprietor.
Jones, Mrs. J. C., Electrical Parlor, batteries and appliances.

Provo Z. C. M. I., L. O. Taft, manager.

Ramsey, Frank, bicycles.

Schwab, Sam, clothing store, to go back in business.

Straw and Ellsworth of Milwaukee, James F. Dunn, representative. Hats, caps, gloves.

Van Wagener, J. F., wagons and farm machinery.

Weidner, Mrs. W. E., millinery.

Manufacturing

Bott, A. U., cigar manufacturer.

Service

Done and Archwold, bicycle mechanics.


Excelsior Stables, W. T. Hawkey, proprietor.


Richards, S., plumbing and jobbing.
ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Economic History of Provo, Utah to 1900.

Provo was settled in 1849 by Mormon people who had very little with which to make an economic base for their new society in the wilderness. However, these people, by their ingenuity, experimentation, and long hard work, made a home for themselves in this inhospitable land. After their society had been here for a decade, it was well established economically, and the period of privation was over, except for some years of very poor crops.

After the Utah War, the people of Provo slowly raised their standard of living and broadened the base of their economy. Agriculture raised well above the subsistence level, and a larger surplus was available to get from the East tools needed to make the things that the people desired. More use was made of water power to grind their grain and cut their wood. A group of artisans grew up in Provo; every one was not a farmer, and some devoted most of their time to their specialty.

There was not yet a great enough accumulation of agricultural and labor surplus to allow individuals to embark on extensive enterprises. However, the people, under the leadership of ecclesiastical authorities, put their surplus together into joint stock companies, or co-ops, and started relatively large enterprises. The most important of these for Provo were
the Provo Woolen Mills, which were built on a co-op basis from 1869 to 1873. For the next sixty years, these mills were to provide a valuable supplement to Provo's agrarian economy, although they were never very profitable.

Other industrial pursuits in Provo may have been retarded some by the draining off of the community's spare energies by the Woolen Mills. However, other industrial enterprises proceeded to try to supply the city and the territory with what they needed. For the first two or three decades, these activities were on a small scale and were largely on a handicraft basis. They were financed by individuals or by groups of people on the co-op basis. Since these small manufactories were largely to fill local needs only, a retail outlet was usually part of the enterprise. By the eighteen-eighties, larger groups of capital had been accumulated, and the city tried to fill some of its needs found impossible to fulfill before such as iron foundries, street railroads, and even blast furnaces. However, such undertakings usually suffered from chronic capital shortage. The national depression of 1893 made further expansion of industry in Provo very difficult, until in the last years of the century renewed confidence and new capital from the east and from local mining started the city once more on its slow climb to industrial maturity.

Agriculture was the major industry in Provo from its founding until at least much later than the first World War. Provo was long known as the Garden City. Provo's first settlers planted mostly grain to keep themselves alive while they got
through the subsistence stage. However, they very soon started
to grow a variety of garden crops and fruits to make their
diets fuller. They moved away from the primitive hand methods
that had been necessary when they first arrived as new machin-
ery was invented and they accumulated enough money to buy it.
The area under cultivation expanded from the 225 acres planted
in 1849 until today there is very little arable land in Utah
Valley that is not under cultivation where water is available.

The commerce of early Provo was concerned with getting
for the people those things that they could not or did not
make for themselves. Provo's merchants accepted the people's
produce in exchange for these goods and sold it in mining
camps or the east to get new goods. After the railroad came
to the territory, the cost of importation of goods was not so
prohibitive, and the people had more of the eastern goods which
they found it unprofitable to make themselves. Most of these
stores were small and in business for relatively short periods
before their operators moved on to other pursuits.

Finance in early Provo was a co-operative matter under
the leadership of the church. The bishops of Provo tried to
get the people to use their meager resources together to the
best possible advantage. By putting their spare produce and
labor into these projects, farmers could become capitalists.
Through this method, some things, such as the Woolen Mills,
were built that might not have been possible otherwise, but
some, such as the co-op stores, had only minor economic justi-
fication and were primarily for the strengthening of the church.
About 1880 the old order of church domination of finance began to break down and a capitalist group (not necessarily distinct from the earlier leaders), who were emerging in Provo, dominated industry and commerce. In the late eighties and nineties, Provo began to rely on banks, insurance, corporate organization on a more impersonal basis, produce wholesalers, real estate promoters, and outside capital to do things which formerly had been done by the individual himself or by the co-operation of the whole society. Symbolic of the rise of this new order was the organization in 1887 of a Chamber of Commerce, which provided, in part, a substitute for the waning leadership of A. O. Smoot and the bishops in economic matters. The new attitude of this group toward foreign capital is also significant. Provo began to actively seek eastern capital, while in earlier days it had not even been considered. About this same time, the first such capital began to come to Provo in small quantities, but there was seldom enough to satisfy local interests.

After 1890, Provo largely ceased to try to be a part of the self-sufficient unit of the territory of Utah and began to grow within the economic sphere of the whole United States. However, being more nearly a part of the national unit made Provo also subject to its ills. National depressions and panic had had only minor effects in Provo before, but the effects of the depression of 1893 were felt in Provo a great deal. Those businesses which had to get supplies for cash outside the territory had, of course, suffered in earlier depressions, but by 1890 Provo had for the first time in its history gotten

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trade on a cash basis, and everyone felt the effects of panic.

When the pioneers came to Provo, they found a practically trackless wilderness in which they built crude trails to facilitate the progress of their wagons. These roads were very poor and in constant need of repair; weather often made them impassable; the bridges often collapsed. Nevertheless, these roads, together with some scheduled stage service over them, made transportation more rapid.

The most important development in transportation was the arrival of the railroad in the territory in 1869 and in the city in 1873. This gave the farmers a better market and made manufactured goods cheaper. By the turn of the century, Provo was on two transcontinental railroads.

Communication was limited in early Provo by the poor roads over which any news had to go by animal power. The Deseret Telegraph remedied this with a connection with the outside world in 1866. The Rocky Mountain Bell Telephone Company improved communication even more in 1887.

Provo could be considered little more than an agrarian village before 1880. However, by 1890, she could be said to have graduated to the rank of a city, with the concomitant growth of many full-time tradesmen and artisans. She had a Chamber of Commerce, electric lights of sorts, a water works, a street railroad, and some paved streets by 1892.

By the dawn of the twentieth century, Provo was maturing economically. The shift from agriculture to a more well rounded economy was begun, but was not to be achieved for
decades to come. The Garden City was a thriving little town with many who hoped and dreamed of her possibilities, but few who would live to see their fruition.
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