A Community Study of Coalville, Utah, 1859-1914

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A COMMUNITY STUDY OF
COALVILLE, UTAH
1859 - 1914

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

By
Norma Eileen Pyper Thompson
August 1990
This thesis, by Norma Eileen Pyper Thompson, is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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never have obtained in any other way. I feel much closer to
my maternal grandparents and great-grandparents who immigrated
from England and participated in the growth and development of
their hometown, Coalville, Utah.
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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about a small Mormon community, Coalville, Utah, during the time period 1859 to 1914. Coalville is located in the northeastern section of the state of Utah in Summit County on Interstate 80.

Although Coalville remained small in population, it is worthwhile to study its origins, the people who built its institutions, its social life and economy and how it developed from a mere camping spot on the road between Salt Lake to Wyoming into a stable community. Coalville's development was significant to the growth and culture of Utah.

The founders experienced the usual pioneer struggles to conquer the wilderness and were rewarded by seeing their children established in substantial homes and enjoying the benefits of church activity, a good school system, and a way to provide the necessities of life for their families.

From information found in primary sources such as early pioneer journals, newspaper reports, oral interviews, family records, U. S. Census reports for 1870 and 1900, and reports from the U. S. Geological Survey, and by use of secondary sources in books and articles, it was possible to connect the lives of Coalville residents with the development of early
coal mines in Utah, the coming of the railroad, the political situation between Mormons and gentiles in Summit County, and the institution of various enterprises to help the growth of the economy. Limiting factors to extended growth were the lack of sufficient arable land and natural resources upon which to base industrial development. Agriculture became the main base of the economy. Those who could not find remunerative work on farms or in town-serving enterprises after the decline of the mining industry necessarily moved away. The research showed that the first decades of the twentieth century were profitable to the agriculturists of Coalville when abundant markets became available prior to World War I. Coalville residents participated in the general prosperity then abounding for other farmers in the nation.
CHAPTER ONE

FOUNDATIONS: THE ORIGIN OF COALVILLE, UTAH

The founding of Coalville, Utah, was part of the continuing efforts of members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to seek new places for settlement. The original settlement of Coalville was called Chalk Creek after the well-known creek of that name. In 1867 when the citizens decided to incorporate their town, they named it Coalville because of the coal mines which had been developed between the time of settlement and when there were enough people to desire an organized city government.

The Latter-day Saints, or Mormons, as they were often called, originally colonized the Great Basin as a likely place to build their version of God's kingdom on earth after suffering severe persecution from their neighbors in Missouri and Illinois. They sought a place where they could build their communities separate from other Americans, and after studying the reports of exploration of the West, such as John C. Fremont's,¹ their leaders concluded that the Great Basin

would be a suitable place to take their people. They arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847.

The arrival of white settlers was not particularly disturbing to Indians in the vicinity since the Great Salt Lake Valley was a border area between the Utes and the Shoshoni bands which ranged over the Great Basin to the west.\(^2\) In addition, the Mormons hoped the arid climate and the apparent scarcity of fertile land would discourage non-Mormon land seekers from coming to the area. Actually, the valley of the Great Salt Lake itself had good possibilities because the soil was fertile, and water could be transported in ditches from the mountain streams. The pioneers immediately set to work preparing the ground for potatoes and turnips, damming the streams, and digging the all-important ditches.\(^3\)

Brigham Young, the very practical leader of the Mormon Church, saw the potential for development of the whole Great Basin area and was positive that his followers could make the barren valleys "blossom as the rose" through cooperative effort and hard work. The pioneers knew they would have to depend on irrigation to make the land productive, but they were willing to do whatever was required. The early settlers quickly learned how to deal with their soil; they knew how to


irrigate and very soon after settlement were growing successful farms and gardens. The incoming settlers already knew how to farm from long years of experience and knew how to fence and cultivate the land and to care for livestock. They could make harnesses, hitches, and use farming tools. Living in the Great Basin would not be as difficult as they feared at first.

Soon great numbers of immigrants who had been converted by the proselyting missionaries began to arrive in Salt Lake Valley. Church authorities then sent them after a short rest to colonize new places in the Great Basin or build up the communities already founded. The so-called "Utah War" interfered with founding new settlements for a year or so, but already by 1857 Mormon villages had reached the number of ninety-six.

The Church Presidency usually sent out a leader and a group of families composed of individuals who had the necessary skills to create a self-sufficient community. Besides farmers, the Church called carpenters, blacksmiths,

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5Arrington and Bitton, 164-169. In 1857 a hostile force of American soldiers was sent by President James Buchanan to put down a supposed Mormon rebellion. President Buchanan acted prematurely on false reports given him by the surveyor-general, the Indian agent, and federally-appointed judges.

6Milton R. Hunter, Brigham Young, the Great Colonizer (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1967), 362.
masons, and other artisans who could contribute to the good of the whole colony. The Mormons developed a unique pattern of settlement. Specially-assigned scouts explored to find possible locations; then groups of people were called to go to one of these sites. The surveyors of the group laid out the town, providing for a centrally-located church and community center. The presiding officer assigned lots to the families or sometimes the new group would merely meet together and draw lots. Utah settlers modified their town plan to fit the terrain, water supply, and particular requirements of each settlement, but like Joseph Smith’s plan, it generally followed the grid pattern of early New England settlements.

The so-called Mormon village plan was originally designed by Joseph Smith, the martyred prophet of the Church, for the gathering places of the Latter-day Saints in Missouri and Illinois. Its general outline remained in the minds of the Church leaders, but the exact plan was never completely carried out.⁷

Unlike most other early Mormon settlements, Brigham Young did not actually send the first settlers to Chalk Creek (later Coalville), perhaps because he was too preoccupied with the

colonization of the Mormon Corridor\textsuperscript{8} to think about settlements east of Salt Lake. Also, the tension of working out the peaceful culmination of the Utah War diverted the First Presidency of the Church from further colonization at the time.\textsuperscript{9}

By that time, however, many people had begun to leave earlier settlements on their own initiative, looking for prospective farm sites. The ideal locations needed a dependable water source for irrigation and also had to be defensible from Indian attack.

While on a freighting trip between Salt Lake City and Omaha in the fall of 1858, William H. Smith discovered some matured wheat while camping at Chalk Creek campground, a spot forty-five miles east of Salt Lake City. The area had good potential for settlement, he decided, and by the spring of 1859 he had persuaded four families—his friends and neighbors from the Sugarhouse area in Salt Lake City—to accompany him to Chalk Creek where each family claimed a sizable acreage. The Leonard Phillips, Andrew Williams, and Alanson Norton families came with William Smith in April, 1859. They were followed by the Henry B. Wilde, Joseph Stallings, and Thomas

\textsuperscript{8}Allen and Leonard, 266. The Mormon Corridor was a plan to build settlements from Salt Lake City to the seaport of Los Angeles, California. New converts would be transported by ship, and travel by wagon to Utah. This shorter route than overland from Winter Quarters, Nebraska, never proved practical after the railroad came in 1869.

\textsuperscript{9}Hunter, 346.
B. Franklin families in June. Others who soon followed included John and Fred Wilde, Joel Lewis, Daniel H. Wells, Bryant Stringham, Stephen Taylor, and Fred Birch, joined by Alma and Edmund Eldredge, who had previously scouted for good land along the Weber River. Others who soon followed included John and Fred Wilde, Joel Lewis, Daniel H. Wells, Bryant Stringham, Stephen Taylor, and Fred Birch, joined by Alma and Edmund Eldredge, who had previously scouted for good land along the Weber River.10 Andrew Johnston, John Spriggs, and Howard Livingston also soon arrived at Chalk Creek.11

William Carruth and John Allen came to settle on the Weber River near Chalk Creek because they thought South Cottonwood in Salt Lake Valley was already becoming too crowded.12 Other people learned about the desirability of Chalk Creek from various sources and by 1860 fifteen families were living there.

These early Chalk Creek settlers were primarily interested in establishing farms and forming a small community. All members of the Mormon church, they were also committed to its general program of building the Kingdom of God on the earth. Being so few in number, they depended on each other for building the necessary housing, fencing and ditches for survival, and of course, had only their immediate neighbors when emergencies arose.

It did not take the Church long to extend its program to Chalk Creek, and William H. Wilde was appointed branch president. For the next fifteen years he watched over his small flock, filling the role of Mormon bishop as he carried out the many duties his position entailed. He saw that food was distributed fairly in times of scarcity and provided what he could for the immigrants from the eastern United States and Europe who had decided to locate in his community. For example, he furnished flour for the Thomas Beard family who came with a wagon train in 1868. The Beards had relatives to stay with but had to borrow some food items until they got established.\footnote{There seemed to be a great amount of dried fruit available. This was one item Brigham Young advised the Utah Saints to send to immigrants at the railroad terminus.\footnote{At times neighbors would kill a beef and divide it. There were plenty of fresh vegetables as soon as the settlers planted their gardens, but flour had to be brought from Salt Lake City.}}

\textbf{Early Community Problems}

The process of settlement was not unlike that of many other Utah communities which followed a common pattern of

\footnote{Centennial Souvenir, 4.}


\footnote{J. Kenneth Davies, \textit{George Beard, Mormon Pioneer Artist With a Camera}. (Provo, Utah: By the author, 877 North 700 West 84601, 1975), 23.}
development. The first period was one of pioneering when survival was difficult. In this period the people cooperated in digging a diversion canal to provide water for homes, crops, and livestock; they built a community fort and a makeshift meetinghouse for community worship and recreation. The second period was one of settling into community life and included constructing longer diversion canals, larger-sized homes, and a large meetinghouse or tabernacle. The third stage, or "flowering period," saw the completion of high line canals for irrigation, building of rock and frame homes, substantial school buildings, and sometimes a temple. At this time the people reaped the rewards of their hard work, and business institutions, schools, and churches all combined to provide a time of prosperity and abundance of life.¹⁶

In Coalville at first the families lived in tents and dugouts, but as soon as possible they built log cabins. To save bringing so many logs down from the hills, they were satisfied with floors of bare earth and piled up dirt on planks to make the roofs. When it rained, mud dripped through the cracks, and mothers had to hold pans to catch the drips or hold umbrellas over sleeping babies and over food and dishes on the table. As in other Mormon villages, the settlers worked

together to build the all-important central log building which served as church, school, and social hall.\textsuperscript{17}

Cash was scarce in these early days, and settlers often resorted to the barter system. William Carruth, for example, traded his farm for oxen, horses, and a buggy.\textsuperscript{18} People bartered wheat and other produce for supplies and often had to make the long trip to Salt Lake City to obtain flour and other necessities. All of the settlers suffered many physical hardships while they worked at making a new settlement and experienced the emotional anxiety of leaving friends and familiar surroundings to start afresh in a new place.

Getting to the chosen new location involved slow, laborious travel with heavily loaded wagons and ox teams. The oxen often strayed away from over-night camping spots causing delays while the drivers searched for them. William Carruth, for example, went to Coalville over Parley's Summit but had to spend four days going back to Salt Lake Valley for his lost steers and oxen.\textsuperscript{19}

Severe winters also plagued the settlers at Chalk Creek where the 5,550 foot altitude, combined with the flow of cold air from nearby mountains, produced extremely low temperatures. Freezing often occurred even in the summer and

\textsuperscript{17}Centennial Souvenir, 8, 27; Nelson, 14, 51, 101.

\textsuperscript{18}Carruth Autobiography, 20 July 1861, 43.

\textsuperscript{19}Carruth, 25 October 1861, 48.
damaged or destroyed the crops. The Weber River froze so hard in the winter that wagons could be driven over it. In order to save the eight-mile trip to Hoytsville, where the only bridge was located, drivers often forded the river or tried to cross on the ice. William Carruth once fell through the ice while crossing on foot, and after being carried several feet under water managed to push his head through a thin place in the ice and extricate himself.

Another plague was grasshoppers. When these pests attacked the crops several years in a row, as recorded in the years 1865 to 1876, the farmers underwent severe financial hardship and the food supply was very short. At a homecoming celebration held in Coalville in 1910, fifty years after the first settlers arrived, someone asked the old-timers present to write down what they best remembered about the early days. The grasshoppers and the frost stood out most in their memories as being the most difficult to cope with.

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20. U.S. Department of Commerce, Weather Bureau, Climatological Summary for Coalville, Utah Station. No. 20-42, Means and Extremes for Period, 1931-1960. No data was available for the early period of Coalville, but it is assumed the climate was similar in extremes of temperature.


Getting sufficient water onto the land involved the arduous labor of digging and maintaining ditches. As mentioned previously, because of the arid climate, Great Basin settlers depended on irrigation and became quite expert at designing water systems. The bishop usually supervised the project and then assigned a watermaster to regulate water turns. Presiding Elder Wilde organized the people of his branch to build the ditches, although William Smith is credited with taking out the first water from the Weber River.²⁴

The lack of adequate medical care was one of the early settlers' problems. Because no trained medical doctors resided in Chalk Creek, they had to get along with their home-grown remedies. "Dutch John," a German immigrant who walked to Salt Lake City to get his supplies, made up small packets of herbs and peddled them from house to house.²⁵ If toothaches became too severe, the people called on a neighbor like Jake Huffman, well-known as a "tooth puller." Even though Jake offered his services freely, the lack of necessary instruments and anesthetics caused a great deal of pain. George Beard was one patient who, after having his tooth removed, suffered for years from a splintered jaw.²⁶ "Old Lady Barraclough," as Mary Barraclough was commonly called,}

²⁴Centennial Souvenir, 5.
²⁵Ibid., 33.
²⁶Davies, 28.
helped to set broken bones. She charged $1.75 and would accept produce in payment of her fee. Women in childbirth depended on a good midwife of the community such as Mrs. Andrew Johnson. Women collected the "tried and true" herbs to be used as painkillers during delivery and to aid young children. Mothers and infants died of complications from childbirth. One treatment for infants was saffron tea administered directly after birth to clear the skin. Sagebrush, onions, garlic, hops, and whiskey, and even gunpowder, were common remedies. Some believed that a cure for almost anything existed in herbs and other plants.

Smallpox and diptheria also afflicted the community. The only way, it appeared, to halt the spread of such disease was quarantine. Coalville went into a smallpox quarantine in July of 1869. No one could enter or leave the town. Persons who had previously recovered from the disease tended the afflicted


28 Centennial Souvenir, 33.

patients in an isolated cabin several miles up Chalk Creek. Charles E. Griffin found himself so weakened from smallpox that for several months he could hardly do his farm chores or plant crops. He had to limit his work to a few hours a day.\(^{30}\)

During the late 1860s, the Church tried a new method of bringing converts from Europe to Utah. It decided to take advantage of the Union Pacific Railroad for as far west as the tracks had been laid. Doing this would save the Church from paying the exorbitant prices the non-Mormon, or gentile, companies had been charging for transporting freight and immigrants to Salt Lake City. It could then use the savings to buy machinery, tools, supplies, and other necessities. Accordingly, the First Presidency devised a plan of sending Mormon teamsters to wherever the temporary railroad terminus was. In response to the leaders' request, bishops throughout the settlements sent what teamsters and teams they could spare. Their contributions counted as tithing.

Several young, newly-married men of Coalville participated in going to "the Missouri" (a colloquial Mormon term used to define Omaha, Nebraska, where the Union Pacific Railroad began, and later applied to wherever the temporary terminus happened to be) to meet the immigrants. Leaving their wives at home, while they were gone for a whole summer, worked hardships on both the men and women. The young wives

\(^{30}\)Charles Emerson Griffin Autobiography, August 1868, Utah Historical Society, 29.
suffered the loneliness of separation, while the men were absent just when they needed to plant their crops. The husbands were able to buy items in the railroad towns that were needed back home, so the gifts they brought helped the wives forget some of the hardships and problems. Mrs. Charles E. Griffin appreciated her new stove, one of the first to arrive in Coalville. Another wife, Mrs. Marinda Eldredge, also enjoyed a new stove, plus a looking glass, new dress patterns, and the fancy collars her husband brought back from the East. She immediately made some new dresses which she wore to the next church functions and caused a great deal of envy on the part of her less fortunate sisters.\footnote{Ibid.; Margaret Marinda Merrill Eldredge, "My Life and History, a Remembrance, 1926," October, 1862, 171, typescript, L.D.S. Church Archives.}

Benton, Wyoming, was one railroad town where the teamsters met the immigrants. Like all railroad towns, it was full of adventurers, gamblers, saloons, and prostitutes.\footnote{Athearn, 30.} Consequently, the Saints coming from England met a large variety of people with many different backgrounds while they waited for the wagon trains to be made up. Being only thirteen years of age when his family stayed in Benton City, George Beard never forgot the impressions he received at that tender age when he met Indians, Scandinavians, Mexicans,
Chinese, Japanese, big-game hunters, trappers, Buffalo Bill, and anti-Mormons.\textsuperscript{33}

It was not uncommon for these new families to share living quarters until a log cabin could be built. The immigrant Thomas Beard and his family, for instance, moved in with his married son who had a wife and two children. The two-room log home must have been a bit crowded with the addition of the father and his three half-grown sons plus the single, older son who already resided there.\textsuperscript{34}

William Henry Hill and Miss Isabella Wells married earlier than they originally planned in order to have a place where the new wife could care for her sick mother. Isabella had been working for another family who resented the time she spent in caring for her mother, a newly-arrived immigrant. When her mother died shortly thereafter, the Hills felt impressed to invite two other families, one with eight children, to live in their two-room log cabin during a very cold winter. What could have been a miserable winter, however, turned out to have some advantages. The three men worked out a partnership to go into the mountains and saw wood. When they sold the lumber they had produced by cooperative effort, they found they had made a substantial profit.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{33} Davies, 15.

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., 23.

\textsuperscript{35} William Henry Hill, Autobiography, 1910-1912, April, 1865, L.D.S. Church Archives, 12. Hill and his two friends worked with the logs during the winter of November, 1864 and
Sometimes families had nothing but a monotonous diet of stored wheat for food during the winter months. When the Hill family found after Christmas of 1864 that they had several bushels of wheat on hand plus the extra cash from selling their lumber, the father decided to travel to Salt Lake City to trade his wheat for flour and supplies. On the way home he got into a bad snowstorm and his feet became frostbitten, despite his precaution of alternating walking with riding. Fortunately, through application of poultices and the patient care of his wife, his feet healed.36 Other men also experienced frost-bitten feet as well as camping out in the snow with only a wagon cover for protection. There are other instances of people who walked on top of the snow to Salt Lake City to get flour. Tom Moore's grandmother and her two oldest boys without snow shoes walked a distance of 20 miles to Kimball Junction the first day of the trip and continued on to Salt Lake Valley the next day. They rested one day and returned carrying fifty pounds of flour.37

Some slept on the frozen crust on top of the snow. To them, driving on the frozen snow seemed less of a hardship

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April, 1865.

36Ibid., 13. He made the trip to Salt Lake in the early part of January, 1865.

37Thomas Ellis Moore oral interview by Delbert Adams, April 25, 1976, typescript, L.D.S. Church Archives, Oral History Department.
than pushing through the mud that formed when the snow melted.\textsuperscript{38}

In times of food scarcity, mothers often went hungry so their children could have more. Emma Lord Robinson wrote that her mother would roll her hands under her apron and hold her stomach to ease the hunger pains.\textsuperscript{39} Amelia Jones wrote that her family was so strict in observing what they considered to be the patriarchal law, that the father of the family was served the biggest portions and the most choice food, even if the rest received little or nothing.\textsuperscript{40} This was justified, however, as a survival technique, on the theory that the man must do the heavy work out in the fields and if he couldn't work, the family would not survive.

Another hardship of the early settlement days was for young husbands and fathers to be called on missions. The First Presidency needed men to go on proselyting missions. Absalom Porter Dowdle's mission experience is an example of the hardships involved. Leaving his wife and two children behind in a small log cabin with all the chores to do in caring for a garden, cow, and chickens in Coalville, in 1861

\textsuperscript{38} Ward Eaton Pack, "Journal, May 28, 1854-April 8, 1876," L.D.S. Church Archives, 116. (Ward Eaton Pack writes on April 8, 1876, about his past mission to the Sandwich Islands, and incidents after his return, such as sleeping on top of the snow); Davies, 28.

\textsuperscript{39} Emma Lord Robinson, untitled Daughters of Utah Pioneers report, n.d. DUP Coalville Camp.

\textsuperscript{40} C. S. Rippon, Family Record Book, 18, photocopy in author's possession.
he accepted a call to Australia where he served nearly five years. While on the mission, he responded to higher Church counsel and took a second wife who bore him three children. When he arrived back in Coalville and his first wife learned from another misionary about his polygamous marriage, she felt very injured. This couple's later separation may have been caused by the long absence of the husband and a change in their feelings towards each other.\textsuperscript{41}

\textbf{Indian Problems}

The constant threat of marauding Indians increased the hardships of pioneer life. Mormons made some efforts to convert the various tribes of Indians and to teach them how to farm, but the missionaries had difficulty persuading them to give up their native ways. Peaceful at first, the Indians soon realized that the friendly Mormons would become a serious threat to their free existence when more and more immigrants continued to arrive. Among other things, they found their sources of food disappearing and resentment smoldered.\textsuperscript{42} The Shoshoni Indians under Chief Washakie wisely preferred to

\textsuperscript{41}Absalom Porter Dowdle, Autobiography (1876), 45, L.D.S. Church Archives. Dowdle's diary is not clear as to the exact date he returned from his mission to Australia. He wrote that his wife did not fully accept him after his mission, but they become parents of seven children. He returned to Coalville in 1868, after moving several times. Finally, his wife refused to eat at the same table or sleep with him. Since the children were grown, and he decided to leave his wife and family sometime in 1868.

\textsuperscript{42}O'Neil, 129.
remain peaceful, but the Ute Indians roused under a minor chief, Black Hawk, to strike back at the whites for the ever-increasing encroachments into their traditional hunting grounds. Revenge also played a role in isolated individual encounters between whites and Indians. 

Cattle-stealing raids occurred mostly in the southern part of the Territory, but the Utes in northern Utah were also aroused and all the Mormon settlements were advised to build forts for protection. Brigham Young counseled the people to move into the forts and to take their cattle inside, for then Indian thefts would stop.

Following this advice, the Coalville citizens built a fort on the hill above Chalk Creek. They called for all outlying families to come in to the central location for protection. While living in the confinement of the fort, the women and children were in constant fear of a surprise attack. The twelve-year old herd boys assigned to take the cattle out to forage every day had the additional assignment of watching for signs of approaching Indians. The young boys faced each day with terror lest they should actually see a band of Indians come riding over the hill.

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44 Marie Harrison Nelson, ed., Mountain Memories, a Book of Remembrance, 1848-1986 (Kamas, Utah Stake of Zion, 1986), 8; Marinda Eldredge, 27 August 1864, 171; Davies, 24.
One incident in the early summer of 1867 demonstrated the courage of Presiding Elder William Wallace Cluff, who was in charge of ecclesiastical matters in all of Summit County but lived in Coalville and was mayor of the town. A band of angry Utes, supposedly stirred up by renegade white men, rode into Coalville and demanded eight beef cattle and a large amount of flour. When Elder Cluff went out to talk to them, one brave grabbed his hat, raised it on a pole, and about eighteen braves began whooping and yelling as they danced around Cluff and the pole. Even in this tense situation Cluff did not lose his composure but calmly insisted he could spare only one beef and a little flour. The Indians finally decided he would not be intimidated into changing his offer. President Cluff sent his clerk, John Boyden, to bring one of his (Boyden's) steers from the nearest pasture, while the Indians grumblingly picked up a few additional items within easy reach and then rode off with the beef.  

The settlers along the Weber River had many experiences with Chief Washakie and his band of 3,000 Shoshonis. The band often camped close to the settlements, but it was known that Chief Washakie had decided not to fight the white people. He had been wise enough to see that whites had much better weapons and many more fighting men. The route through Echo Canyon had served the Shoshonis and Utes for many years as

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they travelled east to hunt buffalo on the plains of Wyoming, but it was now also the main route of white immigrants. Once a year the Shoshonis sent war parties to prey upon their neighbors, the Sioux. Upon the return of the warriors, their families met them in western Wyoming and they all travelled through Chalk Creek Canyon on their way to the main route along the Weber River. The Shoshonis were a transient group and had the advantage of being mounted on horses. They were not permanent residents of Utah territory but travelled through on their way to and from favorite spots in Idaho and Wyoming.46

The settlers had ample opportunity to observe their habits. Curious young Mormon boys of Coalville often sneaked close to Indian campfires at night to listen to their talk. George Beard described the funeral dirge the Indian women chanted in memory of an infant who had drowned in Chalk Creek while the Indians made the crossing. Mormon boys accepted challenges to wrestle Indian boys while the adult Indians looked on and made sure it was a fair encounter.47

The Black Hawk War lasted from 1865 to 1872, and during the first few years consisted of raids against the southern settlements of Utah. Chief Black Hawk made peace in 1868, and


47 Davies, 34; Myrla Robinson Lind, oral interview by author, 7 October 1989.
his Utes consented to go onto the Uintah Reservation. Disgruntled Indians who did not want to be placed on the reservation were responsible for the hostilities of the latter part of the war.\textsuperscript{48} Government agents negotiated a peace, and the Indians ceased to be a problem for the Coalville people, except for begging Indian women who sometimes went from door to door asking for food. Tragically, Coalville settlers were not immune from making the same stereotyped judgments about the Indians as other white Americans. As late as 1894 people in town were warned against the Indian women beggars who were camped near the depot, and a "vicious-looking old Navaho" seen on the street.\textsuperscript{49}

\textbf{Outlaws}

Incidents with horse thieves, bank robbers, and outlaw gangs often occurred in western frontier towns. Usually, the outlaws avoided Mormon communities because of their orderly combination of church and civic authority and organized militia. Nevertheless, Coalville did have one exciting experience with renegade white men. There are several versions of this story, and the details are merged with the folklore that was handed down from early participants, but there seems to be general agreement on certain facts.

In the spring of 1867 authorities received word that Indians under the leadership of white renegade Ike Potter were

\textsuperscript{48} Metcalf, 2.

\textsuperscript{49} The Coalville Times, 12 October 1894; 25 October 1895.
coming to steal stock, hold up the stores, and haul off any valuables they could get from the unwary citizens. Captain Alma Eldredge led an escort from the Coalville cavalry to visit the Indians and tried to make peace, but to no avail.\textsuperscript{50} Soon afterward, the Indians attacked the sawmill on Chalk Creek. The defenders killed two Indians, but two white men were wounded.

Coalville residents believed the incident involved Ike Potter's gang. When Sheriff J. C. Roundy heard that gang members were holed up in Ike's father's cabin located about three miles from town, he obtained a warrant for their arrest. With the help of an armed posse and the Coalville militia standing by ready for action, the sheriff convinced the outlaws to go peaceably to the Coalville jail. Anticipating that the gang would not wait for a trial and would try to escape, he also posted a posse outside. At night, while the guard was being changed, the men in custody tried to escape but the posse were ready for action. They marched the men single file to the edge of town, where Potter was killed instantly by a shotgun blast. Wilson and Walker attempted to

\textsuperscript{50}Metcalf, 41. The Territorial Militia during the Black Hawk War was still called the Nauvoo Legion, which was under the de facto control of the Church. In the southern parts of the territory where more Indian raids were occurring, it became evident that greater measures than the militia were needed to cope with the marauding Indians. Each County had a detachment of militia, but these, as components of the Nauvoo Legion, were disorganized as a requirement of the Edmunds-Tucker Act before Utah became a state. Nelson, 6. William Wallace Cluff was colonel of the Summit County militia, and Alma Eldredge held the rank of captain.
escape but Wilson was caught and killed alongside the Weber River. Walker escaped but had been shot at such close range that his shirt was on fire. He was killed while crossing Chalk Creek. Meanwhile, the Indian allies of the gang who had intended to rescue their friends came whooping into town on horseback to threaten the townspeople. They made a quick turn-around, however, when they saw the armed citizens ready for any eventuality.

In retrospect, the affair of shooting down Ike and some of the men in his gang was an example of quick frontier justice, administered in the heat of uncertainty and fright over what the outlaw gang might try to do, not what it actually did. The social feeling of the community overruled the civil rights of the accused men. Two years after the event, the governor of the territory called in Captain Alma Eldredge and William H. Smith, members of the posse, to face possible criminal charges. They were released when no one could be found to testify to what the facts really were.  

Coal Mining

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About the time the farmers decided to settle in Chalk Creek, explorers discovered coal in the area. A prosperous mining industry developed and is one of the reasons Coalville is distinctive in the history of Utah. More details about the mines will be presented in Chapter Two.

Summary

In summary, the early settlement of Coalville included many important problems and challenges: (1) establishing productive farms; (2) providing irrigation water; (3) providing housing; (4) enduring the hardships of pioneer life, including hard physical work, cold winters, monotonous diet, separation from loved ones, and no adequate medical care; and (5) meeting the challenges of Indian and outlaw raids. For the settlers, however, their benefits consisted of: (1) the opportunity to obtain free land as a means for a livelihood; (2) membership in a unified, cooperative community; (3) social interaction with others holding the same Mormon values; and (4) expectations that the future would bring more opportunities and a better quality of life for each new settler and his family.
Chalk Creek began as a small farming settlement and soon developed into a typical Mormon village as merchants opened up retail stores to supply clothing and groceries to the growing population. Fortunately, development of the abundant nearby coal resources allowed Chalk Creek to have a dual economic base of agriculture and coal mining. For the first few years the population lived on rather scattered farms, but because of the increasing Indian raids the families gathered into the newly-constructed fort referred to in Chapter One.

Interestingly enough, the town's formal organization resulted from the Black Hawk Indian War of the years 1865-1868. When the Indian threat finally subsided, the settlers of Chalk Creek found they liked living close to each other and wanted the social and political benefits of town government. They approved a committee to lay out the town and prepare it for incorporation. In 1867 a mayor and a five-member council officially replaced the L.D.S. Church structure so far as

1Summit County Bee, 11 August 1989; Coalville, Utah, Centennial Souvenir, 1859-1959 (Coalville Literary Club, 1959), 15.
civil government was concerned, though civic officers often coincided with ecclesiastical authorities. This did not create any significant political difficulties, however, for Mormons made up the largest portion of the population. Church members believed in supporting their leaders whether they were acting in a civic or church capacity.

In 1866 the city fathers also decided to change the name of their town from Chalk Creek to Coalville, a fitting name for a town near so many coal mines. Surveyors measured the land for lots, blocks, and streets. The legislature duly approved the act incorporating the City of Coalville in January, 1867. Qualified voters from among the six hundred inhabitants elected the mayor and council.

Before Coalville's incorporation, Summit County officials administered governmental functions for Chalk Creek. The territorial legislature passed laws creating Summit County on January 13, 1854, in preparation for the time when the population would increase and the area could become independent from Salt Lake County, which had formerly administered election, revenue, and judicial functions. By 1861, other Summit County settlements, along with Chalk Creek, showed enough growth that county elections were held.

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2 Centennial Souvenir, 15.

3 Ibid.

majority of the new officers were from Chalk Creek, including selectmen A. B. Williams and Jacob M. Truman, and county treasurer, Henry Wilde. Thomas Bullock from Chalk Creek was the chief clerk of the territorial House of Representatives, and Ira Eldredge was elected the first representative from Summit County to the legislature. R. J. Redden became county prosecuting attorney.

When Congress organized the Territory of Utah in 1850, the law provided that the local citizens could vote for their representatives to the territorial legislature and for local officials such as county probate judge, sheriff, assessor, tax collector, road supervisor, a "weigher and sealer," a recorder, and a constable. The probate judge was particularly

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5James B. Allen, "The Development of County Government in the Territory of Utah, 1850-1896," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, July 1956, 9, 10, 33, 34. The first legislation concerning county government was passed by the legislature in January 1850. It created the county court and offices of prosecutor, attorney, clerk of the county court, sheriff, justice of the peace and constable. The county court system was patterned after the system in other states and was meant by the legislature to be the highest authority in the county. It consisted of "Chief Justice" and two "Associate Justices," (selectmen) any two of which could form a quorum to do business. The chief justice was to be elected by the general assembly of the territory for four years, while the associates were elected by the people for the same period. The system seemed to give the chief justice of the county court very strong powers and the gentiles early sought to reduce their authority. In 1882 the control of elections was taken out of the hands of county officials and given to the Utah Commission, and other changes occurred in ensuing years, such as reducing the terms of the selectmen to two years, and providing that vacancies could only be filled by court appointment. When Utah became a state, the position of probate judge and method of selecting such person was taken out of local hands entirely.
important, for he and the three selectmen constituted the legislative and executive body known as the county court. The probate judge also presided over the county probate court, which had jurisdiction over estates, guardianship, and other civil affairs. Later the legislature added criminal jurisdiction. The judges selected Chalk Creek to hold Summit County Court in 1861 and 1862, even though Wanship was the county seat in those years.

The legislature selected Wanship as the first county seat because of its location at the intersection of two major roads. It could not foresee, of course, that the mines of Chalk Creek would cause that community to grow so rapidly. In 1869, however, the citizens of Summit County presented a petition to the territorial legislature asking for the county seat to be changed to Coalville. The change was made on 3 February 1869.

Coalville, with the largest population in Summit County, soon became the county's political center. Utah's two political parties, the People's Party and the Liberal Party, held county conventions the first year that Summit County government was organized. Members of the L.D.S. Church

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7Centennial Souvenir, 16.

8Ibid., 17. Coalville was made the county seat of 3 February 1869.
strongly supported the People's Party, and top-ranking ecclesiastical leaders were usually the main candidates on the ballot and were always elected. When large numbers of non-Mormons came to the territory subsequent to the railroad's completion, however, political changes also came. The huge influx of gentile miners flocking to the rich silver and lead mines of Park City, another rapidly-rising town in Summit County, wanted to be heard in county politics and challenged Coalville's leadership. Further discussion of political affairs will be presented in another chapter.

Civic Improvements

As time passed, many civic improvements came to Coalville. Businesses expanded and medical professionals elected to try their lot in Coalville. After the hard struggle just to provide absolutely necessary buildings like houses, a meeting-place, a school, and a courthouse, the residents could finally think about other conveniences that added to the quality of life. The city council voted funds for a boardwalk on Main Street in February, 1896\(^9\) so people could avoid the mud and dust of the street. A library was founded in 1867 which depended on voluntary contributions to maintain itself. John and Thomas Beard, for example, donated


\(^{10}\)The Coalville Times, 7 Feb. 1896.
the proceeds from the sale of a cow to the library fund.¹¹ When the United States Land Office opened in 1869, the people immediately began to file claims in order to gain legal title to the land they occupied.

Medical care also improved in these years. In 1884 a doctor who had been trained in a genuine medical school elected to practice in Coalville. A dentist also felt he could make a good living in this community. Dr. Oscar W. French opened a hospital in 1912. He recruited nurses from the community to staff this much-needed facility.

As the professional medical personnel greatly eased the problems of personal health, the bucket brigade organized in 1887 to put out fires added more security for property. It took much longer (1911) to get the first chemical fire engine, a hand-pulled and hand-operated machine, but this addition also represented a major improvement in the ability of the town to protect property.

Many more improvements were introduced after the turn of the century. A new sprinkling wagon in 1900 kept dust down in the streets, while a new steam plant for electricity began operation by 1905. The people voted for a bond to purchase a new boiler for the steam plant in 1906, and in that same year the city gave out a franchise to supply water. By 1912 the city agreed to buy up the spring water franchise in order to

get full municipal ownership of the water source. In 1900 the telephone came to Coalville, greatly easing communication between the mines and downtown businesses. The families also eagerly adopted this new invention except for a few holdouts who refused to subscribe to new-fangled inventions. The city installed paved sidewalks in 1910. In order to pay for all these civic improvements it was necessary for the city council to assess a tax in 1899, which had to be increased in 1911 and again in 1914.

Economic Improvements

Economically, the farmers and miners soon proved they could support the enterprising merchants and service establishments, and the future held bright prospects. Merchant Elias Asper arrived in 1861 with three wagon loads of merchandise to sell. In 1862 Billie Ward and Ed Simons opened a blacksmith and wheelwright shop, certainly a necessity in those times when the farmers and miners needed their horses shod and wheels for their wagons.

In 1868 the Coalville Co-op began its long life as an institution of the town. It originated as part of Brigham Young's program to set up United Orders in each settlement in

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12 Myrla Robinson Lind interview with author 7 October, 1989. She noted her father, James Ernest Robinson, called "Hen," would never subscribe for a telephone. She felt this to be a social handicap while she was attending high school as friends could never reach her at home.

13 Centennial Souvenir, 16.
an effort to minimize the competition from gentile merchants
who came to Utah territory after the new railroad made
immigration so easy. Church members pooled their resources
and shared in the profits of United Orders. Shares of stock
secured each member's interest. When the Coalville United
Order eventually proved economically unsuccessful, private
investors soon bought up all the shares and formed their own
company, the Coalville Co-op. The Co-op general
merchandise store continued as an important economic
enterprise under private ownership.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw many
more economic developments. A grist mill was built on Chalk
Creek in 1880. Ann Cluff’s large hotel was added in 1885, and
John Boyden opened a drug store in 1892. Also in 1892 the
first newspaper, The Coalville Times, published its first
edition. The two main general merchandising establishments,
the Coalville Co-op and Summit Furniture and Mercantile
Company, provided a taxi service for the women on outlying
farms to come to town for a day's shopping. This was a great
way to keep the housewives who lived up Chalk Creek and in

14Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic
sapped the United Orders of badly needed leadership and
expertise before they were fully established.
outlying areas in touch with the main community. The first bank was opened in 1905, and in 1906 Tom Moore opened a blacksmith shop which later became an automobile and farm implement sales agency. A sawmill was built close by in Echo Canyon.\textsuperscript{15} Samuel Gentry opened another blacksmith shop, and John Allgood set up his photograph gallery.\textsuperscript{16} Several other stores were operating before 1868, including one by Creighton Hawkins and Seymour B. Young.\textsuperscript{17}

**Union Pacific Railroad**

Coalville residents benefited greatly when the Union Pacific Railroad began construction of its main track down Echo Canyon in 1868. For some men it was their first big chance to earn hard cash. Of course, the railroad not only helped the local workmen but also stimulated the economy of the whole of Utah, including the Church. First, it eased the problems of getting immigrants from the eastern seaboard out to the territory. Second, the Church could save money because the railroad allowed the clergy rate and charged only half-price for missionaries. Third, freight and supplies could be hauled much faster to the West than by the slow ox teams. Fourth, through increased commerce and employment the railroad

\textsuperscript{15}Bernett Blonquist Smith, "History of Summit Stake Tabernacle". Jacob Huffman had a saw mill in Echo Canyon. He furnished lumber for the tabernacle.


\textsuperscript{17}Ibid.
brought income to the people of Utah so they could buy machinery, construct homes, or help relatives immigrate. Fifth, easy transportation stimulated the development of the cattle industry, mining, and other enterprises. Sixth, the railroad encouraged manufacturing by making it profitable to locate factories near the sources of raw materials.¹⁸

The railroad also brought some disadvantages. Because no government regulation of commerce existed, the Union Pacific enjoyed a complete monopoly on all railroad business and could set its own high freight rates. Also, the railroad agents greedily tried to grab any land along the right of way to which the possessors could not prove legal title. After the hard struggle to wrest their land from the wilderness, the Mormon settlers did not want to risk losing their holdings to the land-hungry railroad giant. The railroad also brought in great numbers of non-Mormons interested in mining precious metals and other capitalistic enterprises from which the profits would go outside Utah to Eastern states. Finally, there was the potential for serious social conflict as many incoming gentiles did not share the views and values of the Mormons.

Fearful of what might happen if the gentiles gained political power, the Church leadership immediately took steps to counteract the influence of non-Mormons. President Brigham Young advised forming cooperative enterprises in every settlement to offset the enticements of the incoming gentile merchants. Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution became the parent company of the branches in each settlement.\(^1\) Coalville organized its United Order,\(^2\) which became the forerunner of the Coalville Co-op.

Brigham Young also wanted to build the spirit of unity and cohesiveness so that Mormons would act as a body in supporting Church leaders' actions. He sent strong men to the outlying settlements to supervise all Church affairs. He created new stakes and wards and urged stake and ward leaders to become probate judges. The probate judges had the power to appoint the selectmen and other officers in the counties.\(^3\) He wanted the Mormons to be diligent in seeing that only Mormons got elected to office. As a result, local Church leaders in counties such as Summit, where large numbers of gentiles resided became increasingly involved in politics. For further insights about the political situation in Coalville see Chapter Five.

\(^{1}\)Arrington, Fox, and May, 8, 132, 171, 320.

\(^{2}\)Ibid., 414. The Coalville United Order was organized in the Cluff Ward on 31 May, 1874.

\(^{3}\)Allen, "County Government in Utah," 10, 38; Allen and Leonard, 260-261, 357.
Living so close to the main line, Coalville residents could take advantage of the many opportunities for employment which the railroad offered. Railroad officials and Brigham Young's son, Joseph, had worked out a very desirable construction contract, advantageous to both parties. The railroad needed thousands of construction workers and several hundred teams immediately, and the struggling church members needed a way to earn cash. As soon as the contracts were signed, the Church began recruiting laborers, and bishops were asked to send all the men they could spare. Instructions were sent overseas to the emigration agents to send their people to Utah as soon as possible to work on the grading crews. The Mormons were to do the grading, tunneling, and bridge masonry from the head of Echo Canyon to the shores of the Great Salt Lake, hopefully to finish the job by November 1, 1868. The opportunity to work on the grading construction crews was thus an important economic boon to Coalville. In addition, the railroad helped stimulate the mining industry, for it depended on coal to keep its engines moving.

Mining Development

Mining provided another major economic boost to Coalville. Mining companies purchased many supplies there for

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23 Athearn, 20.
construction of mine supports and buildings at mine portals. Builders and carpenters of Coalville prospered as they built housing for the incoming families. The mines provided employment for hundreds of people engaged not only in mining but also in related occupations. It created investment opportunities for capitalists who, in turn, developed more mines and created a need for more laborers from among the local residents and the incoming immigrants. Workers were paid wages which, in turn, went to buy the produce of farms and mills. Thus the demand for labor stimulated the spread of a market economy and increased the demand for goods and services. The miners also needed picks and shovels, mules and mine haulage cars, wagons and wheelbarrows, dynamite and drills. This provided opportunities for many local entrepreneurs in lumbering, blacksmithing, manufacturing, banking, and retailing. Thus, the entire local economy was broadened, not only in Coalville but also in other towns connected with the developing mining industries.24

The history of the coal mines really began in Salt Lake City when Church and civic leaders realized that the supply of timber in the nearby canyons would soon run out. The growing city would need another type of fuel for both residential and industrial needs. In 1854 the territorial legislature posted a reward of $1000 to whoever found a coal vein not less than

eighteen inches thick within forty miles of Salt Lake. There are various accounts of who should have credit for the first discovery, and it is quite likely that several individuals independently discovered potential mine locations.

Early records show that in 1858 Thomas Rhodes, a veteran of the California Gold Rush who had associated with the Mormon Battalion at Sutter's Mill near Sacramento, California, discovered outcroppings of coal in the Chalk Creek area. President Young, to whom he took samples, did nothing about the discovery until two years later, when he sent John Muir and Sam Fletcher to investigate the area. While tracking a wounded deer over the hill from Chalk Creek, they discovered a good vein of coal in Grass Creek, which was developed by the Church and became known as the Old Church Mine. Mining expert Henry Spriggs was sent to supervise the Church's holdings, and John Spriggs, W. H. Kimball, and R. J. Redden also looked over the area for coal mining possibilities. According to the United States Geological Survey reports, the whole area extending eastward into Wyoming has the same geological formation, and the underlying coal is abundant. (See map in appendices chapter for locations of major mines near Coalville.)

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By 1867 there were seven mines operating in the area, and by 1873 the working of the mines was so well-advanced that coal was available for delivery from eight.\textsuperscript{27} Hundreds of tons of coal were hauled by ox teams via Parley's Canyon to Salt Lake City and sold for $35.00 to $40.00 a ton. Railroad transportation became available in 1884 when a narrow gauge track was laid five miles up the canyon. This track connected to the Echo-Park City Railroad built in 1882 by the Union Pacific.

Other Railroads

There were several reasons for the decline in the coal mining industry. One was the lack of adequate railroad transportation to the market. Progressive entrepreneurs made various attempts to build small railroads that would serve the mines of Coalville and connect them to the main transcontinental line of the Union Pacific. These railroads were the Coalville and Echo, the Summit County Railroad, the Utah Eastern, and the Echo and Park City. The organizers of each had high hopes for success, but the end result was failure, and, of course, no real economic benefit either to the Salt Lake City entrepreneurs or to the local Coalville supporters.

The Coalville and Echo Railroad was planned in conjunction with the Church's efforts to build its own railroad from Ogden to Salt Lake City and points south. It

\textsuperscript{27}Ibid., 13.
was to have connected Coalville with Echo on a five-mile track. At Echo the cars would join the main line, continue to Ogden, and then be transferred to the Utah Central and go on to Salt Lake City. Coalville residents were asked to volunteer labor and work began in July of 1869. When word was received that a superior quality of coal that could be much more easily transported by the Union Pacific had been discovered in Wyoming, the Church abandoned the Coalville and Echo Railroad just before the track was ready to be laid.  

The Summit County Railroad was organized November 27, 1871, by Church officials and Salt Lake businessmen to gain access to the rich silver mines in Park City. Plans were made to build a line from Park City to Coalville and Echo and possibly Salt Lake. The company was able to utilize the ties, grade, and rights of way of the Coalville and Echo and exchanged its new stock for the stock of the defunct corporation. The road was finally completed on May 4, 1873, and the mining companies were sending many carloads of coal to the Salt Lake City market when the Union Pacific hiked the rates to Ogden in a move to protect its own Wyoming coal business. The Utah Central Railroad, to which the Union Pacific connected at Ogden for shipments to Salt Lake City, could do nothing to offset the rate-setting powers of the huge railroad and finally was forced to sell out to that company.

In turn the Summit County Railroad defaulted on its bonds and had to sell out to the Union Pacific. The net effect was that the coal mines were stymied and could not afford to operate. The Union Pacific made sure there would be no more competition by taking up some of the tracks of the small railroad it had forced out of business. Thus, while the economy in Coalville improved for a short while, the final result was more disappointment.

A few years later, on December 27, 1879, another group of businessmen got together to plan the Utah Eastern Railroad. This was a genuine effort to fight the solid monopoly of the Union Pacific over anything that could be hauled by rail. The new line was to lead from Salt Lake City through Emigration or Parley's canyon to the head of East Canyon Creek and on to Park City. Being well aware of the Union Pacific's shrewd managers, the incorporators planned to have three trustees handle all stock transactions. The road was finished even while the rival Union Pacific was building a parallel road south from Coalville to Park City, but then, as a result of secret stock transfers, the Union Pacific managed to maneuver itself into control of the Utah Eastern. After 1883 the roadbed and rails fell into decay. Lawsuits were instituted in a major effort to save the company for its original stockholders, but they were diverted by the newly intensified anti-polygamy drive of the 1880s. Prominent Church members

29 Arrington, "Utah's Coal Road," 43.
who went into hiding to avoid arrest by federal officials were often the same men who invested in companies such as the Utah Eastern. They were simply too occupied with protecting themselves and their families to follow the lawsuit to a favorable decision, and the Union Pacific remained in power.  

The fourth railroad, the Echo and Park City, was the parallel, broad-gauged line mentioned in connection with the Utah Eastern. Built by the Union Pacific in 1881 on the acquired rights of way and properties of the Summit County Railroad, it ran from Park City to Coalville, thence to Echo, Ogden, and Salt Lake City. Even though it was unprofitable, it enabled the Union Pacific to preserve control over the northern Utah coal market and prevent inroads from the new competitor, the Denver and Rio Grande Railway Company. The Union Pacific willingly spent half a million dollars to construct its parallel line to the Summit County Railroad and allow the tracks of the defunct company to decay, because it anticipated high profits and would go to great lengths to preserve the business for itself.  

The net effect of all this on Coalville was an economic depression, beginning about 1890 when most of the mines laid off their employees or closed completely. Workmen had to move to other mining communities, such as Almy, near Evanston,

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30 Ibid., 62.
31 Ibid., 63.
Wyoming, or to Carbon County in Utah where large coal mines owned by the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad with huge resources of a better grade of coal were already operating successfully. The population of Coalville declined gradually and only the agricultural sector was left to help sustain the merchants and other businessmen.

If the Summit County Railroad had been able to function even in a small way, it would have meant full employment at the mines, a brisk trade at the stores on Main Street, and a more vital community life. If Utah Eastern Railroad had been successful, the economic growth would have been substantial for the small town of Coalville. The mines crumbled into decay, however, except for a very few small operations, and not many reminders are left of the once thriving mining activity near Coalville. The irony of it all is that the Union Pacific’s monopoly was short-lived because the Denver and Rio Grande Railway began hauling the cheaper, higher grade coal from Carbon County into Salt Lake City and took over the market.32

Mining Economy After 1880

After the Union Pacific’s monopolistic practices effectively cut out means for the mines to transport their coal to market, the economic life of Coalville began to slow down. The mines were idle for days at a time because of lack of engines and railroad cars. Coal miners were often laid

32 Arrington, "Utah's Coal Road," 63.
off, especially in the summer when not many customers needed coal. As indicated above, miners began a gradual exodus from Coalville as some moved to Carbon County and others moved to Almy, Wyoming. Unfortunately, a few of these men lost their lives in a terrible explosion at Almy in March, 1895, in which sixty-one miners were either killed outright or died as result of not being able to escape the methane gas which collected within the mine. Another explosion there in 1903 killed 171 men. The big explosion at Scofield, Utah, on May 1, 1900, killed 200 men. Many of the widows came back to Coalville to raise their families.

Some mines continued to operate for years, but not on as large a scale as would have been possible had sufficient railroad cars been furnished. A brisk business in wagon-hauled coal continued, however, and The Coalville Times reported weekly how many teams were on the roads near Coalville going to the mines. Readers of the paper were very much interested in the weather because good road conditions and good weather meant passable roads. More teams traveled in winter because customers bought more coal during that season. When storms came the wagon drivers delayed their trips and sales slowed down, causing lay-offs at the mines. Miners worried about being laid off, and all the community were

interested in which mines were working currently, or which ones anticipated lay-offs for one reason or another. The paper reflected the community's great interest in any and all types of mining activity, including new discoveries, size of shipments, Eastern markets, besides the already noted weather conditions.

The Times reported arrivals of any prospective investors who came to town to look at mining properties. These agents also looked at other kinds of mining properties, as when there was great excitement over a discovery of silver at nearby Silver Creek and Beaver Creek, a purported find of copper near Croyden, and prospective bonanza on some downtown property right in Coalville. Whenever word spread that someone had made a find, everyone got caught up in the excitement. Many rushed to stake out claims adjoining the discovery. If a known prospector came to town to buy supplies, the hangers-on carefully listened to every conversation for any possible clues of where he had been digging. Any good rumors were sure to stir up a rush to file claims near the original location. Usually little or nothing developed after the first wild expectations, and Coalville continued in its downward economic path.

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34The Coalville Times, 7 July 1894; 3 August 1894; 7 September 1894; 24 May 1895; 20 September 1895; 26 June 1903; 18 December 1896; 25 December 1896; 1 January 1913.
When the railroad considered building a spur track to a mine, that was big news.\textsuperscript{35} It seems the Union Pacific was not adverse to constructing necessary spur tracks, especially after it had eliminated all competition and was assured of complete control of the railroad business. The unregulated company was free to charge its own freight rates. The newspaper kept the readers informed of visits by railroad officials, whether they were just passing through or whether it appeared they might be gathering information about new construction. Many rumors floated about town as its citizens seemed to grasp at every straw that might suggest some new development.

People were anxious to find out if a spur would be built, and if so, when the survey crew would arrive, when grading crews would begin, when building materials were unloaded, and how much progress had been made. Again, the possibilities for employment sparked their interest. When the Grass Creek mine contracted for a spur in October of 1895, however, the Church-owned company hired the needed seventy or eighty teams and a hundred men from Salt Lake City. Coalville consoled itself by discussing the benefit of future mine operations and the possibility that the mine would be steadily shipping coal from Grass Creek.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., 21 September 1894; 7 December 1894.

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., 18 October 1895.
Coalville residents always looked for a successful railroad to compete with the giant Union Pacific. In 1894 the newspaper expressed much enthusiasm about a proposed railroad to Coalville, and the building of a track to the Cullen Springs coal mines. The new railroad would go from Salt Lake to Los Angeles, and the Presidency of the L.D.S. Church were the principal stockholders. The local entrepreneur was stake president William W. Cluff. Residents of Coalville hoped the Coalville branch would develop into a paying line and that the company could control the Salt Lake markets. Unfortunately, this railroad never materialized.

For a time in 1900-1901 the people of Coalville believed that another competitive railroad would be successful in building tracks down Chalk Creek Canyon. If the Burlington did not take advantage of this opportunity, then surely the Union Pacific would shorten its route to Salt Lake City and build down Chalk Creek. If any official of the Union Pacific passed through town, or if a survey crew were seen doing any work, the editor of The Times commented publicly on what the possibilities might be. Often, the railroad crews were merely doing repair work on the bridges, although they did complete small spurs to mines, as when the Dexter Mines became the site of a new briquette plant.\textsuperscript{37} It is apparent that the rumors fed the underlying yearning in the town that somehow an

\textsuperscript{37}Ibid., 7 May 1909; 16 July 1909; 23 July 1909; 6 Aug., 1909.
economic upturn would begin. Naturally, the people looked to the railroad, which in turn would bring more business to the mines.

The sympathetic newspaper editor made comments when miners were thrown out of employment. The Wilson mine owners decided to tear out a switch, throwing thirty men out of work, and compelling the owners to haul their coal by wagon to the depot. The paper complained about the hardship on the people and the community and averred that the company should have continued using the switch.\textsuperscript{38}

New developments in any mine, a discovery of a new vein, or the knowledge that a certain outfit was digging a new tunnel were items of genuine interest in a town where mining was such a major part of the economy. When any new company was organized, that was good news, because it meant more jobs and a step towards business prosperity for the Coalville area.\textsuperscript{39}

Prices of coal in Salt Lake were often quoted, along with complaints about their being too high. New companies suggested in their advertising that their coal would be superior and they would be able to control the Salt Lake markets. The editor never failed to mention the benefits that a new enterprise would bring to their community. He reminded

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{38} Ibid., 25 Jan. 1895.
\item \textsuperscript{39} Ibid., 30 Aug. 1895, organization of Salt Lake Coal Company.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
the people they should not wait for outside capital to make investments but should exhibit the proper amount of spirit and enterprise to make their community prosperous and progressive. The Times played a large role in maintaining an optimistic community tone and continually expressed hopes for the town and the brightening prospects for the future.

A small spurt of economic gain occurred in March of 1900 when the Grass Creek coal mine reported that during the month of December it had shipped more coal than during any other month in the history of the mine. A total of 160 cars were shipped, averaging about twenty-five tons to the car. Because of increased business, the mine put more miners to work, and things looked favorable for the next few months.\(^40\) That same year the superintendent of the Wasatch Mine reported that it had also worked more steadily during February than during any other month for the past four years.\(^41\) If only to a limited degree, Coalville and Summit County were indeed part of the general prosperity of the coal industry in the West during the closing years of the nineteenth century.

In the early years before 1899, Summit County produced most of Utah’s coal but by 1899 was only producing 5 percent. In that year the county did produce 31,262 short tons which were loaded at the mines for shipment. The mines also sold 1,554 short tons to local trade and employees, and used 3,046

\(^{40}\) Ibid., 23 March 1900.

\(^{41}\) Ibid., 9 March, 1900.
short tons at the mines, for a total value of $50,748. In 1900 the total value of production increased to $70,404.\textsuperscript{42} The total number of short tons loaded at the mines for shipment in 1901 increased to 45,184, and the total value was $73,504.\textsuperscript{43} All this, however, was only 5 percent of the total Utah coal production.

The state's coal production was growing, and the state coal mine inspector reported in February of 1900 that the year's tonnage had increased over that of 1898 and that the past year had been the most successful in the history of coal mining in Utah.

Wages were good and employment steady and fairly remunerative. No strikes, lockouts, or suspensions were recorded on account of wage rates in 1900.\textsuperscript{44} The miners received about forty cents for each ton of coal they shovelled.\textsuperscript{45} When the workers received higher wages in November of 1903, the Grass Creek and Weber Coal companies advanced the price of their coal to pay for the 10-12 percent increase. This raise worked out satisfactorily for the men


\textsuperscript{44}The Coalville Times, 2 Feb.1900.

\textsuperscript{45}Ibid., 10 April 1903.
and company as both mines were working full time and producing a good quantity of coal.

The freight price charged by the railroad for shipping a ton of coal from Coalville to Morgan was one dollar per ton, but there had to be a minimum of 24,000 pounds in the car. 46 In March of 1906 the railroad raised the freight rates for hauling coal the short distance to Park City to about three times what it charged to haul sugar beets to Ogden. 47

In 1912 the railroad took stronger actions that hurt the Coalville mines. It did not provide an engine to haul the empty cars from the depot to the mines, thus idling the mines. There seemed to be plenty of orders for coal but it could not be shipped. In effect, this delivered a final blow to the struggling mining economy of Coalville. Gradually, the mines went down because of lack of cars to haul the coal to market. Another reason for the decline, however, was that a superior quality of coal had been discovered in other places. The Union Pacific utilized its own mines in Wyoming for the Salt Lake and Ogden markets and bypassed Coalville; and, the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad developed its mines in Carbon County and took over the Salt Lake coal market from the Union Pacific. A few mines continued to cater to the wagon trade, but this was not sufficient to keep the economy from slumping.

46 Ibid., 11 December 1896.
47 Ibid., 30 March 1906.
In retrospect, in its early years the coal mining industry of Coalville played an important role in building the economy of Utah as a whole.\textsuperscript{48} Since 1863 Utah ranked among the top five states in percentage of the state's employment or income derived from mining and processing of minerals.\textsuperscript{49} Coal, building materials, salt, and a little silver and gold were the valuable economic materials that expanded the Utah economy. Specifically, before 1863 the coal production of Coalville was one of the few basic industries of the territory.\textsuperscript{50}

The industry helped to bring money into the territory and stimulated immigration when the British miners who converted to the L.D.S. Church were advised they could find work in Coalville. The wages received by the Coalville miners were spent in the town's retail stores and helped to maintain them in business. Miners also bought the produce of the farms and stimulated the agricultural economy of Coalville. The purchasing of picks and shovels, wagons, wheelbarrows, dynamite, and drills certainly widened the economy, as noted earlier in this thesis.

New businesses, 1893 to 1914


\textsuperscript{50}Ibid., 180.
As mentioned, business had begun to decline by 1890, and the city fathers could see that they needed new enterprises in order to build their town. Leonard Arrington places the peak of Coalville's mining industry as 1880, because the subsequent polygamy persecution caused the Church to transfer its properties and assets to individuals who often were in hiding and could not manage their affairs. Other enterprises like the Coalville Co-op also went into decline. Local writers from Coalville agree that Coalville enjoyed its peak years during the 1880s.\textsuperscript{51}

Following is a brief review of some of the major efforts by merchants and other entrepreneurs to help the economy of Coalville grow. In addition to urging the citizens to make civic improvements like the electric power plant, the telephone, and the municipal water supply, the editor of the Coalville Times constantly called upon them to wake up and do something more about their town's economy. He tried to make them jealous of other towns throughout the state, or even those in the next county, such as Morgan or Henefer, and suggested possibilities for new enterprises. His proposals included a brick-making plant that could draw from the abundance of nearby clay, capitalizing a bank, building new houses, or creating a summer vacation resort. He pushed home enterprise and wanted someone to start home manufactories. He

\textsuperscript{51}Arrington, \textit{Great Basin Kingdom}, 360, 362; Centennial Souvenir, 13.
wanted people to patronize home industries and not spend all their money in Salt Lake City when they went to the L.D.S. General Conference in April and October of each year. The editor also pushed the cultivation of sugar beets as a profitable outlet for farmers, since they could make more money raising sugar beets than by raising grain.52

Actually, as the coal economy declined, several new business enterprises were undertaken. These were the Weber Reservoir, Power and Irrigation Company, in the summer of 1905; the building of a plant by the Portland Cement Company at Devil's Slide, located twelve miles from Coalville in Morgan County, in March of 1906; the canning factory at Morgan, established in 1904; the organization of the First National Bank of Coalville in May, 1906; the Summit Creamery finally located at Hoytsville in 1901 after much rivalry among Summit County towns; the Summit Furniture Company in September of 1906; and a briquette-making plant in September, 1909.

None of these new enterprises developed overnight, of course. Each came only after months of planning and attempts by groups of local businessmen and the investors they enlisted from Salt Lake City and Ogden. One problem was to induce the local people to buy shares of stock to help capitalize the new enterprises. The Times often noted with sorrow that certain enterprises did not receive the needed support from the people

52The Coalville Times, 15 April 1904; 22 April 1904.
and therefore failed. The real situation was that the people just did not have cash to spare.\textsuperscript{53}

The town citizens never lost hope that somehow an economic turn for the better would occur. The Coalville Times mentioned every whisper of any possible economic movement afoot. A typical entry was the one on August 17, 1894, wherein the editor commented that with prospects for better times in the near future merchants were making arrangements to enlarge their business accommodations and prepare for the rush. Of course, store owners installed new lighting systems, paved the sidewalk in front of their establishments, or, in some cases, built a larger building, but the expected "rush" never materialized.

An interesting item appears in the September 7, 1894, issue of The Coalville Times:

As time passes and no industries are started in our county, it causes us to look around for the cause of this apparent non-enterprise of our citizens. Our population is composed mainly of three classes: businessmen, wage earners and farmers, and if the capital for any home enterprise is furnished from our own ranks, it will have to come from one of these classes. Which of these classes are most able to furnish this capital? The wage earners are generally only willing to work when the pay is in sight, which is very natural, for they have their families to support.

The article continues by urging the farmers to unite in an organization to watch the Eastern markets better, get freight rates reduced, and save the commission paid to

\textsuperscript{53}Ibid., 4 Mar. 1904.
outsiders for getting cattle to market on time. He was very
confident that uniting the farmers would solve the problem of
home manufacture and development of the county.

One of the larger prospective enterprises was the coming
of a coal briquette plant, which a gentleman from Kansas City
contemplated moving to Coalville. This facility made
briquettes from waste coal and the entrepreneur did move his
machinery, amidst great ado in Coalville, and began
operations.\textsuperscript{54} Evidently, the market was not sufficient to
make the enterprise successful, and soon the advertising in
the newspaper ceased. Probably, he had the same problems with
getting railroad cars as the mines, and besides, in an area
where coal was very cheap, the local people were not going to
pay $2.50 a ton for briquettes when they could buy stove coal
for $1.50 a ton.

The editor of \textit{The Times} urged the public to take
advantage of the four beds of clay that had been identified by
an inspecting party. This resource would have been ideal for
making bricks, and the editor urged the public to encourage
the building of a brick-making plant\textsuperscript{55} but nothing much was
done until several years later when the editor mentioned there
was plenty of clay still available and that a company from

\textsuperscript{54}Ibid., 16 July, 1909; 23 July 1909.

\textsuperscript{55}Ibid., 12 April, 1895.
Ogden was interested in making clay pipe. \(^{56}\) Nothing more was reported of this enterprise in the newspaper.

The first sale of cheese from the Summit Creamery was hailed with joy by the newspaper on July 19, 1901. A few items about the fine cheese available appeared in later papers, and then all was quiet. The same occurred with a proposed egg processing plant.

The coming of the telephone service was heralded with great enthusiasm. For years, the people had wanted to have a phone system. The first rumors of the badly-needed telephone service began circulating as early as August of 1894. Additional newspaper reports stirred up the longings of the people until finally, on June 19, 1905 the Independent Telephone Company received a franchise from the city to operate the telephone company for fifty years. \(^{57}\) The construction of the lines provided employment for a few men, but it was only temporary, and did not solve the economic problem.

Employment was also provided when the city built its own electric power plant. Local men found work for a while in the construction of this and other buildings, such as the new county court house, but again, this work did not last long enough. A few jobs could be had when the city built

\(^{56}\) Ibid., 14 September 1906.
\(^{57}\) Ibid., 19 June 1905.
sidewalks, a new jail, or new schools. The many day laborers depended on these temporary construction jobs and in between times worked at whatever they could find.

One bright event was the forming of a company to build a cannery at Morgan. This successful enterprise was one of the few places where women and girls from Coalville could find employment. In fact, many girls needed the work so badly that they put off going to school in the fall until after the canning season was over.

The cement plant at Devil's Slide was a blessing to the workers in Coalville. The Portland Cement Company had an abundant resource there from the local rock formations, and the company was very successful in obtaining the bids for work as far away as Idaho.58 Salt Lake City contracted to buy all the cement for paving its streets from the company at Devil's Slide.59 Although this work was dusty and dirty, it was a sure and steady means of employment and supplied a living for many of the men from Coalville.

Numerous small businesses also sprang up in Coalville during the years, along with improvements in established businesses. They included the following:60

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Agency to sell heating and kitchen stoves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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58 Ibid., 22 May 1908.

59 Ibid., 16 August 1912.

60 Ibid., 2 November 1894 through 3 April, 1914.
1895 Agency to sell clothing from an Eastern company, Wannamaker & Brown
1894 Local tinners who repaired roofs, pipes, etc.
1894 Cookie and candy shops
1895 Ice cream parlor
1896 Two millinery shops and a dressmaking shop
1896 Expansion of Cash Bargain Store, Robert Walker store
1898 New blacksmith shop
1900 Repairs in James Ball's saloon
1900 A marble works
1900 New gas lights for the People's Store
1902 A wagon and implement business
1902 A new jewelry shop
1903 An up-to-date restaurant
1903 A new building by a ladies' clothing merchant
1903 A lime manufacturing plant
1905 The leasing by new entrepreneur from Ogden of The Coalville Times
1905 The general merchandise store of George W. Young in a new frame building on Main Street
1906 A partnership in electrical wiring and fixtures store
1906 The Chalk Creek Timber Company
1907 Consolidated Wagon and Machine Company agency moved to new building
1908 Outlet for Evanston Harness & Saddlery Company
1908 Another confectionery and restaurant
1909 Plain and fancy sewing by Mrs. Joseph Hopkins
1909 The piano store of J.S. Merrill and J. Briggs
1912 A butcher shop known as Coalville Cash Market
1913 Studebaker automobile agency
1913 Carpet weaving and shoemaking shop
1913 Ford automobile agency
1914 Buick automobile agency
1914 Coalville Co-op installed a 500-gallon gasoline storage tank in anticipation of a rush of business on the Lincoln Trail, a highly-advertised national highway, which ran through Coalville
1914 Bullock Livery purchased a five-passenger Buick to be rented to customers

Each of these new enterprises showed that prospects appeared bright for Coalville's future, but none was large enough to be a real economic base.
In the long run, the community remained dependent on its basic industry—agriculture. The population dwindled except for the farmers and ranchers and the service institutions which supplied the farmers' and homemakers' needs. The young people had to go away to find work, and many families moved away. This situation is evidenced by the sizable drop in population from 1445 in 1910, to 965 in 1920. By then the population figure showed that about 500 people had left town. Some families moved to Canada, Oregon, Idaho or Wyoming, and many young adults migrated elsewhere as they sought brighter opportunities. (See Chapter Seven.)

Agriculture

Coalville began as an agricultural village, just like most towns in the Great Basin, and after the decline of the mines, agriculture remained the only feasible economic pursuit for the majority of the population. The number of farmers and miners may be compared by studying the census reports in Chapter Three. Undoubtedly, some of the unemployed miners turned to farming, if they could find any land to purchase. Others left Coalville to seek work in other mining towns. Some, like Lawrence Wright, managed to accumulate a large number of acres. Lawrence's father had originally come from England to work in the mines of Coalville and homesteaded land on Chalk Creek, together with his two brothers. Lawrence took over his father's share of the land and over the years purchased additional acreage as neighboring farms were offered
for sale. In a few years he owned about 5,000 acres which he utilized as a sheep ranch. He also leased out the coal rights from his property, and the income from coal sales provided the cash with which to buy more ranch land.\footnote{Lawrence Wright interview with author, 20 August, 1985.}

The various hazards of farming, such as killing frosts in summer, grasshopper plagues, droughts, and lack of summer rainfall were discussed in Chapter One.

Agricultural Products

Coalville farmers were learning much about what would grow best in their soil for the length of the growing season. A report in an article sent to the Deseret News of Salt Lake City stated that "50,000 bushels of grain—oats, barley and wheat—were raised in 1865 and 80,000 bushels were expected to be harvested in 1867. Ten thousand fruit trees were set out during 1867."\footnote{Centennial Souvenir, 24; Deseret News, 27 January 1868.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1.—Number of Farms and Acreage Under Irrigation, Summit County</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1869</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Farms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acres Irrigated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Cost of Irrigation per acre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Summit County Clerk's Office, Summit County Agricultural Report, 1869 and 1871.
Table 2.—Commodities and Yields
Summit County

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>1869 Acres</th>
<th>Average Yield/Acre</th>
<th>1871 Acres</th>
<th>Average Yield/Acre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>844</td>
<td>21.85 bu.</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>18.7 bu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oats-Barley</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>20.5 bu.</td>
<td>99.5</td>
<td>24.6 bu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>161. bu.</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>89.87 bu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meadow (hay)</td>
<td>1441</td>
<td>1.5 bu.</td>
<td>1136</td>
<td>1.27 tons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Summit County Clerk's Office, Summit County Agricultural Report, 1869 and 1871

During 1871 crop yields were reduced by drought conditions. The crops of four farms, particularly grains and potatoes, were destroyed by grasshoppers. That year the cost of irrigation increased by nearly five times. The average cost per acre to irrigate in 1871 was $19.06.\(^{63}\)

A county fair was held every year and prizes were offered for the best samples of fruit and vegetables and the best animals. Many farmers exhibited their prize fruits and vegetables, and *The Coalville Times* gave good publicity to activities at the fair.

Market information was also included as a regular column in the weekly newspaper. On August 3, 1894, for example, it contained market news such as the selling prices for wheat, oats, potatoes, butter, eggs, prime beef, prime mutton, prime

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\(^{63}\) *Centennial Souvenir*, 24; Summit County Clerk's Office, Summit County Agricultural Report for 1869-1871.
veal, dressed chicken, lucerne, timothy, and flour. These items indicate what was important to the farming economy and what the farmers were producing.

By 1888 over 100,000 sheep were grazing in the Coalville area. Stockmen's associations were formed which enabled ranchers to work together to learn to improve their breeds and to find out where the best markets were.

Land Policies

It is important to note how the farmers gained possession of their land. Before 1869 the settlers of Utah merely took possession under squatter's rights. In the various villages, the presiding elder or bishop would assign a specified acreage to each household head. Sometimes the members of a new colony would draw lots. The farms usually consisted of about twenty acres, as the Mormon policy was to limit the size of farms so that every family could provide for itself and no one would obtain more acreage than he could use. The plan was to share as equally as possible the land that was available.

A Federal Land Office was opened in Salt Lake City in 1869, and Church leaders urged members to obtain legal title to their property as soon as possible. This could be done under either the pre-emption or homestead laws. The Homestead Act, which President Lincoln signed in 1862, really fitted the situation of the Mormons better than the Pre-emption Act, which settlers in other parts of the United States had used.

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64 Centennial Souvenir, 24.
The latter's requirement of $1.25 per acre precluded many Mormons from qualifying. Under the provisions of the Homestead Act, a farmer could apply for eighty or 160 acres, and must reside on the acreage for five years.

This requirement was also somewhat difficult for Mormons to meet, however, since under the Mormon village plan, the houses had been built close together in a central location for protection from the Indians and so the people could help each other on cooperative projects. These included such things as building the meeting house, the court house, schools, irrigation ditches, fencing, and other community projects for the benefit of all. As the people met and worked with each other so often in close daily contact, a very socially close-knit community was formed and people enjoyed unusually warm relationships. But it was difficult to meet the residency requirement of actually living in a house in the middle of the farm land. Congress included this provision in the Homestead Act because of the pattern of farms in the Midwest. Farmers in the Great Basin found the requirement very difficult, because they built their houses in the compact area of the villages.

Some of the people met the residency requirement by camping on their property overnight in a wagon every six months. Other more conscientious Mormons were concerned that
they had not exactly complied with the law. Fortunately, the federal land agent realized the Mormon situation and did not require strict compliance with the law's provisions.

The plan for obtaining a patent was for a group of Mormon land owners who owned contiguous tracts to band together and appoint one of their number as a trustee who would then file on 160 acres in his name. He would then transfer the title of the various small tracts to the individual owners, who usually paid him a small fee for his time and because he had given up his homestead or pre-emption rights. The bishop or close relative often acted as the person who applied for the homestead.

The Homestead Act was intended to fit conditions in the East where there was more rainfall and much more land was arable, so its application in the Great Basin area was not too successful. As mentioned, the five-year residency requirement caused inconvenience and expense to the settlers. School land grants were held in reserve so that the Territory was not able to benefit; there were some instances of illegal fencing of public land and fraudulent entries which prevented sufficient land being readily available. To the credit of the Mormon

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settlers, there were not the thousands of illegal entries in Utah that had occurred in Kansas.\textsuperscript{67}

The Mormons' basic needs were to establish homes and not to speculate. Because most of the cultivable land lay in rather narrow strips along water courses, or in mountain valleys, there really wasn't a great deal of land to be taken up. This shortage of land was a limiting factor in the growth of Coalville and other Mormon towns. There simply wasn't enough to support a big population.

Although the Homestead Act was the law most useful to Mormon settlers, other federal laws, such as the Pre-emption Act, the Timber Culture Act, the Federal Townsite Law of 1867, and the Desert Land Act were sometimes employed to obtain title.\textsuperscript{68} Most Coalville settlers used the Homestead Act to acquire property.

One family who used the Desert Land Act was the Rhead family. James Bourne Rhead's diary notes that he and his brothers qualified under its provisions when they bought the South Fork ranch in Chalk Creek in September of 1885 from James and William Robinson. Rhead's diary states:

The Robinsons had not as yet proved up on their claim, and they relinquished their homestead and desert entry claims to us. We in turn made similar entries on the same tract of 240 acres.\textsuperscript{69}

\textsuperscript{67}Ibid., 251.

\textsuperscript{68}Lee, 227.

\textsuperscript{69}James Bourne Rhead Journal, 27 September 1885, L.D.S. Church Archives.
Very few improvements had been made on this land, although it did have a house, a stable, and another little building or two, and a corral. The former owners had constructed very little fencing and only six acres of land had been broken.

Water Problems

Coalville farmers not only had land title problems, but getting the water to the land was a concern. More irrigation ditches needed to be dug. The two old ditches, Coalville City Ditch out of Chalk Creek, and the Coalville and Hoytsville Irrigation Ditch, had been organized as mutual associations with land owners sharing the expense of maintaining the cleaning in proportion to the acreage on which the water was used. In May of 1893 Coalville City was granted equal rights with other share owners in the Upper Chalk Creek Water Ditch for water to be used in the cemetery.70

In Coalville, as in the other towns and villages of the territory, the community or cooperative canal was the all-important means of obtaining water.71 In each Mormon community the bishop of the ward under the direction of the high council was responsible for getting so much construction finished on an irrigation system.72 The bishop gathered the people together so they could select a committee to take

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70 Centennial Souvenir, 36.


72Ibid., 19.
actual control of the work, and he usually was a member of the managing committee. The committee's job was to determine how much land, so far as the topography permitted, the new system would bring under cultivation. In later years, mutual associations of land owners maintained the canals.\footnote{73}

The best way was to construct a highline canal, which was more scientific and economical. This was the ditch taken off a stream at the highest point from the head. Usually it was dug along the hills rising on either side of the stream, and as the stream followed gravity and flowed downward, the highline canal ran high up on the hillside. If other canals were dug, they were taken out at points further downstream. Thus, the power of gravity and water flowing downstream made the irrigation process easier. Making a highline ditch was not always feasible, however, especially in the early days of a community when labor and time were scarce. Probably these first ditches were constructed at a lower level on the hillside because of expediency and lack of sufficient capital or laborers.\footnote{74} The easy canal was taken out first.

The laying out of the canals or surveying the route where they should be built was a technical problem almost beyond the ability of the settlers. The general rule was that the canal should have a fall or gradient of one-half inch per rod. They often used a wooden straight-edge, with a leg attached to each

\footnote{73} Centennial Souvenir, 36.  
\footnote{74} Ibid., 20.
end at right angles to the timber. One of the legs was a half inch longer than the other. In most cases a spirit level was securely attached to the top of the straight edge and the canal actually staked, rod by rod, with the longest leg down, indicating the direction which the water should run. In some cases where a spirit level was not available, a pan of water was used on top of the straight edge to determine when it was level. Many of the early canals were laid out with just such survey equipment.\textsuperscript{75} No record has been left as to what instruments the Coalville people had, or how often their canals washed out or had to be repaired. There were also a great many criss-crossing canals taking water from the main streams and many disputes about who had primary water rights and what rights latecomers had.

At first, the leaders of the L.D.S. Church in each Mormon town had supervised the building of canals and diversion of water from the available streams. But by the end of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, which included long periods of extremely dry seasons, many water problems had developed. Farmers could see the need for storage reservoirs but did not have sufficient capital to build them. They were also afraid of large private corporations taking over their water

\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., 20.
supplies, such as the project planned for the Bear River in northern Utah.\(^7^6\)

While the people of Utah were suffering difficulties caused by an inadequate irrigation system, some Senators in Washington were taking action on the problem because their states were experiencing the same problems. They secured a resolution from Congress asking the Secretary of the Interior to make a report of irrigation needs in the arid regions. John Wesley Powell, head of the United States Geological Survey, who was also very familiar with the problems of the water-hungry West, finally submitted a plan for an irrigation survey which would determine the water resources of the Far West, select sites for reservoirs, and assess the potential use of water. He arranged for Irrigation Conventions to be held in Salt Lake City, beginning in 1888. Persons from Coalville were invited, including James Bourne Rhead, who mentioned his appointment to attend in his diary.\(^7^7\)

It was no longer within the province of a local or state authority to ascertain who should appropriate water and how much they should have. From the time of the Irrigation Survey and succeeding studies and actions by Congress, water problems were handled by the federal government through the newly-


\(^7^7\)Ibid.; James Bourne Rhead Journal, 26 February 1902.
constituted Bureau of Reclamation.\textsuperscript{78} Coalville, like other small Utah towns, found its farmers fighting a bitter struggle to survive during drought years. They were very interested in developing storage reservoirs.\textsuperscript{79}

By 1890 lucerne (alfalfa) was being raised in limited quantities in the fields near Coalville. There was sufficient water for the first crop, but none for the second crop.\textsuperscript{80} For a short time many farmers had been satisfied with one crop, but they realized they could raise more, provided water was available. They had farmed on the fallow system, letting a field rest for a year before re-planting, but now they found that a second crop could be produced. The problem of the lack of water again emphasized the need for storage reservoirs. The \textit{Summit County Bee} for July 27, 1894, told of an ordinance that would levy an acreage tax for the purpose of supplying the inhabitants of Coalville City with water for irrigation and other purposes.

\textbf{Summary}

In summary, there were several important factors that contributed to the growth of Chalk Creek from a struggling

\textsuperscript{78} Alexander, "John Wesley Powell," 206.

\textsuperscript{79} Stephen A. Merrill, "Reclamation and the Economic Development of Northern Utah: the Weber River Project," \textit{Utah Historical Quarterly} 39 (Summer 1971) 259. The Echo Dam on the Weber River was begun in 1927.

\textsuperscript{80} Marie Ross Peterson, comp., \textit{Echoes of Yesterday, Summit County Centennial History} (Daughters of Utah Pioneers of Summit County, 1947), 34.
little settlement on the Weber to the sizable town of Coalville. By 1867 city and county government units functioned well. The chapter reviewed when the city began to enjoy various civic improvements such as board walks, electric power, telephones, a reliable water system, sprinklers, and fire equipment. The establishment of new business enterprises and service facilities showed the assurance of their owners and managers that Coalville would experience growth. Thus, the economy and growth of the town were affected for the better by the rise of the mining industry and the railroad, and for the worse when the coal economy declined.

Agriculture was still the basic foundation of the economy but depended on increasing the available water supply. Agriculture was always important to the community even when the mines were at their peak. Coalville would not have survived as a viable community if there had not been a sufficient agricultural basis to maintain the town's businesses and service professions. It took a combination of all the segments of the population, using the land and water resources that were available, to make Coalville into a cohesive, well-knit group, having confidence that it was a good place to live. Miners, farmers, and businessmen all were concerned for the wellbeing of the whole community.
CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL PROFILE OF COALVILLE
WHAT THE CENSUS TELLS US

One way to learn more about Coalville and the character of its population is to study the U.S. census figures. In 1870, the year of the first census after Coalville's founding, the population was listed as 619 persons. Ten years later it had grown by over 47 percent to 911 people, and by 1890 it was up to 1166, a more modest increase of 28 percent since 1880. The 1900 census listed 1252 people in the Coalville "precinct," and 808 in the city itself, and a decade later those figures had jumped to 1445 and 1252, respectively. By 1920, however, the population had plummeted to 965 in the precinct and 771 in the city: a reflection, no doubt, of the economic problems discussed in Chapter Six.¹

A more detailed comparison of the 1870 and 1900 federal censuses provides a valuable profile of the changing nature of Coalville's population over the thirty years of its most

significant growth. For the year 1870 the entire population was analyzed, but for the year 1900 a 32.5 percent sample consisting of eighty households chosen at random from the total of 246 households, or 439 people, was used. The sample included six households headed by men, of whom five were widowers, and one was a single man, and five women-headed households which included four single women and one separated but not divorced woman. In the sample households were 122 males, 101 women, and 216 children. A total of seventeen male children over the age of eighteen still lived at home, compared to seven female children of the same age who still resided with their parents. Probably, the difficulty in finding remunerative employment to afford starting a family was the reason so many older male children lived with their parents. In some cases, male children supported their widowed mothers and younger brothers and sisters.

Table 3 provides some interesting general comparisons between the population in 1870 and that in 1900. The Mormon emphasis on family is suggested by the fact that the average number of children in each household remained rather stable, 3 in 1870 and 3.5 in 1900; the largest households in town included 9 children in 1870 and 10 in 1900. In 1870 some 84 percent of the families were two-parent families, while in 1900 this had jumped slightly to 86.3 percent. So far as

\[2\]

Ninth Census of the United States - 1870; Twelfth Census of the United States- 1900, Schedule No. 1--Population for Coalville Precinct.
single-parent families were concerned, in 1900 the percentage of women who were heads of households had dropped from 11.8 percent to 6.2 percent, while the figures for male heads of households (without wives) had slightly increased from 4 percent to 7.5 percent. This seems unusual, since one would expect to find more widows in the later year, but we can speculate that it may have had something to do with plural marriage. It is not impossible that, in 1870, some of the women listed as heads of households without husbands were actually polygamous wives living apart from their husbands. In addition, the interesting "domestic servant" category could have been affected by the same dynamic. Since plural marriage was actually illegal, at least some of the "domestic servants" listed in 1870 actually could have been plural wives who were so identified simply to avoid raising legal questions. Interestingly enough, in 1900 no "domestic servants" appeared in the sample studied.

Those households containing relatives beyond the nuclear family were identified as "extended" families, while those maintaining boarders, housekeepers, servants, or unrelated persons were classified as "augmented." The number of extended families increased from 21 percent in 1870 to 42.5 percent in 1900, while the percentage of augmented families dropped from 16 percent in 1870 to only 2.5 percent in 1900.

Table 4 shows the place of origin of the inhabitants of Coalville. The high percentage (37.8) of the population born
in Utah in 1870 indicates a high birth rate among a population that had resided in the territory for, at most, twenty-three years. Certainly, by 1900 the majority of the population (51.4 percent) had originated in Utah. The figure of 43.9 percent of the population hailing from the British Isles in 1870 reflects the large British immigration to Utah generally. While the number coming from England and Scotland had decreased slightly in 1900 to 36.5 percent, the British-born were still a major part of the population.

The number of persons born in Illinois, Iowa, and Ohio shown in the 1870 census reflects the periods of L.D.S. Church history when the Church members gathered first in Kirtland, Ohio, later in Nauvoo, Illinois, and then started their journey across the plains of Iowa before the long trek to Utah. The number of persons in the 1900 census born in Wyoming (12), which were included under "Other States," also reflects that many coal miners from Coalville took their families with them when they sought work in the mines of Almy, Wyoming, when there was no work available in Coalville.

While Table 4 included the places of birth for the whole population, Table 5 indicates where just the adult population originated. When only adults are considered, the percentage of Utah-born persons decreases markedly. In 1870 only two males (and no females) were born in Utah, and the greatest majority of both males and females came from the British Isles. By 1900 males coming from the British Isles still
represented 65.3 percent of the population while the number of females went down to 49.3 percent. Many of the males born in the British Isles who grew up and married women born in Utah were those who came as children with their parents. The high proportion of persons coming from the British Isles would have decreased considerably in the twentieth century, as the policy of encouraging new Church members to immigrate to Utah was discontinued about 1900.

Table 6 shows the age differences between husbands and wives in 1870 and 1900. In both years over one-half the husbands were older than their wives by five or fewer years (57.9 percent in 1870 and 53.5 percent in 1900), which is really not a large difference. Those that were significantly older than their wives had perhaps been forced to wait to marry until they could afford to support a family and, consequently, they married younger women. The great differences in age (32, 33, 35 years) probably represented plural marriages or second marriages where the male married a much younger female.

In 1870 males' ages ranged from eighteen to seventy-one, with the median being forty-five. The females ranged in age from sixteen to sixty-two, with the median age being thirty-nine. This indicates that the population in Coalville consisted of many couples in the second stage of maturity, having already established families and with perhaps several teen-aged children. This coincides with the economic history
of Coalville when many families of immigrants with half-grown children selected it because of the employment opportunities in the mines.

The 1900 census figures show the males ranged in age from twenty-four to seventy, with the median being forty-seven. Ages of wives ranged from twenty to sixty, with the median age being forty. These median-age figures also tend to support that the population of Coalville was still centered around the persons most likely to have already established families, and who would be interested in maintaining good schools, a Church-centered life style, and any and all projects to improve the community.

In 1870 only seven women were older than their spouses, a difference of nine years being the largest span and a difference of one, two, three, four and six years applying to the six other couples. In the 1900 sample, the wife was older by one year for six couples, and one wife was older by four years, indicating that marrying couples selected partners very near their own age.

School Attendance

A study was made of school attendance for males for 1900. The 1870 census did not ask for information about schooling. It was found that of sixty-seven boys in the school-age population, nineteen attended school for seven months, the highest peak of attendance, although sixteen boys attended for nine months. These came from all age groups, but was a
favorable sign that more students would continue to attend for the full year. Ten boys in the fourteen-year old age group attended six to eight months of the year, which also was a good sign that parents began to realize that young teen-age boys needed the benefits of a full education and should not be taken out of school to work. The next largest group attending school for seven to nine months was the seven-year olds. This seems to indicate that parents were sensing the necessity of getting their young children enrolled in school at an early age. Chapter Six will discuss how the public schools received tax funding as a forerunner to Utah's achieving statehood in 1896. Evidence from diaries indicates that before public schools were provided by law, many children were not sent to school. The 1900 census reflects a change in attitude and that parents sent more younger children for a longer time to school. It should be noted that these figures are taken from the reports of parents to the census enumerator and not from actual school records.

The study of female attendance likewise indicated that girls of a younger age in 1900 were attending school for a longer time. The twelve eight-year old girls were in the classroom at least part of the year and received more schooling than the six and seven-year olds, who only spent a few months there. The snowy winter roads may have been a factor, or maybe parents felt the young girls could not take care of themselves until about the age of eight. Twenty-eight
girls attended school for a total of eight months, and seventeen attended for the full nine-month period, of a total of seventy-nine female students. Eight females in the fifteen-year old age group attended school, but only one stayed for the full nine months. After age sixteen, attendance dropped as indicated by the small number (three) of girls who stayed in school for eight months. More females (seventy-nine) attended school than males (seventy-one) in 1900.

In 1900 there were a few adults who were illiterate. Eight persons over the age of eighteen said they could not read or write. Of these, four of the eight were over the age of sixty-three. One female could read but not write. Those who were illiterate composed a very small percentage (3) of the sample. Since the 1870 census did not report a person's ability to read and write, comparisons cannot be made as to whether the number of illiterate persons was decreasing.

Table 7 compares the number employed in farm-related occupations with those employed in mining occupations since these two industries were the major ones in Coalville. It will be noted that in 1870 mining-related jobs outnumbered the farm-related occupations by 4 percent. Day laborers composed the largest group of all laborers. These were men who didn't have specific crafts or skills but took jobs from day to day as they were needed in construction, roadbuilding, bridgebuilding, sidewalk laying, ditch digging, or work of any
type. The farm laborers are a separate group, included under the farm-related category.

In 1900 the day laborers were still the largest group of workers, while the mining occupations showed a 7.8 percent decline from the significant proportion of the work force they represented in 1870, e.g., 13.9 percent compared to 21.7 percent. Other occupations than the leading ones of mining and farm in 1870 were teamster, school teacher, shoemaker, carpenter, store clerk, blacksmith and sheep herder. By 1900 the occupational sector had widened to include many more kinds of jobs than in 1870, which would be natural for a community in the "flowering" period of its existence, as businesses and professionals expanded to better serve the population. A full list of men's occupations other than farmer, miner and day laborer, would include attorney, barber, blacksmith, carpenter, carpet weaver, civil engineer, compositor, county clerk, druggist, engine fireman, jeweler, mason, merchant, miller, mine superintendent, minister, assistant postmaster, salesman, saloon keeper, section foreman, shoemaker, sheriff, wagonmaker, woodworking machinist, and coach wheelwright. The percentages for each were not given because of the small number in each occupation. One surprising item is that only three men had specialized jobs on the railroad—locomotive engineer, engine fireman, and railroad section foreman, but no doubt many of the day laborers worked on section crews to
repair track and build grades whenever such work was available.

Women's occupations did not change very much from 1870 to 1900 as they included the traditional ones of housekeeper, seamstress, laundress, milliner, nurse, and school teacher. Four women were listed as saleswomen, a new occupation, and one postmistress and one carpet weaver are included. A much larger percentage of women had become professional school teachers, e.g. six. The classification of "servant girl" for two women in 1900 probably meant they worked in someone else's house; this term did not have the same meaning as the "domestic servants" included in the 1870 census, mentioned in the early part of this chapter.

Most wives were not employed, and twenty-eight female heads of households did not list any occupation. These women were widows and depended on working sons for their support, except for a few younger ones whose children were too small to go to work. Thirteen men did not list an occupation. It was apparent that these were mostly men over the age of sixty but who were listed as household heads. In a very few cases an older father resided in his son's house.

Table 8 shows the age and number of home owners in 1900. Of a total 246 household heads in the sample, fifty-nine, or 24 percent, were home owners. Most of these home owners were in the thirty-five to fifty age bracket or older, showing that they had more wealth and were better established and could
afford more than the younger men who hadn't accumulated the required resources. Sixty-four percent of the homes were owned without mortgages.

Table 9 presents the number and age of renters in 1900 and affirms that younger people were the most likely to be renters. Undoubtedly, some of these renters became owners in later stages of their lives. Thirty-five percent of the rented homes were free of mortgages.

Table 10 deals with owners of farms. The small number of owners of farms bears out that early middle-aged men (ages forty to fifty) were those who had been able to acquire farm ownership. A total of forty-five men stated they lived on a farm and not a home. Eighty-four percent of the farms were owned free of mortgages. Eight percent of the farms were rented and those farms were free of mortgages.

Conclusion

From the foregoing we find we can learn much about the population of Coalville as it changed from 1870 to 1900, its greatest peak. The decline in population confirms what we know from family histories—that some families began seriously to look for other places to live with more promise for the future. The same lack of economic opportunities also kept Coalville from attracting new families.

By 1900 the population still contained a large proportion of widows, but the count no doubt still included those whose husbands had died during the peak economic times when so many
men were killed while performing hazardous work in the mines or on the railroad.

The fact that augmented households decreased considerably from 1870 to 1900 shows a change in living styles of families. By 1900 immigration to Utah was practically stopped, and the former custom of a head of a household or a single adult male migrating to Utah to find work and then sending for the rest of the family no longer prevailed. Nuclear families preferred to live as a unit without extra individuals, boarders or friends. The women household helpers who might formerly have been part of an augmented family now retained their own residences and went to work by the day, or found other types of work such as clerking in a store, cooking in a restaurant or boarding house, or working in the canning factory.

The great percentage of Utah-born persons in the 1900 census shown in Table 4 confirms that natural increase did occur, as would be normally expected. The figures reflect that the migrating families coming from 1859 to 1880 had now established their families in Utah and fewer people were coming in from other places. By 1900 the natural increase exceeded the number of immigrants from other place.

We have learned that the population contained so many persons from Great Britain that Coalville must have seemed like a transplanted Yorkshire village, since so many of the Coalville citizens originated in that county of England. These English immigrants did not have to make the big cultural
change of learning a new language and customs that persons from other European countries were obliged to do but could feel very comfortable among their British cohorts. Most were on the same economic level.

Married couples in Coalville were like those of other places in the United States. Persons selected marriage partners very near their own age, with the greatest number of couples varying from merely one year to six years in age. This indicates a change from 1870 when there were more wide variations due probably to polygamous marriages when the husband married a very young wife.

The occupations, as shown in Table 7, were similar to those of other small towns in Utah, except for the mix of miners and farmers. Not too many towns had such a fairly equal proportion of persons engaged in these two major occupations. Some towns such as Park City, Eureka, and Bingham were exclusively mining-centered.

Coalville followed the trend of other farming communities, as shown in Tables 8, 9, and 10 concerning home and farm ownership. The goal of each family was to achieve ownership of either a home or farm. The figures show that many household heads achieved this by early middle age.

Thus we get a clearer picture of what the Coalville population consisted of. Knowing the ages of the population, how many two-parent households existed, what the available occupations were, where the people came from, age differences
in marriages, and the goals of home ownership, tells us that Coalville was a community of strong, stable people who wanted to provide a fine environment for themselves and their families.

TABLE 3
SUMMARIES
U. S. CENSUS, 1870 AND 1900
COALVILLE, UTAH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1870 Census</th>
<th>1900 Census*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Largest no. of children</td>
<td>N=119</td>
<td>N=80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in one household</td>
<td>9 -</td>
<td>10 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of children</td>
<td>3 -</td>
<td>3.5 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per household</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households with both parents</td>
<td>101 84.0</td>
<td>69* 86.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households with mothers only</td>
<td>14 11.8</td>
<td>5* 6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households with fathers only</td>
<td>4 4.2</td>
<td>6* 7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended households</td>
<td>25 21.0</td>
<td>34 42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see note 1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augmented households</td>
<td>19 16.0</td>
<td>2 2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see note 2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figures are based on a sample of 80 households. The six families with fathers only include two single men who have no families but were counted in the census as heads of households and included in the total families.

(1) Extended families are those which in addition to the nuclear family included nieces, nephews, parents or other relatives living in the home.
(2) Augmented families are those which have persons other than relatives living in the home, i.e., boarders, household help, friends, etc.
TABLE 4
ETHNIC ORIGINS OF POPULATION
U. S. CENSUS 1870 AND 1900
COALVILLE, UTAH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Origin</th>
<th>1870 Census</th>
<th></th>
<th>1900 Census</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other States</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>619</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The figures shown under the 1900 U.S. Census represent a sample of 439 persons, which is 35 percent of the total population.

TABLE 5
ETHNIC ORIGINS OF ADULT MALES AND FEMALES
U. S. CENSUS, 1870 AND 1900
COALVILLE, UTAH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Origin</th>
<th>1870 Census</th>
<th></th>
<th>1900 Census</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males %</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Males %</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>51.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## TABLE 6
**AGE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HUSBANDS AND WIVES**
**U. S. CENSUS 1870 AND 1900**
**COALVILLE, UTAH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Husband Older than Wife</th>
<th>1870 Census</th>
<th>1900 Census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age Difference in Years</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>4.2</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>5.3</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>32</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Totals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1870 Census</th>
<th>95</th>
<th>100.0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900 Census</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The figures under the 1900 census are based on a sample of 80 marriages. This table does not include wives that are older than their husbands.
TABLE 7
ADULT OCCUPATIONS
U. S. CENSUS OF 1870 AND 1900
COALVILLE, UTAH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>1870 Census N</th>
<th>1870 Census %</th>
<th>1900 Census N</th>
<th>1900 Census %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farm related occupations</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining related</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day laborers</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>34.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All other occupations</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women employed</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not employed:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(4.0)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(3.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>(9.1)</td>
<td>(28)</td>
<td>(7.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Work Force</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U. S. Census, Summit County, Coalville precinct

Notes: (1) This table contains all adult workers as recorded in both the 1870 and 1900 census.
(2) Farm-related occupations include farmers, farm laborers, and sheep raisers.
(3) Mining-related occupations include both coal and silver miners, and two mine supts.
(4) The professional group includes medical doctors, dentists, civil engineers, ministers, teachers.
(5) The artisans group includes carpenters, masons, printers, blacksmiths, etc.
(6) All others are sheriff, county clerks, saloon keeper, merchants, salesman, etc.
(7) Women’s occupations include seamstress, housekeeper, laundress, milliner, nurse, school teacher, saleswoman, postmistress, servant and carpet weaver.
TABLE 8
HOME OWNERSHIP BY HOUSEHOLD HEADS
U. S. CENSUS 1900
COALVILLE, UTAH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>57</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>60</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 59

TABLE 9
RENTERS
U. S. CENSUS 1900
COALVILLE, UTAH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>45</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>49</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 23
TABLE 10
OWNERS OF FARMS
U. S. CENSUS 1900
COALVILLE, UTAH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The L.D.S. Church dominated every aspect of life in Coalville. The Mormons who founded the settlement of Chalk Creek in 1859 organized themselves as a Church group. Henry B. Wilde became the first branch president in 1861 and served until his death in 1875 when Robert Salmon was called to fill the position. Salmon was ordained bishop in 1877 when Summit Stake was organized and acted until 1889 when the ward was divided into the North and South Coalville Wards.

Family life centered around the teachings of the Mormon Church. People's lives followed a pattern of sending their children to Sunday School on Sunday morning and themselves to Sacrament meeting in the early evening. The people met together on the first Thursday evening of each month for fast and testimony meeting and saw one another in auxiliary meetings during the week. These frequent contacts and the closeness of their homes in a village community developed feelings of deep neighborliness. Families became involved in each other's daily affairs, and their lives intertwined with those of the other members of the group as they shared important experiences such as births, deaths, sickness, and sorrows, as well as good fortune. When the children of these
original families matured, many became related through marriage of sons and daughters, thus adding to the feeling of concern for each other's welfare. Mutual loyalty to Brigham Young and the teachings of Joseph Smith, as well as the loyalty they held for each other, cemented the group. One writer has pointed out that Mormon theology shaped family behavior and family behavior shaped their theology.¹ The Mormons believed that their families could eventually all live together in a heaven-like community devoid of trouble and sorrow if they were obedient to certain principles. The Mormon ideal was to have large numbers of children to help build the kingdom of God faster so they and their loved ones could all enjoy eternal blessings. Mormon theology taught the Saints to prepare for the kingdom and learn to live by the laws that insured acceptance into that kingdom.

Community life was a continuation of church and family association. Because of their close relationship and dependence on each other, the people realized that nothing could be accomplished without the contribution of each family. The consequent joining together in cooperative efforts became the general practice and generated a genuine interest in affairs and projects of the community. It was not unusual to discuss public concerns such as building the new rock schoolhouse, or digging an irrigation ditch in a Church

priesthood meeting. In the pioneer period of Coalville, group needs outweighed those of individuals and the people expected to follow their leader as he determined what was most pressing. With each group project the feelings of brotherly love and appreciation increased. At a later period, the cooperative spirit weakened and was replaced by the principles of individual endeavor and the spirit of competition as every person began to look out for himself.

Because the early founding group was large enough, the members maintained a high degree of social intercourse in religious, educational, and other social institutions and found many reasons to make their homes in the little Mormon community. Life was not so hard in Coalville in the early days as in some other towns, such as St. George, where lack of rainfall and barren desert soil were extreme tests of faith. Abundant water, fertile soil, and a more favorable climate made it possible to build a prosperous and successful settlement much earlier in Coalville than in the bleak southern deserts of the territory. Nevertheless, the hardships of pioneer life were very real in Coalville, and the people had to overcome many difficulties. Their religious beliefs coupled with strong hopes for the future enabled the people to feel confident that they could cope with whatever uncertainties would arise. The members looked forward to the

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2Ibid., 1.
Second Coming of Christ and bent their efforts toward getting ready for his coming, as counseled by their leaders.  

In the first stage of community life, or settlement period, as identified by Leonard Arrington, the community remained solidly Mormon. With the coming of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1869 community life began to change to a second stage. At that time people of varying religious beliefs and national backgrounds came into Utah and exerted an influence on the local townspeople. Since Coalville was on the main route to the East, many travellers stopped to rest either as they came West on their way to Salt Lake or as they headed out of the territory. From the story of Ike Potter and his outlaws (see Chapter One), we know there were people living in Coalville, such as Ike's apostate father and others, who did not want to be under Church domination. We also know that non-Mormons came to Utah to acquire cheap land. Alfred and Axcil Blonquist and their mother are an example. Under the Homestead Act and through wise management of their resources, they gained enough acreage to run a large sheep ranch in Chalk Creek, east of Coalville. They later became very prominent businessmen in Coalville, established the Summit Mercantile and Furniture Company, and also became partners in the first bank. Old-timers had some resentment against these newcomers

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3 Ibid., 33.

and a small division crept in among the people. Some people never patronized the Coalville Co-op because it was owned by leading Church officials. Others would never make any purchases from the competing store owned by non-Church members.\(^5\) Brigham Young initially established the Co-op in order to encourage Mormons not to trade with gentiles,\(^6\) but eventually other stores were also opened by Mormons in Coalville.

Some of the people who immigrated to Utah did not retain active membership in the Church. Myrla Robinson Linda states that her father and mother never attended any meetings in the Coalville wards although their families came from England to Utah as converts to the Church. Soon after their marriage they felt they could not go to meetings because they lacked proper clothing and did not feel at home with the appointed leaders of the ward. As years went by they filled their Sundays with visits to and from close relatives, dispensing hospitality to their friends on Sunday afternoons, and taking plenty of time to enjoy their families. Their children became active in the Church through their friends in high school. In spite of no activity in the Church, however, Merla's father acted on civic committees, was a well-respected member of the


Coalville Stockmen's Association, and participated in political meetings.

Other people became inactive because they resented paying tithing or contributing to the building fund for the Stake Tabernacle. The bishop accepted produce as tithing and a special building was constructed to store contributions in kind. Thomas Wright paid tithing in potatoes and other vegetables, but did not want to contribute to the stake building fund. His wife kept a separate account of her donations of butter and eggs.\(^7\)

Whether all were active Church members did not make a difference in the general tone of public life, as Coalville grew into a typical Mormon community. The small minority of non-Mormons and inactive members lived peacefully with the active Saints and often voted for church leaders to take city or county offices. They could exercise their small likes and dislikes and still tolerate those with different views from their own.\(^8\)

The L.D.S. Church was led by the First Presidency, consisting of the President and two counselors. Next to the First Presidency was the Council of Twelve Apostles, followed by the First Council of Seventy, the Presiding Bishopric, and

\(^7\)Norma Jean Wright Trietsch, *They Came from England: The Wrights of Coalville, Utah 1860-1972* (Studio City, Calif.: By the author, 1972), 897, 88, 93.

\(^8\)Merla Robinson Linda interview with author 7 October 1989.
the Patriarch to the Church. These leaders were called General Authorities because, under the direction of the First Presidency, they had Church-wide authority. At the local level a stake president and two counselors presided over each stake, which consisted of several wards. A high council of twelve men helped the stake president carry out the Church program.

A bishop and first and second counselors presided over a ward. A ward clerk assisted in keeping the records. Branches were organized when the membership in an area was not large enough to have a ward. Coalville at first was a small branch, though it became a ward in Summit Stake in 1877.

To fully staff a ward required many members to fill the various positions as officers or teachers. There were the priesthood quorums of high priests, seventies and elders as well as Relief Society, Primary and Sunday School. Young people over age twelve enrolled in either the Young Men's or the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association. Families helped maintain the building, buy supplies, take care of the poor, support missionaries, and handle other expenses by paying tithing and fast offerings and donating labor. Each family was expected to donate a tenth of its income to the Church as tithing. After the stake was organized, members gathered for stake conference once each quarter at Coalville, where people from all the wards and branches in the stake
would meet at the Tabernacle to hear counsel from visiting General Authorities, the Stake President, and his counselors.\textsuperscript{9}

As previously mentioned, the Coalville Ward was organized in 1877 with Robert Salmon as bishop. The ward was divided in 1889. Frank Wright became bishop of North Coalville Ward and George Beard was appointed bishop of the South Ward. When the population declined in 1895, the wards were combined again under Frank Wright as bishop. In 1901 Frank Croft became bishop and William Z. Terry served as bishop from 1909-1912. John E. Pettit became bishop in 1912.\textsuperscript{10}

A log building sufficed for church services until 1865 when the community built the old rock school which served for many years until the Stake Tabernacle was completed in 1888. After the Tabernacle was ready, ward meetings were held there.

In East Coalville the meetings were held in a log building until a new frame building was erected in 1912 on land donated by William J. Wright. Programs, dances, missionary farewells, wedding receptions, exhibitions of paintings, etc. were all held in the ward meeting house. Every public function, including county court sessions, took place in the town's one public building until a separate court house was constructed in 1870. The growing silver mining town

\textsuperscript{9}The Coalville Times 9 February 1900; 26 April 1901; 7 February 1902; 8 August 1902; 6 February 1903; 18 November 1904, etc.

\textsuperscript{10}Coalville, Utah, Centennial Souvenir, 1859-1959 (Coalville Literary Club, 1959), 6.
of Park City campaigned to move the county seat there, which naturally aroused the citizens of Coalville. Delilah Maltby expressed how concerned the people of Coalville became as they resisted any changes and committed themselves to build a very imposing courthouse structure.\footnote{Delilah Maltby, "History of Coalville," n.d. Daughters of Utah Pioneers, DUP State Office, 2.} Park City's efforts to obtain the county seat became a political issue in 1895 and again in 1902.\footnote{The Coalville Times, 8 November 1895; 4 November 1902.}

The important office of local ward bishop deserves a more detailed description. The stake presidency, after careful consideration, usually selected a person as bishop who had proven his worthiness and capability. Once appointed, the bishop made it his concern to intimately know the affairs and needs of his congregation in order to help with their personal problems. The bishop and his counselors also selected officers and teachers to staff the various priesthood quorums and auxiliary organizations. By reason of his office the bishop participated in all public functions and became the leader of the ecclesiastical, political, and social groups in a Mormon settlement. Although he needed to care for the poor and watch over the spiritual wellbeing of his members, he also directed how the land was to be used. Probably because of these many extra duties, including irrigation projects, in
1861 Presiding Bishop Edward Hunter said it was easier to be the bishop of a city ward than a country ward.\textsuperscript{13}

The bishop's character and personality had a great influence on the attitudes in his ward. He called the younger men on missions to proselyte in foreign fields of labor and made sure the families had the necessities of life while they were gone. He saw that the babies were blessed, and younger men ordained to the priesthood. He conducted funerals, arranged for dances, musical festivals, and bazaars. He watched over what the young people were taught and molded the members into a group that would work together.

George Beard observed that Elder Wilde, the branch president when the Beard family arrived in Chalk Creek, filled the role of bishop or branch president admirably when he provided flour and housing, divided up the land, and organized the people to build the irrigation ditches.\textsuperscript{14}

One of the bishop's tasks was to see that every family was visited by a ward teaching team: usually an older man holding the Melchizedek priesthood and a young man who held the Aaronic priesthood. George Beard described how, as a


\textsuperscript{14}Marie Ross Peterson, comp., Echoes of Yesterday, Summit County Centennial History (Daughters of Utah Pioneers of Summit County, 1947), 92; J. Kenneth Davies, George Beard, Mormon Pioneer Artist With a Camera (Provo, Utah: By the author, 1975), 25; Centennial Souvenir, 6.
young man, he was often called by the bishop to go with him to visit the homes of sick people and give them a blessing. One time the bishop invited him to assist in blessing a woman so that the devil would leave her. George was very impressed with the words the bishop spoke and the subsequent healing of the woman. The memory of this occasion remained with George for the rest of his life.\(^{15}\)

Mormon bishops also filled the role of peacemaker. The Saints often took their troubles to the bishop, who settled many family quarrels and disputes between neighbors. One summer, for example, the teenage sons of the Wilde family of East Coalville thought they would have some fun annoying their neighbor, Thomas Wright. When his patience wore thin, Brother Wright complained to his bishop about the two young men. After discussing the problem face to face with all concerned, Bishop Robert Salmon prepared the following letter in March of 1886 for the boys to sign:

This is to certify that at a meeting of thomas [sic] Wilde and his sons Thomas and George, with Bishop Salmon and William Hodson his Councillor in the Coalville Tithing Office, after the Wilde's boys stating how their proceeding was in a difficulty they had with thomas [sic] Wright, and the Bishop Robert Salmon talking with them and telling them what Brother Thomas Wright wished done, saying that was that the Wildes boys would not interfere nor molest him Thomas Wright nor his Family, providing that he Thomas Wright nor his Family should not molest them, he would be sattisifed [sic] in the case and not take it any

\(^{15}\)Davies, George Beard, 51.
further. Which the boys thomas [sic] and George Wilde here attach their names agreeing to the Same.

Signed: Thomas Wilde, Jr
George Wm. Wilde

The women of the Church filled the important role of helping the bishops provide for the poor, sick, and needy. After a long delay, in December 1867, Brigham Young asked the bishops to organize Female Relief Societies within their wards. The Relief Society had formerly been organized in Nauvoo, Illinois, under the Prophet Joseph Smith. It helped women carry out economic and political goals, although it functioned primarily as a charitable organization. The women generously sponsored money-raising projects, made clothing, and gave countless hours in time and labor to carry out their assignments. The Relief Society also provided stimulating lessons on religious and cultural subjects to add enrichment to women's lives.

In 1868 Coalville Church leaders organized 102 of the sisters into a Relief Society with Mary Ann Walton as president, Ann Cluff as first counselor, and Jessie S. Boyden as second counselor and secretary. Sarah Cahoon became treasurer. Because of health problems Mary Ann Walton asked to be released, so Sarah Wilde became the

\[16\] Trietsch, 87, 88.
new Relief Society president. She served for twenty years, with the exception of the two years she spent visiting in England. During this time Eliza Rhead acted in her stead, returning the position to Sarah Wilde when she came home.\textsuperscript{17}

The fact that Sarah filled this position for so long reflects the custom of Church authorities at that time to call people to positions, practically for a lifetime, often holding a position open while the person filled a mission. Another example of this was President W. W. Cluff, who served several missions during the time he was stake president.

The normal trials of pioneering were exacerbated by the absence of husbands and fathers called on missions for the L.D.S. Church. Several men went on longterm missions from Coalville and left wives and young children at home. The practice of sending married men who were fathers of small children continued into the twentieth century. William James Wright, Jr., for example, answered a call in 1900 to go to England for two years. He left a pregnant wife and three small children.\textsuperscript{18} While these men were gone from home their families were supplied food, clothing, and necessities by relatives and

\textsuperscript{17}Centennial Souvenir, 10; Margaret C. Rhead, "Life in Early Coalville," Daughters of Utah Pioneers report, DUP State Office, dictated 4 February 1956 to unnamed person, 2.

\textsuperscript{18}Verda Wright Pyper interview with author, 14 March 1977.
friends, but rarely did they have much money to spend. Generous help was also given by members of the International Order of Oddfellows Lodge in Coalville to missionaries in the 1900 period.\textsuperscript{19} However, in spite of the neighborly help, wives usually had to care for the family cow, a flock of chickens, and a vegetable garden to provide food for their young families.

Coalville Ward was part of Summit Stake, formally organized in 1877. William Wallace Cluff became the first stake president and selected George Snyder and Alma Eldredge as counselors. The increasing influx of gentiles caused Brigham Young to develop the strategy of sending in a very strong leader from outside an area in order to strengthen the local Church leadership. Cluff had just returned from a mission to Hawaii (then called the Sandwich Islands) when in 1865 he was originally sent as presiding authority for the Church in Summit, Morgan, and Wasatch counties and all of the area east to Rock Springs, Wyoming. He served in that position until 1877 when new stakes were formed corresponding to the county areas of Summit, Morgan, and Wasatch counties. He then remained as president of Summit Stake. President Cluff

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid.; The Coalville Times, 23 February 1900.
brought his family to Coalville when he was appointed leader over the large three-county area in 1865.\textsuperscript{20}

Summit Stake was assigned the wards of Coalville, Echo, Henefer, Hoytsville, Kamas, Peoa, Parley's Park, Rockport, Upton, and Wanship. Later the wards of Woodland, Oakley, Francis, Park City, Grass Creek, Cluff, and Marion were added.

President Cluff had lived in Nauvoo as a child and had known the Prophet Joseph Smith. Along with his father's family he endured the trials of being driven from Nauvoo and crossing the plains. Cluff enlisted in the cavalry during the Walker Indian War in 1853 and the next year began a mission to the Sandwich Islands. There Joseph F. Smith shared a suit of clothes with him and they took turns going to church. He labored in the Islands for four years and became expert in the Hawaiian language as he baptized many converts.

Cluff met a young lady, Ann Whipple, in a company of Saints which was returning from the redwood sawmills of California with Eli Whipple in March, 1858, and the two fell in love. They had to postpone their plans for marriage, however, when he was called to serve another mission, this time to Denmark, from which he returned in May, 1863. The marriage was delayed again when the task

\textsuperscript{20}Marie Harrison Nelson, ed., Mountain Memories, a Book of Remembrance, 1848-1986 (Kamas, Utah Stake of Zion, 1986), 209; Peterson, 92.
of going east to supervise the emigration of six hundred Scandinavian and three hundred English and Scotch Saints was assigned to him. Upon his return he found his sweetheart had moved with her family to St. George. They were finally married in October of 1863.  

Soon Cluff was called on a second mission to the Sandwich Islands, but this time he took his wife with him. Their first child was born in Hawaii and later seven more children blessed their marriage, though only four lived to maturity.

On one occasion Cluff was in a boat with Apostles Ezra T. Benson and Lorenzo Snow, and Alma L. Smith, attempting to land at Lahaina on the island of Maui. Suddenly the boat capsized in the rough surf. Cluff jumped out and swam ashore, but the others were thrown from the boat. Elder Snow did not surface, and when the elders finally found him, his body was lifeless. They rolled him over a barrel they found on the beach to get the water out of his lungs and were inspired to place their mouths over his in an effort to inflate his lungs. Elder Snow finally showed symptoms of returning life but over an hour had gone by. The miracle of the restoration of life to Elder Lorenzo Snow has been cited in many

\[21\] Nelson, 209.
L.D.S. Primary and Sunday School lessons, and Cluff was one of the main actors in this incident. 

Cluff assumed the leadership of the Summit Stake with a long background of Church service and experience. He won the people's love and respect, and the members worked well under his direction. He served twelve years as presiding officer of a large three-county area before Summit Stake was organized, and after 1877 served twenty-four more years as president of Summit Stake. He became very well acquainted with the people in his area from the very first in 1865 when he set out with Elder Milton Musser, general Church tithing clerk, to arrange for tithing settlement by his flock. It took him more than six weeks to visit all the branches in his far-flung territory. After he began to feel at home in his new position, he employed Thomas Allen, a Coalville architect, to design and build a new home for his family. This house remains (1990) as one of the outstanding landmarks of Coalville. President Cluff was also responsible for promoting and carrying out the plans for a new Stake Tabernacle.

During his tenure as presiding elder of the large area of Summit, Wasatch, and Morgan Counties, Cluff also served as president of the Scandinavian Mission of the L.D.S. Church from 1869 to 1871. He served as a colonel

\(^{22}\)Ibid., 209.
of the Summit County Militia during the Black Hawk Indian War and was responsible for gathering the local saints into the fort at Coalville. He was again called to preside over the Scandinavian Mission in May 1876 and served three and a half years. He served two more missions to Hawaii in 1887 and in 1900. He continued as stake president even while serving in the mission field.

As stake president he presented the plan to the General Authorities for the Coalville Stake Tabernacle, supervised its completion, and saw its dedication. The building of the Coalville Tabernacle engaged the time and resources of the whole Summit Stake. Many men from the town donated labor and helped finance the building through various fund-raising activities. President Cluff's first counselor, Thomas Lonsdale Allen, architect and builder, modelled the building after the Assembly Hall in Salt Lake City and also supervised construction. Work started in the spring of 1879. People began to use the building as soon as enough was finished to allow meetings to be held, long before the actual dedication date of May 14, 1899.

The tabernacle cost nearly $53,000 and was a splendid edifice of which the Summit Stake was very proud. It was considered the finest stake tabernacle in

\[^{23}\text{Ibid.}, 211.\]
the state at that time, not only for its architecture but also for the artistic merit of its beautiful murals and paintings. President Cluff brought a young Scandinavian artist, C. M. Olsen, to paint the busts of Joseph and Hyrum Smith and five presidents of the Church in beautiful oils on the ceiling and to create other elegant decorations.²⁴

The Relief Society sisters raised the money to import the beautiful stained glass windows from Belgium. These windows were noted for the significance of the colored figures. In the morning light a delicate bird on the large window on the west side seemed to be a raven such as the one sent from the ark by Noah. In the afternoon sunlight the bird appeared as the dove returning with its leaf. The directional arrows seen in the windows seemed to proclaim the admonition of Christ to "go unto all the earth and preach the gospel." The sheaves glowing in the sunlight were to represent the gathering of the Twelve Tribes.²⁵

Coalville residents point with pride to the time when the General Authorities used the Coalville tabernacle for General Conference. It was during the

²⁴Centennial Souvenir, 9; Church News in Deseret News, 25 May 1957.

time of the anti-polygamy raids in October, 1886, and many high officials of the Church could not risk being seen in public. For this reason General Conference could not be held in Salt Lake City, the usual gathering place. Franklin D. Richards, a counselor in the First Presidency and a monogamist, presided at most of the General Conferences of the Church during this troublesome period. The location of the conferences was shifted from Salt Lake City to areas less threatened with interruption by U.S. deputy marshals. In April of 1886 they went to Provo. In October of 1886 they met in Coalville, while in April of 1887 they went back to Provo. The following October Salt Lake City again served as the gathering place.\textsuperscript{26} The conference visitors who came to Coalville traveled from the Salt Lake Valley for two days in wagons and buggies over rough and muddy roads and camped along the way.\textsuperscript{27}

The building was financed through donations. Much of the money came from the workers in the coal mines of Wyoming, since communities as far east as Rock Springs were included in the stake area. The Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association and the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association gave parties and concerts to

\textsuperscript{26}Gustive O. Larson, \textit{The Americanization of Utah for Statehood} (San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library, 1971), 169.

\textsuperscript{27}\textit{Deseret News}, 30 September 1966.
benefit the stake house. Returned missionaries from Hawaii prepared fish, food that appeared like poi, and other Hawaiian foods to be eaten while listening to a program of Hawaiian songs.\(^{28}\) The young people were assigned money-raising projects such as gathering eggs.\(^{29}\) William Henry Branch spent many hours donating his services as a plasterer and brick mason on the building, receiving tithing credit in return for his labor.\(^{30}\) Jacob Huffman, who owned a sawmill in Echo Canyon, furnished much of the native lumber.\(^{31}\) It is said that when contributions for the building fund began to lag, President Cluff made himself very unpopular as he drummed at the people at every quarterly conference for more money.\(^{32}\) Ultimately, he was successful, and the stake house became a beautiful monument to him as its

\(^{28}\)James Bourne Rhead Journal, 11 December 1884, L.D.S. Church Archives.

\(^{29}\)C. Bryant Copley interview with author, 5 October, 1989. He mentions that his mother helped in the egg-gathering project for the stake tabernacle.


\(^{31}\)Bernett Blonquist Smith, "History of Summit Stake Tabernacle, n.d., DUP State Office.

\(^{32}\)Davies, 41.
founder. President Lorenzo Snow dedicated the building May 14, 1899, twenty years after construction began.  

During President Cluff's tenure as stake leader, Church members had a good feeling about each other and their part in carrying out the goals of the stake. Church members supported President Cluff's philosophy of life and his goals for his people. The East Coalville ward honored him by changing its name to Cluff Ward.

President Cluff also went into business partnerships in several enterprises. He hired ranchers to care for his cattle along with their own. The Church assigned him to supervise the building of the grade for the small railroad line by which it planned to connect Coalville with the transcontinental line. Upon his return from a mission, he was called to supervise construction of the Utah Eastern railroad, mentioned in Chapter Two. At one time he was manager of the Old Church mine and was

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33 Centennial Souvenir, 11. James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, The Story of the Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company 1976), 632. Unfortunately for lovers of historical buildings, L.D.S. Church authorities decided in March 1970 that the building must be torn down to make way for a modern one with more classroom space, convenient kitchen and banquet facilities, and which they felt would better meet the needs of Summit Stake members. The Church Building Committee opted to raze the building because they felt that a remodelling project would be too expensive and not really solve the problems.

34 Peterson, 136. Cluff Ward was settled about 1860 by coal miners, and at that time was the East Ward of Coalville, which it remained until 2 May 1909 when it was renamed Cluff Ward in honor of President Wiliam Wallace Cluff.
president of the Coalville Co-op for thirty-three years beginning from the time it was part of the United Order. He was twice elected as a delegate to territorial constitutional conventions and served six terms as a member of the territorial legislature. He served as the first mayor of Coalville. His wife built and managed the first hotel in Coalville. He gave work to many young boys of widowed mothers. His wife provided employment for young women, such as Lenore Evans, Lavina Copley, and others, but she was reputed to be very demanding at times, alternating with generosity at special times like Christmas.³⁵

Marriott Wright got his first job working for President Cluff, and when Marriott was later killed in a mill accident, the family thought so much of their old stake president they desired him to speak at the funeral. The family always thought of President Cluff as a friend and benefactor.³⁶

President Cluff took George Beard under his tutelage and left his mark on him as a young man. In fact, when President Cluff and others were released from Church positions they had held for a long time, Beard took it

³⁵Davies, 40; Frank Evans, "Some Historical Data of the Evans Family. Henry Beck Evans," typescript, 1910, 14, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.
very hard personally and from that time on never felt he could give the whole-hearted support to Church activities which he had previously done from early youth.\(^\text{37}\)

**Change in the Stake Presidency**

Many persons had never known anyone else as their stake president because President Cluff served for such a long period. After the L.D.S. Church President Lorenzo Snow's death, many changes took place in stake organizations. One Sunday morning, April 21, 1901, two General Authorities came to Stake Conference and released President Cluff along with his counselors. Apostle Reed Smoot set apart Moses Whitaker Taylor, a son of President John Taylor, as president, and Thomas L. Allen and George Young as counselors. New bishoprics for the wards were appointed also.\(^\text{38}\)

This sudden change in administration upset some of the members. George Beard felt that his very good friend, President Cluff, had not been duly notified in advance of the upcoming change, and that it had not been voted upon by the priesthood members. Alma Eldredge, the first counselor, was also deeply hurt. For years afterward he felt the action had been improperly taken. His journal is filled with excerpts from Salt Lake City newspaper articles published when he ran for Congress on

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\(^{37}\)Davies, 40, 41, 103.

\(^{38}\)Nelson, 10.
the state Republican ticket. In the articles and letters to the editor he explains his feelings and takes issue with the procedure that was taken by the Church in his case when the Church Authorities later did not act consistently (he thought) with Reed Smoot, a candidate for the United States Senate. The whole controversy received attention in the Salt Lake newspapers during a political election year, as the Church Presidency had stated on Smoot's behalf that they would never remove anyone from office without first holding a hearing. Eldredge claimed he was never given a hearing. The anti-Mormon newspapers rejoiced at any political fuel they could use against the Church, but writers sympathetic to the Church policy pointed out that Eldredge had a misunderstanding of Church procedure.  

President Cluff did not issue any expressions about his feelings, but he and his wife moved back to Salt Lake City shortly after his release. They sold their business interests in Coalville, including their Coalville Co-op stock. George Beard became manager of the store. Beard considered President Cluff's release a loss of prestige and a very poor reward for such a long period of service. Neither Alma Eldredge nor George Beard actively participated in L.D.S. Church functions again in

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Alma Eldredge Journal, 28 February 1905; 5 March, 1905; 24 March 1905, L.D.S. Church Archives.
Coalville. Eldredge busied himself with mining interests and politics and finally moved to Salt Lake City. Beard managed his mercantile business and spent his leisure hours enjoying his favorite pursuits as an artist and photographer.

Not all Summit Stake members felt as Eldredge and Beard did. James Bourne Rhead relates the changes in the stake officers but makes no comment that he was shocked or hurt. He merely accepted that changes were inevitable and part of the usual Church procedures as circumstances changed with the passage of time.

President Taylor immediately set about reorganizing the stake and changing bishoprics. He visited every family in the stake and interviewed the members with these questions:

Do you believe the principles of the Gospel?
Do you believe and practice the law of tithing?
Do you believe and practice the Word of Wisdom?
Are you married? Were you married in the Temple?
Do you believe that Brigham Young, John Taylor, and Wilford Woodruff were prophets and that Lorenzo Snow is a prophet and receives revelation today?

If any answers were negative, President Taylor asked if the respondents would change their ways. If they agreed to change, he would return later to interview them again.

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40 Ibid., 13 December 1909.
41 Davies, 40, 41, 103.
42 James Bourne Rhead Journal, April 1901.
If they had not followed the direction given previously, he asked them to resign their church positions and get their lives in order.  

He laid great emphasis on keeping the Word of Wisdom. Evidently, some of the high stake officers preceding him had the tobacco-chewing habit. Some drank tea, a customary habit of the many native Englishmen who now lived in Coalville, while other Church officers broke the Word of Wisdom by indulging in a "hot toddy" once in a while. President Taylor wanted to bring about reforms. C. Bryant Copley stated his mother was very obedient and stopped drinking tea when President Taylor stressed that it was wrong. George Beard felt he could not go without his tea so asked for more time to take the pledge to live the Word of Wisdom. He finally resigned from being choir leader and did not accept the position of counselor in the Stake Sunday School because of his problem. He did not take any more church assignments, probably because of his strong feelings that President Cluff had been released without notice and

43 Nelson, 11.
44 Davies, 102, quoting from journal of Moses W. Taylor.
45 Grace Wright Smith interview with author 13 September 1989.
46 C. Bryant Copley interview with author, 5 October 1989.
because by that time he had added social drinking to his rule-breaking.47

Others also had problems with avoiding alcoholic beverages. Charles Rippon reports his grandfather was an alcoholic and his drinking kept him from joining the church. His own father did not prepare to take his wife to the temple until after seven children had blessed their home. Charles Rippon felt that probably drinking added to his father's health problems, although when he died as a comparatively young man, his death was said to be from a heart attack.48

President Taylor responded to the Church President's request to found a Stake Academy, the Church's equivalent of a high school. The Summit Stake Academy will be treated in Chapter Six in the section on "Schools."

Summary

The L.D.S. Church organization was vital to the vast majority of people in Coalville. Most Coalville people apparently conducted their lives in accordance with standards of the L.D.S. Church and incorporated their beliefs and living style into all activities, whether religious, economic, political, or social. By reason of the emphasis on the Mormon way of life, Coalville, like

47Davies, 103.

other Mormon towns, was distinctive when compared to other Western towns not settled by Mormons.
The preceding chapters have discussed the small town of Coalville, Utah, and how it grew from a pioneering settlement to a full-fledged community. Coalville was settled after Parley P. Pratt completed his Golden Pass road over the summit of the Wasatch Mountains in 1854. The road made it easier for exploring parties to search for possible townsites along the Weber River. Realizing that settlers would eventually build communities along the new route from Echo Canyon which followed the Weber River to Wanship, thence to Kimball's Junction and thence over the summit and down Parley's Canyon into the Salt Lake Valley, instead of using the original pioneer trail, the Utah territorial legislature felt it was time to organize the area politically. Summit County was created on January 13, 1854, being at first a mere extension of Salt Lake County for administration of election, revenue, and judicial functions.¹

¹Edward W. Tullidge, Histories of Utah, Vol. II (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Press, 1889), 134.
county government. The legislature appointed William P. Vance as probate judge, and he was empowered to appoint other necessary officers until the regular August elections could be held.²

The first political appointees of Summit County were chosen from among the prominent pioneers. A. B. Williams, Jacob M. Truman, both from Coalville, and William Henefer from Heneferville were appointed selectmen. Henry Wilde from Coalville was appointed county treasurer. On January 17, 1862, the legislature approved this organization as well as the boundaries of Summit County. Coalville resident Thomas Bullock was chosen as chief clerk of the House of Representatives of the Utah territory in 1863, and Ira Eldredge was the first representative from Summit County.³

As discussed in Chapter Two, Coalville was officially named in 1866 when incorporation took place and elections were held, and the town was officially laid out. The county seat was moved from Wanship to Coalville in 1869. At that time most of the political office holders were also L.D.S. Church officials, as was the custom in other towns in Utah territory.

The number of non-Mormons began to increase as the coming of the railroad created easier access to the West. Non-Mormons, or "gentiles," were concerned with what they

²Coalville, Utah, Centennial Souvenir, 1859-1959, (Coalville Literary Club, 1959), 16.
³Ibid., 16.
termed "the Utah Problem," which included the lack of an effective separation between church and state. While the gentiles composed only 10 to 15 percent of the population, they viewed with suspicion and resentment any ecclesiastical interference in political, economic, or educational affairs. The minority group found that Church leaders controlled elections and local political appointments, dictated economic policies, and promoted parochial instead of public schools. As their numbers increased, the gentiles were determined to break the Church monopoly and formed the Gentile League of Utah, which with apostate Mormons evolved into the Liberal Party.

The far-reaching effect of the non-Mormons on territorial politics also filtered down into local affairs. In Summit County the change in political tone was first noticed in Park City, a rapidly growing gentile town located about twenty miles from Coalville. Its rich silver and lead mines attracted workers from every nationality and religious background. Echo also experienced change as it became a rip-roaring railroad town instead of a small Mormon farming


settlement. Another town, Wahsatch, was a railroad station and work camp for the Union Pacific in the extreme northern reaches of Summit County. Its temporary population was almost exclusively non-Mormon.\textsuperscript{7}

Although the people of Summit County divided along social and religious lines, their political differences up to 1879 were not significant. The gentiles depended upon Mormon farmers, ranchers, and lumbermen to feed their workers, build their mines, and provide a work force for the mines. The Mormons were dependent upon the gentiles for the ready cash those sales and jobs provided.\textsuperscript{8} The gentiles in Park City organized a local Liberal Party in 1870 for Summit County. In response, the Church members showed more political sophistication when the regular county convention was held in Coalville in 1874, and leaders were careful to apportion delegates to all eight Summit County precincts in order to make sure Church-sponsored candidates were well represented.

One writer argued that when Brigham Young created more stakes and reorganized existing stakes in what became known as "the Great Reorganization of 1877," he did so as much for political reasons as to increase ecclesiastical strength. The publicly-stated reason was to consolidate the interests,


\textsuperscript{8}Rodney L. Peck, "Storm Over the Summit: A Political History of Summit County to 1882" (Master's thesis, Department of History, Brigham Young University, August 1981), 15.
feelings, and lives of members of the Church. The church leaders, however, saw the necessity for Mormons to retain as much political power as possible since they acutely recognized how the large influx of gentiles could change the situation.

Political worries in 1877 were not mentioned in Summit stake records for that year, but by 1878 a possible shift in the balance of political power was a matter to be taken up by stake authorities. The creation of Summit Stake consolidated Coalville's position as the county's leading city. It now was a place of spiritual as well as civil and economic leadership. In 1878 the stake minutes show that leaders spoke long and earnestly in stake priesthood meetings upon election and convention matters. Again, in 1879 bishops were instructed by President William W. Cluff to watch over everything in their wards—religious, social, and political. Bishops were advised to learn the qualifications of every man and make suggestions of suitable men to run for office. Because of the presence of so many gentiles in Park City, the Church brethren seemed to feel that these matters were of more importance in Summit County than anywhere else in Utah. The leaders emphasized that priesthood holders should know their duty—i.e., be concerned with the political situation.

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10 Ibid., 86; minutes of Summit Stake, 30 June 1880.

11 Ibid., 83, 94.
In addition to the growing clamor for political representation by non-Mormons, pressure and agitation increased against the polygamists of the Church during the 1880s. In Coalville, the "in group" of elected officials had second thoughts about being in public office and, thus, too easily available for arrest by the United States marshal. The non-Mormons in Summit County were becoming stronger and wanted more separation of church and state. The lower echelon layer Mormons themselves were also looking for more separation of church and state. Because of these reasons the People's Party slate of nominees began to broaden slightly at conventions, and the August election of 1879 marks the date of the beginning of civil government becoming a secular affair and separated from the local church hierarchy in Coalville.\(^\text{12}\)

The political struggle between Mormon and non-Mormon extended for a period of many years, until arrangements were worked out with Congressional leaders to allow Utah to achieve statehood. In the meantime in counties such as Summit, local people were very much involved in preserving their religious beliefs as well as their political integrity. The Mormons did not always buckle under to gentile pressure, but sometimes readily acknowledged that some of the changes advocated were good. One example is the election reform pressed for by the Utah Liberal Party. The Utah legislature passed a new law on February 22, 1878, to forestall the extreme measures

\(^{12}\)Peck, 83.
threatened to be implemented soon by the Republican radicals in Congress. These extreme measures were meant to strike at Mormon plural marriage and the immigration of Mormon converts into the United States.\textsuperscript{13} The new Utah law accomplished two things: it did away with the previous practice of voting by voice. This action pleased the gentiles, but it also struck back at them when it included strict residence requirements for voting, a provision which deprived the Liberal Party of many votes by migratory miners and railroad workers, who had strengthened the Liberal Party.\textsuperscript{14} The new law was good news for Coalville as many wanted a secret ballot, and it insured there would never be a repetition of the time the railroad workers in Wahsatch, with its heavily transient population, outvoted the residents of Coalville.\textsuperscript{15} However, the Republicans in Congress were not satisfied and continued to press for more action against the Mormons, which finally resulted in the Edmunds Law of 1882.

For a long time the Mormons of Summit County and the gentiles of Park City managed to bond together in a fairly cooperative working arrangement, but after the passage of the


\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{15} Peck, 58, note 31.
Edmunds Law part of Summit County's Mormons (along with all the polygamists in the territory) were disfranchised. This, coupled with the growing competition between Park City gentiles and Coalville's Mormons for the location of the county seat, began to harden the political differences and break the bond that had kept Summit County's politics fairly unified.

Congress appointed the Utah Commission to supervise the voting in Utah in 1882. As part of its duties, the Commission required a voter at registration to sign an oath that he was not a polygamist. This requirement effectively removed a number of Mormons from voting. Accordingly, Stake President Cluff renewed his warnings to the Mormon People's Party that they should take more interest in politics.\(^\text{16}\) An interesting sidelight to this tense election year was that the Utah Commission failed to arrange for Park City's first election as an incorporated city in August, 1882. However, the Mormon county court, under Judge Ward E. Pack, recognized the position the city was in and generously allowed them the right to hold their city election. His action reduced some antagonism, but the end result, in spite of President Cluff's efforts to "get out" the Mormon vote, was that the Liberal candidate for delegate to Congress won in Summit County over the People's Party candidate in the November general election. However, in the whole territory of Utah, the People's Party

\(^{16}\)Peck, 102.
candidate was in no danger of losing. The fact that a Liberal candidate could win in one of the larger counties of the territory was indeed a shock and fully affirmed how much the voting strength of the little Mormon towns of Summit County had been sapped by the provisions of the Edmunds Law.\textsuperscript{17}

Mormon leaders in Summit County continued the struggle to preserve the majority vote and won most elections by a narrow vote, but the Mormon vote was seriously affected by the Edmunds Law. Peck maintains that this law eventually resulted in Summit County's becoming the Liberal Party's banner county.\textsuperscript{18}

Just previous to Senator Edmunds proposal to curb Mormon voting power, in territorial politics a major contest took place in 1880 between Mormon George Q. Cannon and Liberal Allen Campbell for delegate to Congress. After the election Campbell challenged Cannon, even though Cannon had 18,568 votes and Campbell had only 1,347. Campbell did so on the grounds that he was the only qualified candidate and, hence, the legal delegate from Utah. Cannon, of course, was a polygamist. Congress ruled that neither man qualified, and the seat remained empty.\textsuperscript{19} Senator Edmunds' desire to disqualify George Q. Cannon as Utah delegate to Congress was

\textsuperscript{17}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., 17, 104.

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid., 91; Larson, \textit{Americanization of Utah}, 94.
one reason for his introducing the legislation which culminated in the Edmunds Law.

Rodney Peck comments in his thesis that had not Summit County been involved in the larger territorial struggle, the social and religious divisions among its people might not have created political parties based upon these divisions. Rather, the people might have been absorbed directly into the mainstream of American politics. This did not happen, so Summit County became a house divided against itself. The division did not heal until the common economic needs of Summit County's workers and businessmen brought them together in the national political parties. It was necessary that polygamy no longer be practiced, as provided by President Wilford Woodruff's Manifesto. Then Summit County's Mormons no longer felt they absolutely had to control local and territorial politics in order to preserve their religious rights, and non-Mormons did not feel so completely threatened by the massive economic, social, and religious power of the Mormons.²⁰

As part of the "Americanization of Utah," the L.D.S. Church moved increasingly from giving support to just one party. It encouraged activity in the two national political parties, although most Mormons felt that the Republican party, with its big-business connections and

²⁰Peck, 16.
increasing support for Utah's statehood, could best serve them. 21

Many of the L.D.S. Church hierarchy actively engaged in politics after the regular two-party system was instituted and statehood arrived. These included John Henry Smith, B.H. Roberts, Reed Smoot, and others. 22 In Coalville, likewise, Alma Eldredge, first counselor in the stake presidency, became very active in Republican politics. The Stake President, William Cluff, opted to be a Democrat, showing a difference of political opinion with his first counselor, though they worked closely together as ecclesiastical leaders. 23

The national trend toward Republicanism after the panic of 1893 was shared by Utahns as they enjoyed the economic prosperity they felt that party generated. Utah's agricultural products were in great demand during the McKinley prosperity. 24 The farmers of a small town such as Coalville reaped the benefits of the high prices and strongly voted Republicans into office, whereas the miners and other citizens lost by splitting their votes among Populist, Democratic,


23 Peck, 67.

24 Dean L. May, introduction to A Dependent Commonwealth: Utah's Economy from Statehood to the Great Depression (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1974), xii.
Social Democratic, National Prohibition, and Socialist Labor parties. The majority of Coalville people followed the general feeling in Utah of supporting more Republicans than Democrats.

This is borne out by examining the election results, as found in The Coalville Times. In the November election of 1894 the whole Republican county ticket was elected except for the sheriff. The Populist candidates were listed on the ballot along with the Republican and Democratic candidates but received little support.

The 1895 election was significant since those elected would serve in the new state of Utah. Further, for Summit County, it settled temporarily the issue of retaining the county seat in Coalville. Not a single one of the 267 Coalville citizens who cast a ballot voted against the removal. Consequently, after it was certain that the county seat would not be moved to Park City, Coalville put on a big victory celebration with bonfires, canonading, and a torch light procession. The court house was decorated, and there was a day of speeches at the stake house by the leading citizens with free dinner and dancing in the evening. However, in the city election Democrats obtained most of the positions, even though the Republicans were strong throughout the state and elected a Republican governor and a majority in

25 The Coalville Times, 9 November 1894.
An embryonic Democratic Party existed in Coalville and became stronger as the territory prepared for statehood when its members no longer feared making known their real political persuasions.

The Republican Convention of Summit County was held in Coalville in 1895. That year George Beard was elected to the lower house of the legislature. George found out after receiving his party's nomination that the Democrats had nominated his next-door neighbor, Charles A. Callis, an attorney. Charles had worked as a waterpump tender in the Wasatch Mine and had educated himself to pass the bar. He was sure to obtain the labor vote. The two candidates both shook hands and agreed to speak of each other as they knew, and to cut out the "political bunk." They always remained good friends, in spite of political differences.

The 1896 Legislature was held in the City and County Building of Salt Lake. The first bill presented was one to make legal all acts of the outgoing Territory—and to establish county seats. George Beard relates that Harry Cushing, the general ticket agent of the Rio Grande Railroad, was sitting next to him. Each clause was voted on separately, and while listening to a speech on the floor regarding the county seat, Cushing looked at the inexperienced Beard and

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26 Ibid., 8 November 1895.
27 J. Kenneth Davies, George Beard, Mormon Pioneer Artist With a Camera (Provo, Utah: By the author, 1975), 27.
whispered, "You G.D. hayseed, that means Summit. Get up and oppose it." So, although George Beard had never had any experience in legislative affairs, he suddenly found himself on his feet addressing the legislators. Later, after getting his bearings, he became the author of a coal mine inspection bill, an assuredly-needed act to protect miners from the unsafe conditions prevailing in the coal mines. He remembered his agricultural constituents by introducing a bill for the destruction of predator animals and became a member of the Fish and Game Committee, as well as co-sponsoring the eight-hour law, a boon to the miners who had been working ten- and twelve-hour days. He authored a pure candy and vinegar bill and one on weights and measures.

Beard was not a political neophyte, however. Four years earlier, he had been elected mayor of Coalville, winning over the usual Coalville church hierarchy consisting of W. W. Cluff, Alma Eldredge, Alma Smith, and John Boyden. The nominating meeting was held in the rock meeting house, with Bishop Robert Salmon presiding. When Beard won the election by a majority vote, even though he did not have the backing of Church officials, it was a surprise to all. Even the Liberals voted the People's ticket, showing how well his friends really liked him.

Beard notes in his diary after his election that the "ring" members (the church hierarchy) were bitter to him and

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called him a "boy." When he took over as mayor, he found that the past elected officials had not kept very good records. The newly elected officials couldn't find the city ordinances book, the minutes book, or the inventory of the tools and property owned by the city. Beard always felt the records were purposely destroyed. But new ordinances were formulated with the help of an attorney working with J. Alma Smith. Of these, some did not apply to Coalville, as they probably used another city's ordinances as a model, but they were accepted by a majority vote of the mayor and city council.\textsuperscript{29}

While George Beard was mayor, the city bought some land adjoining the north side of the cemetery to enlarge it. The blocks and streets on the east side of Chalk Creek were laid off and numbered. As is usual in every city, one property owner balked and refused to sell his land, so the city council condemned the land for the streets, and Mr. Welsh, the recalcitrant owner, received an excess pay for his property from the unwilling mayor and city council. Also, during Beard's term, the city took a big step forward when it secured a good source of drinking water. George Beard, Frank Evans, and T. J. Lewis had earlier bought Icy Springs across the Weber River which they now sold to the city.\textsuperscript{30}

In the year 1896 a political change became evident as on the state ticket more Democrats won than Republicans. In

\textsuperscript{29}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{30}Ibid., 61.
Summit County, a Democrat was elected to both houses of the legislature, and most of the county officers were Democrats, including the three county commissioners, county clerk, recorder, treasurer, assessor, attorney, and sheriff.\(^31\)

Some years were not significant politically, as terms of office ranged from two to four years for various offices, and in off-years little campaigning was done. The editor of the weekly paper commented that election years weren't very exciting when only 292 ballots were cast for the entire city. He added that considering the way the ballots were "scratched," it was difficult to tell whether the majority of voters were Democrats or Republicans.\(^32\) Thus it appears that neither party stayed in power very long, and it was an unusual election if all the candidates from one party were elected.

Republicans seemed to be in favor until 1900 when five parties were on the ballot: Democratic, Republican, Social Democratic, National Prohibition, and Socialist Labor Party. The county went Democratic, but the very next year the Republicans won most of the city offices. The year 1902 saw another contest to keep the county seat in Coalville away from

\(^{31}\)The Coalville Times, 13 November 1896.

\(^{32}\)Ibid., 10 November 1899. A voter could vote straight Republican or Democrat by marking an "X" in the circle under the list of candidates for the party he selected. If the voter wanted to "scratch," he could mark X's beside the names of his selected candidates. Thus, he could vote for persons from either party, according to his preferences.
Park City. Coalville joined the national trend in 1904 when the Republicans won most of the state and national offices. This was the year the whole country showed their great confidence that Republican Theodore Roosevelt would maintain the high-level of prosperity the country was enjoying.

Sometimes, as in 1904, the voters of Coalville selected almost even numbers from each party—five Republicans and four Democrats. An interesting sidelight in 1907 was that in Eureka, Utah, a town solely dependent upon the mining industry, the Socialists elected a majority. In Bingham, another mining community, the Citizens' ticket won over the Socialists. These votes showed how laborers generally felt about political leaders. However, in Coalville the labor vote was usually outnumbered by the predominating Republicans.

The Republican party continued in the majority until 1912 when Woodrow Wilson, a Democrat, was elected President, although that same year, Summit county supported the Republicans. Attitudes began to change, so that by the 1913 election the Citizens' party, not heretofore active, won a majority of the offices.

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33 Ibid., 7 November 1902.
34 Ibid, 11 November 1904.
35 Ibid, 9 November 1906; 8 November 1907.
36 Ibid., 15 November 1912.
37 Ibid., 21 November 1913.
Concerning women suffrage, very little was mentioned in the source materials. It seems the women of Coalville supported the general Mormon feeling that women should not be active in politics. The L.D.S. Church policy of having unity in all things applied to politics. The Mormon hierarchy felt that the customary single party nominating conventions fulfilled any civic responsibilities. Most of the decisions in the nominating conventions were unanimous so that ecclesiastical leaders also became political leaders. There were outstanding women leaders who expressed their satisfaction with being allowed to vote in 1870 when Utah was one of the first territories to grant women suffrage. However, the granting of suffrage seemed to have little effect at all in Summit County's politics until the passage of the Edmunds Bill in 1882. At this time the female vote became critical to the maintenance of Mormon political control, but Peck does not supply information as to how actively the women in Summit County participated. The Edmunds-Tucker Act disfranchised Utah women in 1887.

After statehood, we find few women's names on the ballot. In 1900 Lulu L. Shepard appeared as a candidate for presidential elector on the National Prohibition Party. In

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38 Peck, 106.

39 Larson, 210-212.

40 Ibid, 2 November 1900.
1901, Eliza Beech ran against C. R. Jones for city recorder.\textsuperscript{41} In 1902 Lillian Bain's name appears as Republican candidate for county recorder, but the Democrat opponent, F. H. Wright, received the largest majority of votes.\textsuperscript{42} Ethel Lee's name appears as a candidate for county recorder in 1910, but as usual, the male Democratic candidate won.\textsuperscript{43} In 1912 Mrs. Rhoda B. Rand ran a paid announcement for herself for several weeks for the office of County Superintendent of Schools on the Republican ticket.\textsuperscript{44} Also in 1912 several women ran for presidential electors on the Progressive Party and Socialist Labor party tickets, but, of course, did not receive many Utah votes.

From the above sampling, it would appear that for the most part the women of Coalville and Summit County did not engage actively in party politics or run for major political offices until several decades later in the twentieth century. Instead, they were content to support the men by sponsoring dinners and other social affairs.\textsuperscript{45}

This chapter has presented a brief picture of the political feelings in Coalville and Summit County from its

\textsuperscript{41}The Coalville Times 4 November 1901.
\textsuperscript{42}Ibid., 14 November 1902.
\textsuperscript{43}Ibid., 11 November 1910.
\textsuperscript{44}Ibid., 30 August 1912.
\textsuperscript{45}Margaret Marinda Merrill Eldredge, "My Life and History" typescript, L.D.S. Church Archives.
early beginnings to 1913. Issues of The Coalville Times showing election returns were not available for 1914, the final year of the thesis study. From the brief review of the political situation, it can be seen that in the period before statehood, ecclesiastical officials did influence the way their members voted. When actual separation of church and state took place in the 1890s as Utah prepared for statehood, Coalville people joined in participating in the national two-party system and supported candidates according to their choice, and not necessarily because they were leaders in the L.D.S. Church.

Local precinct nominating meetings were regularly held each year for both parties, and in several years, Socialist, Populist, and Prohibition parties were represented on the ballot. County conventions were big events and Coalville, as the county seat, was selected as the meeting place for all parties. The ever civic-minded Coalville Times allotted generous space to all political events, both before and after elections. Candidates concentrated on capturing the voters who were not strongly party-affiliated as they knew the independent voters could swing to either side—Republican or Democrat. The election returns in Coalville show that the political climate changed quite often. Devoted party members would vote a straight ticket, but the unaffiliated switched at will, according to whoever was their favorite for a particular year, or what issues were involved. Generally, in city and
county elections neither party won total victory, as often two or more candidates from an opposing party could gain enough support from friends and business associates to elect them to office. In practice, this allowed representation from all sectors of the population and maintained a balance of viewpoints and representation from the three main sectors composed of farmers, miners, and businessmen.
Coalville people, like all Mormons, considered a full and active social life to be one of the benefits of living in a Mormon community. They believed one of the main purposes for a church was not only to find answers to life's problems here on earth but, equally important, to prepare people to live with their families after death in a state of happiness and peace. Ideally, Church members worked together as loving families to accomplish this goal. To receive the full blessings of the gospel they needed to keep closely linked to their families, both living and dead. Like most other small Mormon communities Coalville developed a close-knit social life, largely centered around the Church.

The Church organized its activities with emphasis on family participation. Church leaders planned social activities such as parties, dinners, plays, concerts, and sports, as part of the regular Church programs to bring people together often. Young people, especially, enjoyed the dances that celebrated most of the holidays. Marinda Merrill described her joy at going to a dancing class one winter where she became acquainted with the young man who later became her
husband.¹ Church members spent many pleasant hours in conversation, games, enjoyment of music, amateur theatricals, and other social interchange.

The main body of people were within walking distance of the school house which served as church, school, and social hall. Church members met together frequently to receive admonition and instruction over the pulpit, to study in formal classroom settings, or just to attend social events such as dances, programs, and dinners. The bishop scheduled social events for the whole ward, and in between times auxiliary leaders arranged for class parties or programs for their particular organizations such as the Relief Society, Primary workers, or the Young Men or Young Women. Large dinner parties with tables extending the length of the hall were a favorite way for people to spend an evening. The women usually cooked huge amounts of potatoes, roast beef, and home-baked rolls spread with home-made butter, topped off with wonderful home-made pie or cake. Dances included everyone and for some occasions mothers would bring their buggies so the small infants could sleep all evening, none the worse for being out to a party. Young and old joined in the dancing to music furnished by a local band of self-taught musicians.²

¹Marinda Merrill Eldredge, "My Life and History--A Rembrance", typescript, L.D.S. Church Archives. 166.

²Verda Wright Pyper interview with author 14 March 1977; James Bourne Rhead Journal, L.D.S. Church Archives. He mentions various social events he attended 17 November 1884; 11 December 1884; 25 December 1884; 19 March 1885; The
A big fund-raising dinner and dance brought all the ward members together for the customary farewell for an outgoing missionary. People did not mind contributing generously if they could have a good time socializing and being charitable at the same time.\(^3\) When a missionary returned, usually after a three-year absence in the 1880 period, it was a time of great rejoicing. The family sat up all night catching up on all the details of the missionary's experiences as a proselyter and as a traveller in a strange land. The next few days the mother of the missionary prepared special dinners to which friends and neighbors were invited. The bishop asked the missionary to speak at the Sacrament meeting of his own ward and the missionary often went to several other wards to speak. As the missionary visited other wards in the Summit Stake, a kind sister usually invited him to dinner—a benefit for the hostess's family and the guest as they exchanged experiences and ideas at the dinner table. James Bourne Rhead wrote in his journal on November 30, 1884 how happy he was to

\(^3\)The Coalville Times 16 February 1900 and 9 March 1900 give accounts of fund-raising socials for missionaries about to depart. The same paper under date of 5 October 1900 gives news about a dance given at Spring Hollow school for the benefit of Mrs. Mary Pugmore, a new widow. The paper also records that on 1 February 1895 the W. J. Wright quadrille band and the choir gave services free at a concert dance to raise money for the poor people of the East Ward.
go to a Sunday School meeting in neighboring Henefer and to socialize afterward.⁴

Another important activity of the Church was fund-raising. Fund-raising activities served two purposes: to raise money and to allow people to work and play together. For example, fund-raising efforts usually produced an intense feeling of love and camaraderie among the people when they worked closely together. Dances, concerts, debates, picnics, and dinners largely financed the Coalville Tabernacle while at the same time building warm personal relationships.

Special traveling lecturers often came through Coalville to provide learning and social interchange. In 1884 C.C.A. Christensen, a well-known Utah artist, presented his famous panorama of about twenty paintings depicting scenes in L.D.S. history. He toured small towns in Utah with his huge canvasses, unrolling them as he lectured about the events depicted. James Bourne Rhead was impressed, noting in his diary that the "scenes were good, beginning with the delivery of the plates to Joseph Smith by an angel."⁵

In addition to the large group activities of the Church, individual families constantly participated in social activities such as birthday celebrations, gatherings after a new baby was blessed, and baptisms for children. Often

⁴James Bourne Rhead Journal, 30 November 1884, L.D.S. Archives.

⁵Ibid., 3 December 1884.
brothers and sisters lived as neighbors in the same town, so their families had mutual interests, and cousins were often of the same age and had the same friends. Sometimes cousins spent so much time with each other they hardly realized they were not really brothers and sisters. Families assisted each other in such activities as house and barn building, food preparation, gardening, and stock raising. Brothers often operated ranches together.

Families often held reunions and expected their brothers and sisters, their married children, and all their families to come back to the home town of the common ancestor for a yearly grand get-together. On these occasions every family brought a huge picnic lunch. Sometimes a family president acted as master of ceremonies and made sure everyone knew each other and how each family was related. They would talk about their ancestors and the family traditions. Stories about the pioneers who crossed the plains, or the grandparents who came from England, were told and retold. If the socially-minded relatives objected to talking about genealogy, a small group discussed that subject when the games and activities were

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over. It was more important to enjoy the get-together than to stress one's ancestors.  

Each family presented a number for the program. No talent was considered too humble to be left off the family program. Amateur musicians, bashful story tellers, and shy but happily-costumed tap dancers performed before a most appreciative audience. The group then engaged in community singing, sometimes using new words about the family written to the melody of a popular song. Children competed for prizes in games and races for each age group.

Most Mormon children who were raised in Utah have fond memories of the big family reunion held at a small county resort and how much fun they had there. Como Springs in the nearby town of Morgan or the Coalville City Park were used by many Coalville families. They especially enjoyed the swimming and fishing facilities and getting together with all the cousins. The William James Wright family reunion was held at Como Springs for many years, and nearly every one of the descendants of the twelve children attended without fail.  

Funerals were another way of meeting together. Although family and friends gathered to pay honor to the dead, it was also a wonderful chance to meet long-absent family members who

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came back to the home town for such special occasions. The ward Relief Society members brought huge amounts of food for those who had travelled a long distance to attend the funeral. Often relatives spent the whole day after the burial talking together about old times as they enjoyed the bounteous repast which the Relief Society sisters served in the banquet hall.¹⁰

The community also provided social events for people to mix and enjoy each other's company, and there were social clubs and individual social affairs for people who liked to entertain friends at parties. Class distinction was not a factor because most people were on about the same economic level. Sometimes it was hard to tell whether a certain gathering was a Church affair or a community affair because the prominent personalities were the same. Leaders of the Church might have easily constituted an elite hierarchy so far as social life was concerned, but that doesn't seem to have been the case. Church leaders, by nature of their calling, ideally treated everyone, active and inactive, or non-member, with respect and cordiality. Their relationship with Church members was part of the policy of the Church to build good feelings among old members and to bring in as many new people as possible. Frequently, the wives of Church leaders acted as the town's social leaders as they planned special banquets in

¹⁰Ibid.; Verda Wright Pyper, oral interview by author, 14 March 1977.
conjunction with public events like the Fourth of July or Homecoming Day.\(^\text{11}\)

When the town government began to function, as of 1867, the city council took over the 4th and 24th of July celebrations which featured parades, games, and sports. At Christmas the town sponsored programs and dances for the whole community. James Bourne Rhead mentioned in his journal of December 25, 1884 his desire to go to a dance at the courthouse on Christmas night and his concern whether the road was passable.\(^\text{12}\)

The Coalville Times always prompted the town council several weeks before an upcoming event to take some sort of action by printing editorials about whether Coalville should have a 4th of July celebration. The editor would ask whether the committees had been appointed for Pioneer Day. When the newspaper reminded readers that a neighboring town had already planned an excellent celebration, the city fathers usually quickly responded by appointing committees to go ahead with splendid arrangements.\(^\text{13}\) In the next issue, the newspaper

\(^{11}\)Eldredge, 173.

\(^{12}\)James Bourne Rhead Journal, 25 December 1884, L.D.S. Church Archives.

\(^{13}\)The Coalville Times, 4 July 1900; 20 July 1900; 3 July 1901; 19 July 1903; 10 July 1908; the issue of 27 July 1894 speaks of cannons at daybreak, twenty-four shots, a flag-raising, and program at the stake house. Other events included a football game, concert by the Coalville Brass Band, games with a greased pole, races and sports at the City Park, and a dance in the evening. Annual celebrations followed the same general pattern.
allotted a large space to a full report of the big event. All
the people of Coalville looked forward to the 4th and 24th of
July as the most exciting times of the year.

The county fair was also eagerly anticipated. This
affair gave the stockmen and others an opportunity to display
their prize cows, steers, horses, pigs, rabbits, chickens, and
other farm animals. The women brought home-canned fruit to
display and samples of their beautiful sewing and needlework.
Businessmen usually contributed funds to maintain the fair and
used it as an opportunity to advertise their businesses. All
kinds of games, music concerts, competitive races, and
treasure hunts were planned for every age. People attended
the fair for several days enjoying the excitement of the
crowd, viewing the displays, playing the games, and meeting
their friends.¹⁴

The city council also sponsored baseball games. They
divided the city into four areas, each to support a team. On
special holidays a team from neighboring Park City came to
compete for a prize, and during the summer the home town teams
played on a regular schedule and the games were well-attended
by the local populace. The high school also sponsored

¹⁴Ibid, 16 July 1909; 13 August 1909; 9 August 1912; 4
October 1912. The city fathers and businessmen favored having
an annual County Fair and made liberal contributions to
maintain it. The committee usually brought in outside experts
to judge the cattle, horses, sheep and hogs, poultry and
indoor exhibits. Lists of entries and premiums were published
in The Coalville Times. For example, see issue of 16 July
1909.
basketball teams and other sports events, as well as exchanges of choirs, debate teams, and plays with other high schools of the area. Many parents and friends of the students never missed attending every activity as loyal supporters of their young people. Such sporting events helped to make life interesting and pleasant for the citizens of Coalville.

The Coalville Opera House, built in 1899, contributed a great deal to the cultural life of Coalville and provided another means of social interchange. George Beard, one-time bishop and mayor, saw the need in the community, and he and his sons, together with Ann Cluff, sponsored the Coalville Opera House. They built a large frame building at which operas, operettas, plays and dances, as well as travelling shows, were held. Judith Anderson Beard, George's daughter-in-law, received her musical training in Europe. She gathered together a fine troupe of local performers who regularly presented entertainments at the Opera House. She was still leading the Coalville Choir when it was invited to perform at L.D.S. General Conference in Salt Lake City in September of 1935. Travelling troupes of actors, musical artists, hypnotists, and other entertainers also arranged to use the Beard Opera House as they presented their programs, most often to a full and appreciative house.

\[15\]
Coalville, Utah, Centennial Souvenir, 1859-1959, (Coalville Literary Club), 25.

\[16\]
Ibid., 20.
Later on movies took the place of theatrical productions. Myrla Robinson Lind recalled that it was her most favorite activity as a child to go to the movies with her family and feel so important because her sister, Metta, furnished the piano music for the silent movies.\footnote{Myrla Robinson Lind, interview with author, 7 October 1989.}

There were also several social lodges such as the International Order of Odd Fellows (I.O.O.F.), Knights of Pythias, and Knights of Maccabees, a social and insurance lodge. These clubs existed mainly for social camaraderie and generously invited all interested persons to join by ads in The Coalville Times. The organization accepted all men, regardless of religion, and filled a needed place in the community where friends could enjoy an evening together. The I.O.O.F. officers often sponsored fund-raising dinners for L.D.S. missionaries, and sometimes raised money to help the families who were supporting these absent missionaries.\footnote{The Coalville Times, 23 February 1900. The I.O.O.F. lodge sponsored a dinner and dance to raise money for the benefit of William James Wright, Jr. when he accepted a mission call to England.} The Webster Literary Society sponsored debates, readings, parodies, and recitations by members. Examples of subjects of debates were: "Resolved, American scenery is more attractive than European," and the affirmative won. Another subject was: "Fire is more destructive than water." One time the judges concluded that Negroes were actually human, which subject
reflected the general lack of feeling about blacks in the West at that time.\textsuperscript{19}

Women also formed clubs and social groups such as the S.L.B. Club, Coalville Literary Club, and the Daughters of Utah Pioneers. In addition to the social activity, the S.L.B. club members presented papers on history, geography, and current events, while the Literary Club studied great English and American literature.\textsuperscript{20} The Daughters of Utah Pioneers saved relics of pioneer days in their own building, and, most important, encouraged members to write their family histories, emphasizing especially the stories of their pioneer ancestors.\textsuperscript{21}

**Life Experiences**

The foregoing has provided a general summary about the various ways people enjoyed social life with each other, e.g., in families, church, community life, clubs, sports, and cultural life. However, a community study would not be complete without mentioning also the many hardships the early families endured in settling the town, providing housing and food, and making a living.

Getting their families out of the dug-outs, tents, and wagons and into adequate living quarters became the prime

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid, 16 November 1894; 24 August 1894; 1 February 1895.

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid, 26 October 1900. (It is not known what the initials S.L.B. stood for.)

\textsuperscript{21} June Calderwood Wilde, oral interview by author, 5 September 1989.
concern of the first settlers. The men went to the surrounding hills and brought down logs to build two-room cabins.\textsuperscript{22} One man described how Coalville looked in the early days. There were only three houses in town that had real roofs; the others were topped with dirt.\textsuperscript{23} The fact that brothers often bought property together or shared housing until the newcomer could build a house has already been mentioned. One example was seen when the newly immigrating Beards were taken in by a brother and his wife. Three Wright brothers divided up a homestead and lived side by side.

Sharing housing was a general rule, especially for the immigrants from England and Scandinavia. One brother of a family would make the decision to immigrate to Utah and would locate in the same town as his friends or where his special occupational skills could make him a living, as did the coal miners of Coalville. When this person had saved enough money he would then send for his family. Many families took advantage of the Perpetual Emigration Fund.

However, as soon as families could possibly afford it, they built larger frame homes or substantial brick homes. The William W. Cluff, Thomas L. Allen, Axcil Blonquist, Francis Wright, John L. Boyden, Thomas Beech, Edmund Eldredge, Alma Eldredge, and other homes are still being lived in (1990) and

\textsuperscript{22}William Henry Hill Autobiography, 1910-1912, L.D.S. Church Archives, 21 November 1864.

\textsuperscript{23}J. Kenneth Davies, George Beard, Mormon Pioneer Artist With a Camera (Provo, Utah: By the author, 1975), 22.
are an impressive part of the community environment. Most miners lived in log cabins, but a few were able to get one of the skilled stone masons from England to build them a two-room rock house. The rock house Thomas Wright built served four families before being turned into a granary. Needless to say, the furniture in the log cabins was very crude, often made by hand. Housewives did their cooking over the fireplace in cast iron utensils.

Ingenious builders added rooms or second stories to the original small places, as Frank Rippon did to his father's three-room house. Thomas Beech left his wife in a two-room frame house while he served a mission in England. Meanwhile, she decided to work as a cook in a miner's boarding house in Almy, Wyoming, to get enough money to add a second story and more rooms to their house. She paid her brother-in-law to do the remodelling and when her husband returned, she and her family were esconced in an almost new house, due to her good management.

Food Preparation

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26 C. Bryant Copley interview with author, 5 October 1989.
Both men and women spent many hours of work producing and preparing food for family consumption. After raising their own cattle, sheep and hogs, the men slaughtered the animals in the shed which most farmers built for general use. The farmer skinned the animal, removed the inner organs, and cured the meat properly. Then came the women's work of preparing the winter's supply of roasts, steaks, ham, and bacon, and preserving it either in the smokehouse or in the ice house which had been filled with huge blocks of ice cut from the river.28

Other kinds of available food included wheat and flour and fruit which had been dried on the roof on newspapers, and sorghum brought in from Sanpete County. Immigrants found this a rather monotonous diet, but at least there was plenty available from their helpful neighbors. Cream and milk were used sparingly because women saved so much of the cream to make butter to sell for cash income. Growing boys often complained of being given "twice-skimmed" milk. The families also obtained pork when the pig was fat enough to kill. Sometimes two neighbors would kill a beef and divide the meat.29 When an animal was killed, they used every part of


29 Davies, 23.
it, including the heart and tongue, and the brain for head cheese.\textsuperscript{30}

The endless chores in winter and summer such as milking cows, feeding chickens, slopping pigs, separating the milk, cutting up pig meat, curing hams and bacon, rendering lard, keeping the mutton cool, sawing steaks and roasts from the beef quarters stored in the ice house, churning butter, scrubbing wooden floors, whitewashing log walls, and chinking between logs left little time to loaf. The life style of the farmers allotted women the tasks of cooking for the threshing crew, the haymen, and the shearing crew at the appropriate seasons. One daughter, in writing about the heavy chores her mother had to do, was amazed that the mother could still sing as she went about her work.\textsuperscript{31}

Before the gardens were growing well, families ate berries gathered from the hills in season. Myrla Robinson Lind picked raspberries, and red, yellow, and black wild currants in summer so her mother could make delicious jam. Their family loved porridge made from stinging nettles, and a drink made from the nettles or dandelions was their favorite beverage. They also used watercress from the springs near their place that ran into Chalk Creek and obtained their drinking water from those same springs.\textsuperscript{32} Once a family had

\textsuperscript{30}Lind interview.

\textsuperscript{31}Trietsch, 122, quoting Ellen Wright Stones.

\textsuperscript{32}Lind interview.
time to cultivate a large garden, they enjoyed more variety. "We had plenty of fresh vegetables, potatoes, turnips, carrots and beets, but flour was very difficult to get as it had to be bought in Salt Lake," wrote George Beard.\textsuperscript{33} Annie Dale Wright was grateful when she could get food for her family in Coalville upon their arrival, for they had always been short of food as they walked most of the way across the plains after emigrating from England.

In some instances in the very early pioneer days before the people were successful with dairy cows and the more hardy varieties of vegetables, a few people actually went hungry. Emma Lord Robinson wrote that when one of the children was very sick and asked for bread and butter, her mother had no other resource than the tithing clerk, but there was no butter on hand. Her sick child had to wait until someone turned in a few extra pounds as tithing.\textsuperscript{34}

Family gardens usually had pumpkins, radishes, corn, carrots, cabbages, beans, peas, and celery. The climate was too cold for most fruit trees except for apples and plums. One man kept honey bees. The families had to grind their wheat by hand or go to Echo, a round trip of ten miles, where

\textsuperscript{33}Davies, 23.

\textsuperscript{34}Emma Lord Robinson, untitled Daughters of Utah Pioneers report, DUP Coalville Camp, dictated 25 January 1960 to Anne Reese.
a flour mill had been started in 1871. A trip to Salt Lake City to get flour and provisions took three or four days. Families exchanged coal for other necessities. Examples of prices for food are: flour cost $13.00 per hundred pounds and butter was $1.00 a pound. Many families preferred to do their own grinding by hand mill, and often they ate plain boiled wheat in order to save their flour. Families traded flour and sugar for live yeast and other scarce food items.

Generous hospitality was the common rule. In the early days, some housewives never locked their doors. If a person were hungry, he could go into a house and help himself. If night befell a traveler before he reached home further up Chalk Creek or on his way to a neighboring town, he could count on finding bed and board with relatives or friends. Women cooked tremendous meals for their large families and there was always plenty for two or three more at the table.

Growing up for girls

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35 Marguerite J. Wright, "History of the Echo Flour Mill," typescript in possession of the author.
36 Trietsch, quoting Mary Wright Jones, 87.
37 Lind interview.
38 C. S. Rippon, 16.
39 Myrla Robinson Lind interview; Waldron interview.
Although there were always plenty of chores to do, life was not all hard work and labor. Girls loved to run barefoot in the summer and to play in the hills close to their homes. They loved to wade in the creek. They went fishing and berry picking. Myrla Robinson Lind said her father would often announce they had done enough work for the day and the whole family would go fishing in the late afternoon either in Chalk Creek or on the Weber. Walking to school was fun, but even more exciting when the older "kids" would drive the wagon and pick up children at every house along the way. Or, the father would get out the sleigh in winter and take his own children, plus the neighbors', down into town to the school house.\(^\text{40}\)

The mothers were ingenious at supplying toys such as balls made out of yarn. They used a special buttonhole stitch to hold the balls together. The mothers hand-knit long black wool stockings to keep the children warm as they walked half a mile to school in the snow.\(^\text{41}\) Mothers sewed all the clothes for their daughters. Myrla Robinson Lind reported she never had any "store-boughten" clothes until she was in high school. She cherished the memory of the white sweater her mother purchased then for a special occasion.

Women were burdened with the chores for their large families, and some mothers had very poor health. It was not unusual for older girls to stay home from school to help their

\(^{40}\) Ibid.

\(^{41}\) Trietsch, 38, quoting Rhoda Amelia Wright, 105.
mothers do the washing, or to start school late in the fall because their help was needed at harvest time.

The fathers brought with them the English family discipline and customs. One father gave his daughters certain times to come in after a party. On a few occasions they had to sleep in the barn because the father had locked the door, much against the protests of the mother. This same father was not in favor of too many socials and locked the door to keep his girls home. In later life they laughed as they retold how they schemed to find ways to get around his strict ways. They became expert at helping each other climb down from their second story bedroom. He also frowned on many of the young men his daughters wanted to go out with and one daughter finally eloped after several years of trying to get his consent to her marriage.42

Women's opportunities

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42Trietsch, 150. Bertha Ann Wright waited six years to marry John William Staples. After his mission to Florida he asked Bertha's father, Thomas Wright, for permission to marry Bertha. Thomas did not answer him, so the couple decided to marry anyway. Thomas warned his daughter if she married she could not return to his home. She did marry John, and her father would not let her return to his home to get her things, so the couple went to live with John's parents. Ironically, when Thomas's wife, Annie, became ill, she asked her daughter to come to the home and take care of her parents, and thus, John Staples and his wife, Bertha, moved back into the house to which her father had denied her entrance. All seven of John's and Bertha's children were born in her parents' house.
Girls could only expect to find paying work at the hotel, or to do housework, as Amelia Richins did for Dr. Hosmer. Some women hired out as housekeepers for widowers and often this resulted in a marriage, as in the case of Miriam Richins. Miriam much preferred keeping house for and then later marrying a widower with three children to the first job she had—working in a boarding house for railroad workers.

Emma Lord Robinson assisted Mary Barraclough, a nurse and midwife. Emma also did work for other families needing help with their housework. She was only thirteen years of age when she went to Spring Hollow to keep house for her brothers John, Thomas, Peter, and Jim who were working in the coal mines. She also worked at a boarding house in Almy, Wyoming, helping to cook for twenty-four boarders who were railroad workers and school teachers. She assisted her husband in building their house when they moved back to Coalville.

A few women assisted in the old rock school house, or held school in their own homes. After statehood, more girls went on to higher education. A girl could attend college at one of the three Utah universities. Summer courses were very popular and allowed young women to get teaching certificates in a short time. Schools and higher education will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

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43 C. S. Rippon, during 1896 and 1897, 17. Dr. Hosmer's full name is not given in the record nor in the Centennial Souvenir.

44 Emma Lord Robinson, 2.
Some women became excellent seamstresses and made clothes for other people. Mary Fisher's sewing school helped girls like Mary Wright Jones develop seamstress skills, and in 1881 the Stake Relief Society opened a millinery and dressmaking store in order to provide an outlet for the women to earn money for their work.\textsuperscript{45}

Growing Up for Boys

Most young boys helped with the chores around the house, such as chopping firewood and milking cows. E. Bryant Copley raised prize chickens and sold the eggs. He worked on his uncle's farm and in his spare time his widowed mother sent him to help other widows, as she knew how hard it was to get help for small chores.\textsuperscript{46} Carl and Frank Evans herded sheep, did odd jobs for the coal mines, and at one time they with another brother, Israel Evans, sold ice cream on Main Street from a home-made stand.\textsuperscript{47} The first job of fifteen-year-old George Leopold Jones was shoveling dirt down a shaft at the Grass Creek Coal mine when it had caught fire.\textsuperscript{48}

John S. Boyden helped his uncle cut blocks of ice from the river with a large ice saw in winter. They would then

\textsuperscript{45}C. S. Rippon, 13, 18; Centennial Souvenir, 10; Trietsch, 87.

\textsuperscript{46}Copley interview.

\textsuperscript{47}Frank Evans, "Some Historical Data of The Evans Family. Henry Beck Evans," typescript, Utah State Historical Society, 17, 23.

\textsuperscript{48}Trietsch, 114.
cover the ice with sawdust and store it all summer for use in making ice cream for the family drug store. John became an expert ice cream maker and even more expert at tasting his product and finishing up what was left in the containers. At one time scouting became his main interest as he formed a unit of the Lone Scouts, sponsored by the National Boy Scouts, and did not join the regular troop of his ward. He tried out his journalistic skills and became editor of a scout publication called "Golden Eagle Tribe," for which he received high commendation from prominent people such as President E. G. Peterson of Utah State Agricultural College. He also became an excellent debater. He and his friends spent their free time in the summer hunting muskrats, weasels, and rabbits to skin for the pelts. During their growing up years the county placed a bounty on ground squirrels. The boys earned a lot of spending money by turning in squirrel tails. Boys his age also liked to listen to phonograph records, and they spent hours figuring out ways to outwit the town bullies. Boyden took a correspondence course in cartooning to add to his skills. He always felt his boyhood experiences had been so unusual he wanted his own sons to have those same opportunities, so he kept the family farm and sent the boys out every summer to operate it.  

George Beard, in addition to his other skills such as driving a coal wagon, practiced cracking a long bull whip until he got to be as good as the ox drivers. He also became a champion rattlesnake killer and bragged about the "granddaddy of them all," a six-foot monster with nineteen rattles that he finished off after passing it on the road.\textsuperscript{50}

Schools

The people of Coalville, like those in other small Mormon towns, desired very much that their children be taught the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic along with the values of the Mormon religion. The people wanted good educations for their offspring, but cash could scarcely be found for the necessities of life. A few volunteers took on the task of teaching until better means could be worked out. Sarah Wilde and Mary Jane Asper taught early schools in their homes, followed by Sara Harder, a Mrs. Norton, and a Mrs. Noble. The pupils paid $1.00 each per month.\textsuperscript{51}

The people finished the first log combined meeting house and school on Main Street in 1860, and there Mrs. Emma Wilde and a Mr. Sprague taught. W. H. Smith taught without pay. A rock school house replaced the log cabin in 1865, and Brigham Young came to dedicate this fine building in 1869.\textsuperscript{52} The rock school house served as a community center, as well as a

\textsuperscript{50}Davies, 30.

\textsuperscript{51}Centennial Souvenir, 27.

\textsuperscript{52}Ibid., 8, 27.
school. It was also a community theater where "plays and musicals brought comfort and relaxation to a toil-worn generation." Located in the center of town so the people could have easy access for church meetings, Sunday School and Mutual Improvement Association meetings, the rock school became a gathering place for dances, socials, and political meetings. Occasionally, the lean-to on the back was used as a jail. George Beard, a prominent citizen of Coalville, wrote in his journal of the fun of dancing the Virginia Reel at parties in the school house. When he arrived in Coalville as a young teen-ager of thirteen, he saw the building under construction.

As time passed, other school buildings took the place of the little rock building and finally fire gutted the inside. The Sons of Utah Pioneers decided to save the building because of its historical value. That organization spent over $127,605.00 for renovation and moving costs. People may now visit this typical early pioneer school building at the famous Pioneer Village at Lagoon in Farmington, Utah.

When William W. Cluff was presiding elder of Coalville, he saw a former resident of Coalville, Charles Emerson Griffin, at General Conference in Salt Lake City, in the fall

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54 Davies, 23, 32.
of 1865. Brother Cluff requested Griffin to move back from Kanarraville to begin a school in Coalville. Charles wrote in his journal that he had to do some hard studying to keep ahead of the seventy or eighty pupils who attended his school.\footnote{Charles Emerson Griffin, "Autobiography of Charles Emerson Griffin," Utah Historical Society, photocopy of typescript, 29. (Diary is dated Fall of 1867.)}

Later, in 1868, E. H. Rhead organized a school in the old rock school house. He charged $1.50 per child every three months and accepted tuition in coal, meat, produce, or services and extended credit if necessary. In his journal he recorded that he never did close out some of his schoolmaster accounts for the 120 students who crowded into the school room to be taught.\footnote{James Bourne Rhead Journal, quoting from undated clipping from Salt Lake Tribune Centennial Issue.}

Despite these very low terms of tuition, not everyone could afford to attend school. George Beard wrote that he could afford to go to school only for three weeks. In later life he made up for this lack of learning, became an avid reader, and accumulated a very substantial library.\footnote{Davies, 36.} Other teachers were Elnathan and Joseph Eldredge, Clara Williams, Mary Lovina Copley (Walker), and Walter M. Boyden. At the age of sixteen Lenore Evans decided that being an assistant teacher in the vestry of the old rock school house was more agreeable than working in Ann Cluff's hotel. She received the
equivalent of $15.00 a month in food or services from the parents of her students. In a few years, she was able to fulfill her desire to be a real teacher when she went to Brigham Young Academy at Provo, Utah, and returned to take a position in the schools at Coalville, Spring Hollow, and other places in Summit County.  

The Territorial Act of 1854 provided that each county be divided into school districts. Shortly after Henry B. Wilde took the oath of office as county selectman in March, 1862, he proceeded to have the trustees of Summit County districts collect a property tax to be used for the schools, as provided in the above act. This illustrates the fact that Coalville residents were highly interested in education and responded to the legislation in support of their schools. They wanted more for their children than the free-lance teachers who ran schools without the organized supervision the county trustees could provide.  

In 1862 only 31 percent of school-age youth in the Territory attended school, due perhaps to the strong Mormon tenet of self-sufficiency wherein the Church encouraged each man to assume financial responsibility for his own children's  

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59 Henry Beck Evans, 14.

education. Fathers simply had too many other places for their small amounts of cash to be concerned with education. The legislature did not provide means for public schools since they felt as Brigham Young did that taxes should not be used to support free schools. ⁶¹

In April, 1865, the County Court allowed Alonzo Winters $50.00 for his services for four years as county superintendent of schools. The court also appointed a board to give examinations for teachers. The court granted John Boyden $100.00 to purchase new books. Previously, the patrons furnished their own books. Consequently, the school books were pretty well mutilated by the time they had been passed down through the family. Each school district of the county had three school trustees in charge of schools. They supervised the building of school houses, hired teachers, and acquired equipment. ⁶²

The Coalville trustees hired Levi Mathers Savage, a man who had recently come to Coalville to escape the winter-time rigors of his sawmill job at the nearby town of Kamas. Attending Morgan's Commercial College in Salt Lake qualified him as an educated man, and the people of Coalville paid him $3.00 a day when he started teaching on January 5, 1874. By September, 1874 the Coalville citizens voted to sustain the school by taxation. They paid Savage sixty dollars a month,

⁶¹Hough, 117.
⁶²Peterson, 37.
clear of expenses, beginning January 1875. Ninety pupils attended his school.\footnote{Trietsch, 354.}

The Congregational Church of Salt Lake City sponsored the "blue" school, so named because its wooden walls were painted blue. It opened in 1896 and closed in 1912. The New Commission of the Congregational Church wanted to do missionary work among the "benighted" Mormons and sent ministers to Salt Lake Valley beginning in 1865. The Protestant churches believed they could destroy Mormonism by working with Mormon children in non-Mormon schools. The Congregational Church sustained twenty-three such schools, including the one in Coalville. Excellent, scholarly teachers staffed the enterprise, and in effect, demonstrated how a good school should operate. Many people in Coalville fondly reminisced about their wonderful times in the blue school in speaking at family reunions, writing in journals and in interviews.\footnote{Myrla Lind Robinson interview regarding piano lessons from Margaret Callis, teacher at the Blue School. Genevieve Allen interview with author, 23 August 1989; Grace Wright Smith interview with author, 13 September 1989; C.S. Rippon interview, 30 August 1989.} Children went there tuition gratis, while they had to pay to attend the territorial public school system because the amount received from taxes was inadequate. The teachers at the Congregational schools complained that the common or public schools were subservient to the L.D.S. Church influence, so they rejoiced when the more "liberal" Saints
took advantage of the mission schools. By 1880, the Christian churches had fully organized their campaign to "spoil the children for Mormonism."\(^{65}\)

The domination of the Mormon church in the Territory created hostility in the gentile press. The Salt Lake Herald accused Brigham Young of exacting exorbitant tithes and so impoverishing the people they could not support common schools in Utah. The gentiles claimed Brigham Young objected to educating Mormon children because he was afraid free schools would make "lawyers, doctors, devils of our boys."\(^{66}\)

Historian Leonard Arrington clearly showed that this image of Brigham Young was distorted and explained that the conflict between Mormons and gentiles was the primary reason for the slow development of a public school system. The gentiles did not want Mormon teachers exposing their children to Mormonism in the public schools. On the other hand, the Mormons wanted to protect their children from anti-Mormon teachings and refused to give control of the schools to non-Mormons.\(^{67}\)


\(^{66}\)Dwyer, 165; Hough, 122.

The struggle between the two school systems did not affect the Coalville townspeople very much, and many allowed their children to take advantage of the free school. One of the teachers, Mrs. John (Margaret) Callis, remained in Coalville the rest of her life, after the school closed, and taught piano lessons to every child whose parents could pay the very reasonable twenty-five cents she charged.

The rivalry between the gentile and Mormon schools lasted from 1867 until 1890 when laws were passed as part of Utah's gaining statehood providing for free public schools to be supported by taxes. The school trustees of Coalville furnished books after 1900 in keeping with the new law. They arranged for more rooms to be added to the schools and hired more teachers. More children attended regularly as a result of the new law and parents less frequently kept their older children out of school to help with farm work or to work in the pea cannery at Morgan.\textsuperscript{68} The opening of the free public schools marked a major turning point in Utah's history.

Coalville utilized a building called the "old red school" which was probably built in 1903. The lower floor was used by elementary students, and high school students held classes on the second floor.\textsuperscript{69} (This building was in use as part of the high school complex until summer of 1990 when the new middle school replaced it.) Chalk Creek (East Coalville) students

\textsuperscript{68} Copley interview.

\textsuperscript{69} C. S. Rippon, 20, 66, and interview with author.
went to school in a log structure having only a dirt roof and floor. The trustees finally built a new brick school house in 1898, but, unfortunately, it proved unsafe. The Deseret News of January 30, 1899, reported that the Chalk Creek Schoolhouse had been condemned. Ground slippage had caused the walls to start to fall. The primary grades returned to the old log school and the advanced grades attended temporarily in William Wright's residence. Raising new frame walls under the old roof and ceiling made the building useful again, and the children attended school there until school consolidation took place in the district and they went to Coalville by bus.

Grass Creek supported its own school for grades one through eight, with sometimes only fifteen students attending the whole school. The school teachers often rode to work on horseback. In cold weather the teacher's main job was to keep the fire burning all day. The same teacher taught everybody. Some high school students walked over the hill to attend high school, but most of the boys "batched" all winter so they could stay in Coalville and not have to miss any dances or ball games.

**Summit Stake Academy**

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70 Deseret News 30 January 1899.

71 Centennial Souvenir, 30.

The passage by the legislature of the school law in 1890 caused consternation among L.D.S. Church leaders. The influence of gentile teachers upon Mormon children might draw them away from distinctive Mormon beliefs. President Wilford Woodruff sent out a circular to stake presidents and bishops regarding the "proper" education of the Mormon children. As a result, the Church allotted a large share of the annual Church budget to education, established a General Board of Education to assist and coordinate the educational efforts of local communities, and began to build academies in 1888-1890 plus making appropriations to the L.D.S. colleges in Provo, Cedar City, Logan, and Brigham City.\textsuperscript{73}

Summit Stake President Moses W. Taylor responded to President Woodruff's request by planning for the Summit Stake Academy. He recruited students, hired teachers, and served as president of the Stake Board of Education. The second floor of the Smith and Wilde store housed the school the first year, 1890. Then the unfinished stake house and a room in the Cluff Hotel and several other buildings served as a location. The year 1896 saw the commencement of a large two-story frame structure which President Lorenzo Snow dedicated during May quarterly conference in 1899. The Church bought the old court

\textsuperscript{73}Arrington, 401; Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of the Church (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1941), 845.
house building in 1905 and operated the Academy there until the last class graduated in 1912. The Academy presented a regular four-year high school curriculum, plus mechanics and domestic arts, and acted as a preparatory school for eighth grade students. The staff also taught theology, Church history, and ethics.

When the new high school was completed by 1913 the Church closed the Academy because the leaders wanted to support Utah's public school system and save the parents paying for both private and public education. In the place of the Academy, the Church provided religious education in a theological seminary very close to the high school and the students received credit for "released time" classes. The Church provided separate teachers for its seminary system.

By 1915 the North Summit High School enrollment from ninth to twelfth grades reached 100 students and classroom space had to be enlarged.

Higher Education

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Centennial Souvenir, 28; "The Summit," Summit Stake Academy pamphlet published by the students of Summit stake Academy, Coalville, Utah April 12, 1912, Brigham Young University Archives.

Peterson, 120.

Copley interview. Allen and Leonard, 482. The Church approved an experimental L.D.S. Seminary near Granite High School in Salt Lake City in 1912. This was successful and the Church continued its seminary program in high schools in L.D.S. communities.

Centennial Souvenir, 29.
Many young people wanted to get a higher education. Because Coalville had so few opportunities for work, the young realized they must have skills and training to prepare for jobs away from the home town. Following are some examples of a few individuals who realized the experience of attending a university to prepare for the future. There were many others whose diaries are not available.

In the case of the Evans family, Frank worked and helped another brother, Carl, attend college. Then Carl and Frank helped their sister pay expenses of schooling. Carl got a teaching position in Provo and financed the others while they attended Brigham Young University in Provo. One winter the wise mother of this family took an apartment in Salt Lake City so she could keep house for the three children who were going to school. Subsequently, two of the Evans brothers, Frank and Carl, successfully practiced law in Salt Lake City.\(^78\)

John S. Boyden worked at odd jobs as a carpenter and on the railroad and gave money to his brother, Walter, for school expenses. C. Bryant Copley saved money for one year's expenses at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City and then won a scholarship to provide for three more years until he got his teaching certificate. Thomas Ellis Moore herded cattle in the summers to get money for college. While at Logan attending the Utah State Agricultural College he saw an

\(^{78}\)Henry Beck Evans, 32-1/2.
opportunity to learn the blacksmithing trade and came back to Coalville to establish a profitable business.\textsuperscript{79}

Two of William J. Wright's daughters lived with a married brother in Salt Lake City while they attended the University of Utah. They taught later in the Summit County schools. One of their brothers, John, also qualified for a teaching certificate and taught school while he prepared for better-paying jobs with Summit County government.\textsuperscript{80} Determined that their children would have more opportunities than themselves, the James E. (Hen) Robinsons made sure all three of their children went to college.\textsuperscript{81}

\textbf{Coalville, a Distinctive Community.}

Life in Coalville differed in several ways from that of the usual Mormon village. The population was divided between the farmers and miners. The miners tended to group together in separate little communities in Chalk Creek and Grass Creek and did not participate as much in town activities as the farmers and businessmen. The children of miners tended to associate only with each other because they knew each other so well from attending a separate grade school and church group until they reached high school age.

\textsuperscript{79}John S. Boyden, \textit{Three Score and Ten in Retrospect} (Cedar City, Utah: Southern Utah State College Press, 1986) 11; Copley interview; Thomas Ellis Moore interview conducted by Delbert Adams 25 April 1976, L.D.S. Church Archives, fall of 1899.

\textsuperscript{80}Pyper interview.

\textsuperscript{81}Lind interview.
The farmers lived out from town and worked individually on their land. Both mining and farming required long hours and hard physical work. The farmers faced the uncertainties of weather changes and market fluctuations. The miners faced the possibility of being laid off at any time plus the occupational hazards of the workplace. The pace of life was necessarily different for each group of workers. Each household revolved around the needs of the provider.

The women's lives involved raising children and taking care of the household tasks common to all families. However, one important task of a coal miner's wife was to have a tub of water heating on the stove ready for the begrimed workman to jump into on his return from his twelve-hour shift. The miner's time with his family was somewhat limited since he was required to be at the mine during regular hours and needed lots of sleep to prepare for the next hard day of strenuous labor. On the other hand, the farmer enjoyed many daily variations and enjoyed the outdoor scenery as he changed his schedule to fit his needs. A miner earned about $2.50 a day, while a farmhand could expect to receive $80.00 per month.\(^2\)

The income of a farmer who owned his land depended on the market situation when he sold his crop or livestock.

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farmer probably spent more time with his family at meal times and in between farm chores and had longer evenings to associate together as a family group.

Not all miners lived in the mining communities. Some left their families in already established homes in other towns and performed only seasonal work at the mines. During their work period they "batched" with other single men, as did Isaac Shaw. The men sharing such a household took turns doing the cooking and chores. The Grass Creek mine also furnished a boarding house where single men could live. Three ladies were regularly employed as cooks. Besides serving breakfast and dinner, these women packed huge lunches for the workmen who especially enjoyed the pies made of apricots, apples, or peaches in season or of dried fruit.

Coal mining was hard physical work. Men worked twelve-hour shifts after sometimes walking or riding a horse several miles to and from the mine portal. Men performed manual labor with pick and shovel, as the technology for power-driven machinery did not develop until after the peak of the mining industry in Coalville. The mines closed on Sundays, which

83 Mary Lenora Shaw Hammer, "Biographical sketch of Isaac E. and Mary Ann Marriott Shaw, 1926," L.D. S. Church Archives, 8 October 1866, 15. Isaac Shaw heard of coal mines at Coalville, and being an experienced hand in coal mining, soon gained employment. He found a place to live with five other men in a one-room log house. This house was called the Bachelor's Home.

84 Bernett B. Smith, "A History of Old Grass Creek Valley," report for Central Camp, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Brigham Young University Archives.
were the only break in a long week for the men. On the days
the railroad did not send any cars the miners could not work.
While a day off was a welcome relief for the men, they were
not too pleased because a day off meant a day without pay. In
summertime there were many lay-offs, due to slow coal sales.
Some older miners were not called to work at all for months at
a time. Because mining involved digging tunnels and
placing mine supports, loading coal cars, using explosives and
heavy machinery, many accidents occurred. Men were killed or
left crippled.

The miners lived in constant fear of unplanned explosions
due to collecting methane gas because even safe mines produced
some gas. Before electric batteries became available for the
lamps the mines attached to their caps, there was danger of
dust catching fire or if the methane gas reached anywhere
above 13 percent the naked flame in the lamp would ignite.
Safety lamps were available but were bulky and heavy and only
yielded half as much light as the head lamps, so the miners
avoided using them if possible. The miners also
worried about accidents which would prevent them from
working. Only serious injuries such as severe burns,
amputations or major fractures were reported to the company.
Although conditions in the mines of Coalville were not as
severe as in the deeper mines of the anthracite coal towns,

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85 Kelly Wilde interview.

86 Wallace, 14.
one writer who studied conditions in St. Clair, Pennsylvania noted that few miners lived to an advanced age, and most labored under some disease of the chest. A company doctor in the same town noted that many miners suffered neurological symptoms including dyspepsia, tremors, vertigo and palpitation, a psychomatic response to prolonged anxiety, comparable to "combat fatigue" which soldiers in battle undergo.  

There were three main coal beds in Coalville which became the resource for the three large mines: Wasatch, Grass Creek and Dexter mines. These companies utilized the "Wasatch" coal bed formation which was located approximately 750 feet to 1,100 feet below the surface, with layers of conglomerate, shale, and limestone on top. As many as three different beds of coal lay interspersed with the other rock layers, but numerous faults intersected the rocks and the concealed strata in the valleys. The coal-bearing rocks had been broken and disturbed by the systems of faults, which limited operations in the mines.

The coal beds varied in thickness from nine to fourteen feet. A sandstone bed forty feet thick formed the roof, and

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87 Wallace, 256.

the floor was dense clay, underlain by a bed of bony coal. The Wasatch bed could be mined in block, was moderately hard, and was of a fair bituminous quality. Because of faults and zones of shearing the coal suffered considerable crushing which rendered it weak, so that much slack and soft coal was produced. The coal of the Grass Creek mine, although coming from the same bed as that for the Wasatch mine, was only eight to twelve feet thick and also much jointed and broken by faults. Because so much water entered the mine through the joints and fault fissures constant pumping was required. The Dexter mine bed was seven feet thick in the upper bed and seven feet in the lower bed, with a four-foot layer of shale in between. The other small mines in the vicinity worked in coal beds of much narrower thicknesses. The quality of the coal, being softer and with a high percentage of water, although classed as bituminous, approached the highest grade of lignites well-adapted to domestic uses, but was found to burn too fast, make too much ash and smoke for use in the locomotives of the railroad. In fact, the sparks from the locomotives burned up all the vegetation and crops along the right of way in Echo and Weber Canyons, so was marketed for use in stationary boilers and

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89 Economic Geology, 1905, 287.
90 Ibid., 288.
91 Ibid.
domestic uses until the mines were abandoned. A later study in 1913 by the U. S. Geological Survey classified the coal as subbituminous because, although high in heating value, it crumbled or slacked on exposure to the air and was not as economically suitable as the coal from the same geological formation in southeastern Wyoming but which had a lower percentage of moisture and could withstand exposure without crumbling.

Because of the nature of the stratigraphy of the coal beds, as described in the above-mentioned geologic reports, mining methods in Coalville were different than in the anthracite beds of Pennsylvania, or in England. When the coal miners from England began working in the Coalville mines, they thought it was quite unusual to drift horizontally into a mountain and take out a ten foot vein of good coal. They had been used to a shaft being drilled vertically into the ground to mine possibly a three or four-foot vein of coal. In the Pennsylvania coal beds, four alternative means of access to the coal were utilized: drift, tunnel, slope and shaft. There the coal beds were several hundred feet deep, and large

92 Marie Ross Peterson, comp., Echoes of Yesterday, Summit County Centennial History (Daughters of Utah Pioneers of Summit County, 1947), 100.

93 Economic Geology, 1913, 174.

94 Centennial Souvenir, 13.

pillars and rooms were blasted out of the coal deposits, and all the methods could be used, according to the terrain.

The method used in the Wasatch mine was a slope driven in the covering sandstone lying immediately over the coal seam and which formed a roof over the coal. The slope was driven for a distance of 238 feet into the rock to a point where the coal seam encountered the dip, from which point the slope continued in the coal on a nineteen degree pitch for a further distance of 662 feet.96

Shafts occasionally were driven, as in the Buell & Bateman mine opening,97 but the most generally used method of mining in the area was by a slope being run down the dip of the coal bed and the entries being driven along the strike of the bed with just enough inclination toward the slope to allow free drainage.98 Sometimes tunnels were driven straight in to gain access to a layer of coal at right angles.

The Coalville mines suffered the difficulties of excess water and pumps had to be used constantly. The afterdamp, or methane gas was a constant problem, as was the coal dust from the drilling and dynamiting. The larger mines, such as the Wasatch, installed automatic equipment to sprinkle the dust and to provide fresh air, and used modern methods of dumping,

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96Peterson, Echoes, 97.
97Economic Geology, 1913, 177.
98Ibid., 174.
loading, and conveying the coal as soon as this technology was available. 99

The advent of the railroad with spur tracks leading to the mines saved much labor of loading coal wagons, but still a great deal of labor was done by hand. Few safety laws existed for the protection of miners, and many accidents occurred. Records were not kept of fatalities or injuries until 1892. 100 Industrial insurance was not provided until 1921 in the State of Utah. 101 Thomas Wright, the supervisor at the Wasatch Coal Mine, had an accident which gouged his abdomen so that his intestines hung out. He held the intestines in place with his hand while he walked more than a mile from the mine to his home. 102 Some injuries could be treated by a man's wife, but often the injured person secured his own medical treatment, as the company did not provide medical assistance.

The mining companies provided no insurance and little compensation for the families. If lawsuits were brought, few juries awarded damages to survivors. The nineteenth-century

99 Peterson, Echoes, 98.
102 Trietsch, 90.
legal system of employers' liability derived from the common law of negligence or tort liability. Implicit was the basic assumption that occupational injuries were always the result of someone's fault, and that he should bear the costs. If a worker had been negligent in any degree, regardless of the extent of the employer's negligence, the employee could not recover. Fellow workers were reluctant to testify against an employer for fear of losing their jobs. Also, the injured man could not recover if injury was due to an inherent hazard of the job of which he had, or should have had, advance knowledge.  

The Coalville Times reports several cases of severe injuries or deaths to miners where the juries held that the mining company was not liable. An example is that of J. W. Reddish, a miner who was crushed under a huge pile of coal which fell from the ceiling of the tunnel. The verdict of the jury was that it was an accident and no fault of the company.  

The general reaction of landowners, operators and their representatives in the legal, real estate and journalistic professions of mid-nineteenth century was to place the blame

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103 Herman Miles Somers and Enne Ramsay Somers, Workmen's Compensation, Prevention, Insurance, and Rehabilitation of Occupational Disability (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1954) 17, 18. What was known as the "The Common Law of Employers' Liability" existed before workmen's compensation and the worker's right to obtain indemnity for industrial injury and wage loss. Odds were heavily against an injured worker having success in a costly venture into court.

104 The Coalville Times, 11 October 1895.
for accidents on the carelessness of miners. The owners, by placing the responsibility for prevention on the miners' shoulders and demanding of them the moral qualities of prudence and foresight, avoided the "extra" expense of providing extended walkways and headings, installing large fans and enlarging air holes.\textsuperscript{105}

This reaction was a holdover from the English common law which miners and operators in the United States were prone to abide by. The legal principle had worked before the Industrial Revolution but certainly did not apply to large organizations that counted hundreds and even thousands of employees. The English and American courts acted to protect the rising class of industrial entrepreneurs and articulated "fellow-servant" precedent-setting decisions. This rule asserted that an injured employee could not hold his employer responsible if the accident was caused by the action, or inaction, of a fellow employee. The employer was considered to be innocent if the employee, who was free to leave his master's employment if he considered working conditions unsafe, continued working in unsafe conditions, thus assuming the risk. Thus, there were the "three wicked sisters"—contributory negligence, the fellow-servant rule, and assumption of risk, which protected the employer from liability for injuries and death to his employees, and which

\textsuperscript{105}Wallace, 269.
courts accepted in mid-nineteenth century America.  

Gradually, attitudes changed in the United States, especially when the miners organized unions to demand rights from employers and to lobby in the legislatures of the various states for more protective laws. In Utah the labor union movement was not strong enough to force higher wages or improvements in safety. However, one of the first labor unions in Utah was organized at the Grass Creek mine.

The supervisors did not always wait until the air was cleared from dust after using dynamite and many miners developed lung trouble. Methane gas was an extreme hazard and after explosions which killed several men, other workmen refused to enter certain mines. In spite of needing work

106 Wallace, 270.

107 J. Kenneth Davies. Deseret's Sons of Toil (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press 1977), 119.

108 The Working Environment and the Health of Workers in Bituminous Coal Mines, Non-Ferrous Metal Mines, and Nonferrous Metal Smelters in Utah. Occupational Disease Study of the Division of Industrial Hygiene, National Institute of Health, U.S Public Health Service, and The Utah State Board of Health, (November, 1940) 6, 7. This study was made many years after the activity in the Coalville coal mines, but its results indicated that the dustiest operations in the coal mines were associated with the underground occupations of handloading, undercutting, rock dusting, and drilling, and that 507 coal miners working in the three bituminous coal mines of the study had a modified form of silicosis, an occupational lung disease, even as late as 1940 when health and safety precautions were well under way in the State of Utah.

109 Thomas G. Alexander, "From Dearth to Deluge; Utah's Coal Industry," Utah Historical Quarterly 31 (Summer) 1963, 239. Alexander states that even in some of the best mines, accidents occurred because both employers and employees were
very badly, men were reluctant to work in the mines, although almost every man in Coalville had worked in a coal mine at some time in his life. As soon as a man could find some better work or could afford to buy land, he left mining to other, usually younger, men. Mining companies sometimes advertised openings for several weeks in The Coalville Times before jobs were filled.

Mining was not the only hazardous employment. Many accidents were also suffered by men who worked on the railroad. Trains jumped the track; engines exploded; cars moved without any warning to nearby men; and trains ran away while coming down hills. The Coalville Times contains many items about men who suffered bad accidents or death. Hannah Copley was fortunate that the jury's verdict was in her favor and against the railroad for the accidental death of her husband, as many victims and their families did not unwilling to take the time or expend the money to provide for safety. Papanikolas, 118. She confirms that before portal-to-portal pay, there were injuries and deaths caused by the miners themselves. Some of the miners were too quick to get at the digging. Also, she reports that safety innovations continued each year and lessened the hazards of mining. Company mines began blasting before men arrived to begin their shifts. Electrification began in the early 1900s. Blowers for proper ventilation, improvements in roof timbering, and gas detectors promoted better safety records. Battery-run headlights on steel helmets and heavy, metal-tipped safety shoes gave miners valuable protection; Kelly Wilde interview by author 5 September 1989.

Wilde interview.

The Coalville Times, 30 November 1900.

Copley interview; The Coalville Times, 21 August 1903.
receive any compensation. The Coalville Times contains many reports of derailments, explosions, and accidental deaths of railroad workmen and transients.

Because of so many fatal accidents, Coalville was different from other towns because it had a greater share of widows than the average Utah settlement. Not all men killed in mining accidents died in Coalville mines, but some lost their lives in other mining disasters. Eleven Coalville men were killed in the terrible explosion on May 1, 1900, at Scofield, Utah, which took a total of 200 lives. Also, several men from Coalville who had gone to work at Almy, Wyoming, were killed in a big explosion there on March 20, 1895. The men's families returned to Coalville to make their homes to be near relatives and close friends.\textsuperscript{113} The widows and their children struggled along until the sons got old enough to work. Widows wanted to be independent and self-sufficient, but there were few ways for women to earn money in that time. Because many widows were reluctant to ask for help unless absolutely necessary, farmers made a practice of leaving certain portions of their fields unharvested so the widows could gather their own wheat, without actually having to ask.\textsuperscript{114} Businessmen helped out by offering employment to


\textsuperscript{114}Lind interview.
It is said that the dominant theme of Thomas Allen's unfinished life history, as he dictated it in later life, revolved around his efforts to find gainful employment for others, either in his own carpentry shop or by means of his personal reputation with mine owners of Park City and others.  

Utah's first known Knights of Labor public outing was held in Grass Creek on June 12, 1885. The local unit was known as Fidelity Assembly No. 3286, and the records show that at least 50 percent of the thirty-six members belonged to the L.D.S. church. The Knights of Labor was one of the first national organizations of working men in the United States. In 1885 the labor union movement was not very strong in Utah, although the unions did call strikes and made demands for higher wages.

The many British workers who came to Coalville also made a difference in the character of the population. They had been converted by the missionaries and came in response to the call for men to work on the Union Pacific Railroad construction. Or, they had formerly worked in the collieries of England and the Church agents directed them to Coalville.

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\[115\] Davies, 45; Henry Evans, 23; Copley interview; C. S. Rippon interview with author, 30 August 1989.

\[116\] Haws, 2.

\[117\] J. Kenneth Davies, Sons of Toil, 119. The public outing was a parade, a day of athletic events, and an evening of dancing to which all residents of Coalville and Grass Creek were invited.
As noted in Chapter Three, in 1870, 64.2 percent of the adults of Coalville originated in the British Isles. Although these Britishers were devoted to the Church and loved their community, they never completely divested themselves of their cultural heritage. The British speech mannerisms of adding "h's" or leaving them off certain words stayed with these Britishers and added interest to whoever listened to their everyday conversations.

Many Britishers continued their habits of drinking alcoholic beverages and of drinking tea, even though the Mormon Word of Wisdom advised abstinence from stimulants. The British kept many of their folkways and childraising customs and this affected life in Coalville because of the difference in attitudes and reactions from those of native-born Americans, or the immigrants from Scandinavia or other European countries. Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton noted the British contribution to community life:

In 1870 British-born immigrants made up nearly one quarter of Utah's population. The significance of this total is minimized by the ease with which these immigrants blended into the American environment. The majority of the British converts had urban and industrial backgrounds . . . . Unimpeded by the language or cultural difficulties that slowed others, Britons were easily absorbed into local populations and soon moved into leadership positions.  

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Second-generation children had a rich heritage of both American and English traditions to draw on.

The skilled blacksmith, carpenter, and wheelwright converts contributed much to the community and saved native Utahns the expense and trouble of obtaining training in these specialized skills, as noted by Leonard Arrington in his study on the economics of the Great Basin Kingdom.\textsuperscript{119} Some immigrants brought their tools with them and were ready to work as soon as they arrived.

When the mines began to close down or employment was slow, some men went to other places to seek work. The nearest place which needed miners was Park City, a lead and silver-mining town. Here, too, there were no laws protecting the workmen.\textsuperscript{120} There was such a demand for the silver that the mining shifts worked around the clock. When dynamite was used to explode large chunks of ore, the shift boss had the men go

\textsuperscript{119}Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 97-98.

\textsuperscript{120}Richard Robinson, Vocational Director, College of Eastern Utah, telephone interview with author, June 27, 1990, elicited the following information regarding mine safety and important dates in progress toward better laws to protect the miners. The first surface hazard laws (for fires and hazards above ground) were passed in 1898; the first fire protection laws were passed in 1901, as were laws for safety cages; laws for regulating explosives were first passed in 1903; laws requiring that emergency and medical supplies be easily available were passed in 1907. It was not until 1953 that the first mine rescue law was passed. The terrible disaster at Scofield, Utah in May of 1900 which killed 200 men, did not lead to the passage of mine rescue laws. Movement toward the adoption of the Utah Workmen's Compensation Act began in 1915 but it was not passed until 1921. The Act is now identified as Section 35-1-1, Utah Code Annotated, 1953, 1988 replacement edition, Volume 4B, 116.
back into the mine before the dust had settled. Many suffered lung disease such as silicosis. Francis Wright of Coalville is an example of a person who got "leaded" in the Park City mines. He was forced to quit in less than a year of working in a Park City mine but was fortunate enough to buy into a ranch east of Coalville with his brothers. However, his damaged lungs caused him suffering the rest of his life.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the ways people interacted with each other in family, church, and community activities. The people built very close relationships and were concerned about each other.

The social life made the hardships endurable. When the community stabilized after the initial pioneer period and the hardships decreased, social life became very important as the

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121 Robert Wallace and eds. The Miners, the Old West (New York: Time-Life Books 1976), 103. Compressed-air drills, fed air by hose from surface steam engines and using pistons to work the steels back and forth in the drill holes, came into use in the 1870s at about the same time as dynamite. They were greeted with great joy by owners of large mines that employed scores of men. The machines "made hole" at a prodigious rate, enabling the owners to lay off most of their double-jack teams. The miners soon learned to refer to the machines as widow-makers. As the drills cut into granite, quartz or porphyry, they stirred up clouds of razor-sharp particles of silica dust that lodged in men's lungs and, in time, disabled and killed them. Hundreds of miners died in this manner. The condition, silicosis, was generally called Miner's Consumption. In the mid-1890s a water-flushed drill came into use.

122 Trietsch, 123, 124.
means to make life worth living. The good quality of life is why people stayed in Coalville. The big problem was not the life style which Coalville offered, but whether one could afford to stay there. The lack of industry and lack of agricultural land necessarily limited the growth of Coalville. Many of the second and third generation had to leave to find jobs elsewhere.
This thesis has discussed the several different periods of development of the town of Coalville, beginning with the pioneer settlement in 1859 and extending through the growth period to 1880.

Changes, 1880-1914

We now turn to a discussion of various other changes that took place in the third period of the community. Leonard Arrington describes this maturing period as the "flowering period" of every Mormon village, which in Coalville would be between 1880 and 1914. The first two periods, development and settlement, and community build-up, were discussed in Chapters One and Two.

The outward physical changes due to modern technology provided a comfortable life style. More families bought automobiles. So many drivers became so daring that early in the twentieth century, the town council set a speed limit of fifteen miles per hour as a safety precaution.¹ Most families subscribed to the telephone service. Use of electrical

gadgets multiplied, as housewives gladly availed themselves of electric washing machines and irons.

Construction of most of the town's substantial buildings took place during this time. These included the Stake Tabernacle, the new Co-op building, the Summit Furniture, the Coalville Hotel, the drug store, and the new high school. After successfully winning the contest to retain the county seat over Park City's bid, the people of Coalville built a new court house. The Coalville Tabernacle, one of the finest in the territory, brought special feelings of pride to Church members. Visitors from Salt Lake and all the surrounding towns came for quarterly stake conference. The Coalville Hotel furnished pleasant meals and accommodations for travellers and rooms for special occasions such as

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2Centennial Souvenir, 8.


4Centennial Souvenir, 24.

5Ibid., 20.


7Centennial Souvenir, 29.

8The Coalville Times, 7 November 1902; contract awarded for new court house 8 July 1903.

9Ibid., 26 April 1901; 7 February 1902; 9 May 1902; 8 August 1902; 6 February 1903; 18 November 1904.
banquets, wedding receptions, and large committee meetings. Various small clothing stores and farm equipment supply outlets lined both sides of Main Street as the business district expanded.\textsuperscript{10}

The early log cabins had been replaced by substantial brick and frame homes. Some of the very prominent brick homes yet remain as monuments of the architectural style of their era. The town gained a mature look as the residents improved their city lots with lawns, shade trees, and vetetable and flower gardens. Due to annual clean-up drives encouraged by the city council, people were urged to clean up their barnyards and improve sanitary conditions.\textsuperscript{11} The women raised money to fence and landscape the cemetery, famous for its hilltop view of the Weber River valley.

Socially, the number of clubs and activities expanded. The Church had a full program for every age. Recreational activities increased with organized baseball games, parades, and community celebrations for the Fourth and Twenty-fourth of July. Musical, dramatic and debating societies flourished. Even the railroad offered excursion rates to encourage people to go to Salt Lake City for L.D.S. General Conference or to

\textsuperscript{10}See references in Chapter Two concerning small businesses which began.

\textsuperscript{11}The Coalville Times, 20 July 1894; 6 March 1895; 24 April, 1914; 7 May 1914. People were asked to clear the backyards, outhouses and other places liable to germinate disease, of all rubbish and filth and make their premises clean and sanitary.
make all-day outings to Saltair, a large resort on the shore of the Great Salt Lake. The Oddfellows Lodge annually sponsored such a tour.

Some far-reaching changes in the agricultural areas affected Utah farmers and, in the process, those of Coalville. In early times, farmers concentrated on raising subsistence products, because there were few markets. Most of the products were used by the farmers and their families or at the very best, in nearby communities. A trend toward commercial agriculture occurred in the 1890s which was a change from pioneer times when the farms of Utah contained only ten to twenty acres in keeping with Brigham Young's philosophy of dividing the arable land so that as many families as possible could share it. Those who took land under the Homestead Law could own 160 acres, but these farms had often been divided into small acreages. Because of the small portion of arable land, farmers and ranchers had few opportunities to expand. Instead, they practiced self-sufficiency and operated on a very small scale, being mainly interested in providing for their family needs. They sold their surpluses of produce, livestock, and grain to the gentiles as opportunities for markets arose such as the coming of the United States Army to Utah, the building of the Union Pacific Railroad, and the growth of mining towns. In Coalville, the construction crews of the Union Pacific Railroad purchased many food items and supplies from the farmers and merchants. No organized effort
existed to procure markets outside the territory or even within it if a great distance were involved.\textsuperscript{12}

However, beginning about 1890 changes began to take place. Farmers started to abandon subsistence or self-sufficient methods and actively sought commercial farming enterprises. More land became available under the Homestead Law, and farmers moved out of the closely compacted villages onto land located on highline canals and along roads at a distance from the villages.\textsuperscript{13} Farmers found it possible to buy substantial acreage from state land sales, railroad grants, and other private holdings. The farmers superimposed this new typically American system of land distribution based on federal land provisions, grant lands, and speculation upon the pioneer pattern. The pioneer settlers did not engage in land speculation because they usually acted cooperatively and were not in the farming business to make big profits but only to procure homes and a living for their families. In the new trend for commercial farming, farmers began buying all the land they could from private owners,\textsuperscript{14} for if they kept only


\textsuperscript{13} Charles S. Peterson, "The Americanization of Utah's Agriculture," \textit{Utah Historical Quarterly} 42 (Spring 1974): 111, 122.

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 113-114.
a small farm, they had to take extra jobs to supplement their income. Lawrence Wright's acquisition of a large sheep ranch has been mentioned in Chapter Two. His ranch is an example of how farming became a business rather than a way to build the Kingdom as Utah's economy became "Americanized" along with its political organization.\textsuperscript{15} Farmers discovered the importance of technological improvements which lessened the need for so much manpower. The new land boom began to recede by 1910, but the farmers never did return to the self-sufficiency they had practiced before statehood.\textsuperscript{16}

Coalville farmers tried raising fruit trees in spite of the short growing season. In 1897 the legislature established a State Bureau of Horticulture and campaigned to improve the quality and quantity of Utah fruit. The agency can be given much credit for development of Utah's famous fruit industry by which they were able to take advantage of Eastern markets for many years and bring in goodly amounts of cash to the state. The Horticulture Association had branches in many towns of Utah and its local officers encouraged Coalville farmers to plant fruit trees. They arranged for thousands of trees to be delivered to Coalville farmers.\textsuperscript{17} Coalville farmers also

\textsuperscript{15}Lawrence Wright, interview by author, 10 August 1985.

\textsuperscript{16}Peterson, 124.

\textsuperscript{17}J. Leonard Arrington, "The Commercialization of Utah's Economy," in A Dependent Commonwealth: Utah's Economy from Statehood to the Great Depression, ed. Dean L. May, Charles Redd Monographs in Western History, No. 4 (Provo Brigham Young University Press, 1974), 17; The Coalville Times, 14 April
studied the market prices listed weekly in The Coalville Times and diversified their crops to plant whatever seemed sure to sell at harvest time. Coalville farmers raised oats, potatoes, wheat, sheep, and other livestock. A few, like Hen Robinson, specialized in shipping celery to the New York market.\textsuperscript{18}

From new experiments with dry farming in Nephi, Utah,\textsuperscript{19} farmers found they could successfully raise wheat by using improved varieties of grains. Coalville farmers participated in these changes as they took risks with their dry farms across the Weber River and on the benches that previously had not been irrigated.\textsuperscript{20}

Most farmers still preferred irrigation farming as the best method even though there wasn’t enough water available to meet all the demands for users of both the upper and lower Weber River. The farmers in Coalville held many meetings to discuss water rights and how to save more water to be used for irrigation in the long, hot summers. They heard about the large private corporations in northern Utah around the Bear

\textsuperscript{18}Myrla Robinson Lind interview, 7 October 1989.

\textsuperscript{19}Peterson, 113-114.

\textsuperscript{20}The Coalville Times, 12 July 1912, reports that Wright Bros. in Castle Rock had been raising grain without water for the past six years; The Coalville Times, 4 October 1912, has an item about a county fair special display of dry farm barley, and other products raised on dry farms such as dry farm wheat, dry farm artichokes, dry farm turnips, mangel wurzel, etc.
River which were interested in developing storage and canal projects, and the government itself became aware of the needs of the farmers.\textsuperscript{21} Many land owners organized to build larger canals and take up land that had previously been considered unusable. Committees were formed to study possibilities.

In late 1907 civil engineers Willard Young and Frank G. Kelsey investigated the water needs for Ogden, Weber, and Davis Counties and reported on a proposed Weber River irrigation project. They recommended that a private irrigation company construct the necessary storage dam, canals, and laterals, but the United States government had moved into the reclamation business under the Federal Reclamation Act of 1902.\textsuperscript{22} The Reclamation Service made a reconnaissance survey in 1904 and 1905 and established stream gauging stations. Finally, Echo Dam received approval in 1924 to provide supplemental irrigation water for the lower Weber River drainage area and in Ogden Valley. It was commenced November 26, 1927.\textsuperscript{23} The farmers realized they must have huge water storage projects in order to have sufficient water

\textsuperscript{21}Peterson, 115.

\textsuperscript{22}Newlands Act, 1902; Arrington, "Commercialization of Utah's Economy," 19.

to raise the kinds of crops that would sell in commercial agriculture.

They also began shifting to whatever crop they thought would bring in a profit, whether sugar beets, dairying, livestock, wheat, or truck crops. Thus there was a change in the products that were raised and also in the method and purpose of raising them. Commercial farmers needed to make a profit.  

Thus, at about the time Utah achieved statehood and was brought into mainstream America in educational and political matters, Utah and Coalville farmers were also changing their methods of production.

Farmers also began mortgaging their farms for large amounts, as they needed capital to buy new equipment, seed, fertilizer, and other necessities of the new methods. This practice constituted a significant change from the thrifty patterns of former decades when settlers merely wanted to obtain title to the land as soon as possible and keep it free from encumbrances. Indebtedness became one of the characteristics of the national farm economy. Charles S. Peterson calls it the "Americanization of Utah's Agriculture" and shows how it coincided with the Americanization of Utah's politics and the ending of the comparative isolation and living style of Utahns before statehood arrived in 1896.  

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24 Peterson, 111.

Changes occurred for sheep and cattlemen also. Stockmen met to discuss markets and how to improve breeds. The sheepmen of Coalville joined with the Utah Wool Growers Association, incorporated in 1908 and re-organized later under the laws of Utah as a non-profit organization. The members took part in regulating grazing on public domain lands and took steps for protecting their herds from predatory animals. They expressed their concerns over big game competing for forage with their domestic stock. They formed associations for marketing of wool and livestock as they cooperated and learned much from the experts at Utah State Agricultural College who eagerly disseminated the information gained from scientific and experimental studies. Most individual wool growers preferred to join the associations connected with the national wool markets rather than acting independently to try to sell their wool when and wherever they could find a buyer.

The growth of these associations for stockmen and woolgrowers represents changes in the marketing and economy and the participation by Utah ranchers in national trends.\textsuperscript{26} Shipments of big carloads of sheep and cattle were treated as important news items in \textit{The Coalville Times}.\textsuperscript{27}

The growing problem of securing range land for sheep and cattle became more severe. By about 1890 ranchers had

\textsuperscript{26} \textit{The Coalville Times}, 13 and 20 March 1914.

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., 5 June 1896; 13 September 1901; 13 May 1903; 12 September 1912.
utilized the available range resources. In early days stockmen grazed sheep and cattle in nearby canyons and wherever they found uncultivated lands near the settlements. The ranchers began to use the canyons in the summer after the federal government eliminated the Indian menace. An example of this occurred in Coalville when James B. Rhead left his horses in the South Fork of Chalk Creek for a long season and had to spend three days to hunt them up.  

William Carruth and other travellers always turned their stock out at night to graze as they camped in Parley's Canyon on their way to Coalville.  

The early stockmen felt free to use range land at will and took no precautions against overgrazing. Finally, when the population increased a great deal and more stockraisers were using nearly all the public grazing land, the federal government stepped in to protect the forests and range land for the benefit of all the people.

A pioneering effort in public management of natural resources in Utah began in 1902 by chief grazing officer Albert F. Potter. Ecological balance, conservation, and the relation of forest resources to the social needs of Utah's people concerned him. Through his efforts the Forest Service turned its attention to grazing and livestock needs as well as

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28 James B. Rhead Journal, 22 November 1884, L.D.S. Church Archives.

to preservation of trees. The officials recognized the need for regulation and restraint if long-term potentials were to be realized. The public began to favor protection and management of forest resources. Potter's Survey led directly to the establishment of most of Utah's national forests and indirectly to the practices of other land management agencies.³⁰

A presidential proclamation created the Wasatch National Forest and other reserves in 1906 following the destruction of watershed resources by overgrazing and uncontrolled fires. Previously, heavy grazing in the watersheds and unrestricted logging resulted in severe summer floods and water pollution. Congress assigned the Bureau of Land Management the task of administering vast areas of grazing land. This meant that stockmen could no longer let their animals graze on public land unless they had permits.³¹ The increasing number of citizens who wanted to use the forest lands for camping, fishing, and picknicking brought further pressure on Congress to preserve the forest lands and to prevent overgrazing. So in many ways, changes came for the inhabitants of Coalville


³¹ Sutton, Utah: A Centennial Vol. I, 185, 188; The Coalville Times, 4 May 1900. The department of Interior opened Uintah Forest Reserve from July 1st to October 1st for grazing purposes. Permits will be issued for 200,000 sheep upon such portions of the reservation not likely to be damaged.
in many ways, changes came for the inhabitants of Coalville who depended on stock and sheep raising for a livelihood since permits for grazing were hard to come by.

Coalville farmers probably participated in the same so-called "McKinley prosperity" which benefited other Utahns. Dean L. May pointed out in his introduction to Leonard Arrington's study of the one and a half decades following statehood from 1896 to 1910 that this prosperity was produced by the rapid recovery of gold from the panic of 1893, Republicanism, and a heightened demand for agricultural products. World War I greatly stimulated the economy and increased the prosperity after the panic of 1907, especially in the livestock and sheep markets. Since these industries formed the basis of Coalville's economy, they surely felt some results from the national prosperity. Thus, in the long run, the end of Utah's isolationism after statehood brought about beneficial changes as the Utah agriculturists also became "Americanized" as mentioned above.

The Coalville Times emphasized the importance of the livestock industry by frequent references to the meetings of

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32 Dean L. May, introduction to A Dependent Commonwealth: Utah's Economy from Statehood to the Great Depression, Charles Redd Monographs in Western History No. 4 (Provo, Utah: Brigham University Press, 1974), xii.

the Stockmen's Association. One private journal reported that fellow stockmen really respected whomever they elected to an office in the Stockmen's Association. The Coalville Times always noted the large shipments of sheep that passed through Coalville as they were going to Eastern markets. Another indication of the importance of sheep-raising to Coalville and Summit County is the frequent mention in the City Council meetings of the taxes levied on each head of sheep.

Dean L. May points out that Utah farmers experienced flush times during World War I when there was a heavy demand for American farm products. From 1910 to 1920, according to Thomas G. Alexander, agriculture was the mainstay of Utah's economy; both the number of farms and the agricultural acreage increased although the total rural population continued to

34 The Coalville Times, 14 February 1913; 13 March 1914; 20 March 1914.

35 Myrla Lind Robinson interview.

36 The Coalville Times, 5 June 1896; 13 September 1901; 13 May, 1903; 27 September 1912.

37 Ibid, 27 July, 1894. Blonquist Bros.' tax assessment on 5,000 sheep raised to $1.50 a head. The Coalville Times, 10 August 1894, announced the city council had reduced this assessment for 340 head. The Coalville Times issue of 24 July 1897 mentions a sheep license being charged for sheep owners.

decline relative to the urban population. There was an increase in the number of farms in each county except Grand, Juab, Morgan, and Wasatch.\textsuperscript{39} Figures are not given for Coalville specifically but were tabulated for Summit County.

The farmers could get more land because changes had been made to the Homestead Act. The average farm size was 156.7 acres in 1910 and had increased by 1920 to 196.8 acres.\textsuperscript{40} This was quite a change from the twenty-acre farms assigned to early Utah pioneers when Brigham Young wanted to share the land with all the incoming immigrants.

The high cost of shipping long distances to major markets created another problem for Utah farmers.\textsuperscript{41} Coalville farmers may have shipped hay, wheat, barley, and potatoes. Other farmers found sugar beets to be profitable, but for some reason, they did not become a major crop for Coalville.

During the period before the United States' entry into World War I, however, the development of canneries and creameries widened the market for many crops and products. Efforts were made for Coalville to have a creamery, but

\begin{footnotes}
\item Alexander, 36; Peterson, 112.
\item Alexander, 94, footnote 9, quoting from E. B. Brossard, "Some Types of Irrigation Farming in Utah," Bulletin No. 177, Utah Agricultural College Experiment Station, Logan, Utah, December, 1920, 5, 6, 10, 11, 15, 18; Measures of Economic Changes in Utah, 1847-1947, Utah Economic and Business Review, Bureau of Economic and Business Research, School of Business, University of Utah (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1947), Section 5, 46.
\item Alexander, 37.
\end{footnotes}
residents finally gave their support to the one established in nearby Hoytsville. The Coalville Times mentions the first time cheese was offered for sale and when stockholders' meetings were to be held.\textsuperscript{42}

High prices and reduced freight rates stimulated farm production. Fruit crop acreage increased, and field-, truck-, and grain-crop acreage continued to grow during the decade. Although superior varieties of seeds were not introduced into Utah before 1900 and in some areas not until 1915, the development of better grades of wheat, especially strains such as Turkey Red, made the Utah product more easily marketable\textsuperscript{43} as farmers took advantage of these improvements. Coalville farmers took advantage of the benefits the State Bureau of Horticulture offered to improve the quality and quantity of suitable fruits for the colder climate of Coalville.

The farmer's life was comparatively pleasant during the decade. From 1909 to 1918 monthly pay for farmhands without board increased fifty percent, from about fifty-six dollars to eighty-four dollars.\textsuperscript{44} Utah farm income averaged $2,300 per year during the first decade of the twentieth century, which allowed farmers a fairly reasonable standard of living.

Another change came in the way businessmen financed new companies. After statehood, it became more common for Mormon

\textsuperscript{42}The Coalville Times, 14 February 1896; 19 July 1901.

\textsuperscript{43}Alexander, 36.

\textsuperscript{44}Ibid., 37.
businessmen to associate with Eastern capitalists because they needed capital to create economic enterprises. Coalville citizens reflected this attitude when they consistently urged any and all new prospective businesses such as the briquette plant to set up operations in their city. The local men did not have sufficient capital to finance a new bank, mine or other enterprise without help from outside. Several attempts to get residents to buy stock in the sugar beet industry, to form a bank, or even to bring in the telephone company, failed for lack of support. The local people did combine with entrepreneurs from Ogden to organize the Coalville Bank and the Summit Furniture Store—a significant change from when the L.D.S. Church developed the Grass Creek Mine and made the stake president the manager. Another example is when the high officers of the L.D.S. Church strongly urged its members to support the Coalville and Echo Railroad and placed the stake president in charge of construction. The changing economic state of affairs meant that Mormons, inactive Mormons, and non-Mormons worked together to build the economy of Coalville and made it a better place to live. The organization of the

45 Leonard J. Arrington, "Commercialization of Utah's Economy," 4. Farmers, miners and businessmen were interdependent. L.D.S. Church leaders said it was all right for Mormon businessmen to cooperate with others not of their faith in improving the business enterprises of their communities.

46 The Coalville Times, 7 May 1909.

bank, the Summit Furniture store, and the small local railroads are examples of local businessmen cooperating with outside capitalists.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, several banks were organized, the Coalville Bank being one of them, as part of the general growth of banking in Utah. Because of the depression of the 1880s, little financial activity in the state occurred until after the turn of the century. By the end of 1910 Utah had seventy-eight state and private banks.\(^48\) The farmers needed the bank services for the mortgages they began to place on their farms by following new agricultural trends. Before the advent of the Coalville bank, people borrowed money from stores like the Coalville Co-op. They merely signed a slip of paper and made no formal arrangements. It is reported that the bank's taking over the loan business caused some resentment from the friendly general store management who had been so willing to help people previously.\(^49\) A few small businesses went broke because they extended too much credit and couldn't collect from hard-pressed patrons. Even The Coalville Times itself contained regular pleas for customers to either bring in produce or pay up so the paper could continue operating.


Another change came when the state moved to a commercial economy and people demanded new retail outlets. The old general store had sufficed when not too many people demanded "store goods." With the increased money supply generated by the commercial economy, people wanted dry goods stores, shoe stores, jewelry stores, liquor stores, repair shops, and other enterprises to be located on the Main Street of their towns. This pattern appeared in Coalville, as business dwindled for the Coalville Co-op while other small stores opened up.

All this has illustrated the flowering of Coalville, from 1880 to 1914. The people had considerable vitality and life was abundant. Yet, there was still a good deal of economic self-sufficiency. Miners wanted to work when they could even though it meant putting up with hard working conditions. Farmers supplied most of their own food but began buying many household articles and equipment from the stores. The people felt close to each other and enjoyed their community and its amenities of music and entertainment at the Opera House, the intellectual stimulation of the Webster Society, the social exchanges at the S.L.B. Club and Women's Culture Club for women, and the I.O.O.F., Maccabees, and Knights of Pythias lodges for men, and a full-fledged program to include every member of the Mormon Church with responsibility and opportunities for service and growth.

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50 Arrington, 6.
One writer claimed that the Church retreated on economic issues and that the household heads themselves developed independent ways to take care of their problems, after the necessary cooperative pioneer efforts were finished. Whether this was so, or the Church and the hard-working families can be given credit, the foundation was laid in the developmental period which made the community successful in the mature period. The families themselves by diligence, application, and ingenuity constantly sought to better themselves, but the Church and community leaders provided the programs and activities which allowed families to participate in a full and wholesome life. The British immigrants adapted quickly to community life and felt the quality of their lives was even better than it had ever been in their native land.

Whether Coalville went into the decline usual to the small Mormon villages of Utah after reaching the flowering stage is difficult to assess without further study. The population went down to 965 in 1920, probably because none of the mines were operating and there was no more land. The residents who stayed maintained their homes and farms, and after stabilization of the institutions under an agricultural economy, the situation remained constant for many years.

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Indeed, Coalville, was like the other Mormon towns about whom Eugene England commented, that no really great changes occurred until after 1940. Young people grew up knowing that unless they could inherit the family farm or work in the family business, they would have to move away from Coalville.

The population figures present insight into the economic picture, as presented in Chapter Three. To review, in 1870, the population was 619 and by 1900 it was 1252 in the whole Coalville precinct, and 808 in the city itself. In 1910 the figures were 1445 and 1252, respectively, but by 1920 the population was only 965 in the precinct and 771 in the city. The census figures show that Coalville did grow into a sizable community from the time of the pioneer struggles. This took place by natural increase and by immigration of converts to the L.D.S. Church. The immigrants stopped coming to Coalville as soon as the mines declined. Yet, as has been shown, in 1900 there were as many miners as farmers in the town. There was a constant draining off of young people because the community had no better economic resources than the farms, and only one person in each family could inherit the original land. Many of these small original farms had already been sold because they were too small or too marginal to provide a living for a growing family. The limiting resource was lack of land, not water.

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52 Eugene England, Brother Brigham (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1980), 211, 212.
However, no successful economic enterprise was sufficient to build the economy to any degree. Outmigration of whole families also occurred as the wage earners sought employment or better farms in Ogden, Salt Lake City, Park City, Canada, Oregon, Washington, Wyoming, or other prospective places. This thesis has discussed how the coal miners tried to find work in the mines in Carbon County and in Wyoming, or even as far away as Oregon. Evidently, it was a time of high mobility for many Utah families, as all were seeking places to provide the comforts of life for themselves and families. Coalville migrating families joined others, often in a Church-organized effort like the ones to the Grande Ronde Valley in eastern Oregon, south-central and southeastern Idaho, Star Valley and Big Horn Basin in Wyoming, Alberta province in Canada, or to Chihuahua, Mexico. Dislocations must have been wrenching but repaid the families when they found better economic conditions. It is very probable that some of those who could have made the strongest contribution to church and civic institutions were the ones most aggressive in searching for a better place.

In conclusion, the citizens of Coalville certainly tried to inject energy into their economy. Every rumor of new discoveries of minerals was hailed with enthusiasm in the local press. Several times great excitement occurred as

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someone claimed a discovery of silver on Silver Creek, or copper on the Weber.\textsuperscript{54} The editor of The Times was constantly urging people to bring new industries to Coalville. An example is his enthusiasm about the brick-making plant.\textsuperscript{55} He exclaimed about the qualities of the nearby clay beds and how more houses could be built and urged some enterprising person to take advantage of this abundant resource. Again, it was lack of capital that held a prospective organizer back.

The chapters in this thesis have pointed out how Coalville developed into a very desirable community. Chapter One described the struggles and hardships of the first residents in establishing homes and farms in what had been a previously uninhabited area. The people of Coalville lived much the same as those in other Mormon villages and patterned their lives in accordance with the teachings of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. Physical hardships, diseases, death of loved ones, and the continual effort to obtain food and other necessities of life tested their faith.

The pioneer struggle extended from 1859 to 1869, a short time after Coalville's organization as a town, and about the time the railroad was being constructed. During this period, the people built the first irrigation canal, a community fort for protection from the Indians, and the log meetinghouse for

\textsuperscript{54} The Coalville Times, 27 July, 1894; 3 August 1894; 24 May 1895; 27 December 1901; 24 January 1902; 26 June 1903.

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid, 12 April 1895.
church, school and recreation. Working men earned a little cash from helping to construct the Deseret Telegraph in 1867, but little amounts of cash circulated. Farmers made some money by selling supplies to Johnston's Army when it left Utah by way of Echo Canyon in 1861, but the building of the Union Pacific Railroad really supplied the most cash income to the workmen of Coalville. The pioneer economy taught cooperation and endurance but did not supply the farm implements, home furnishings, and comforts that cash would buy. The railroad, a great boon when it furnished employment, also brought non-Mormons, machinery, and supplies into the Coalville area and was a major factor in producing change.

Coalville's second phase, discussed in Chapter Two, was a time of development between 1869 and 1880, when the mines reached their peak. The discovery of coal in the canyons east of Coalville at about the same time the first settlers came changed Coalville's history. Instead of being only an agricultural village, Coalville became the first mining center of Utah when the abundant coal resources attracted developers with the necessary capital to make the mines productive. Many British immigrants came to Coalville to work in the mines and added a distinctly British touch to the community.

Eager Coalville residents, looking toward a more prosperous future, voluntarily built a grade for tracks to be laid to the mines in Chalk Creek and Grass Creek. The L.D.S. Church halted construction when it discovered that the
monopolistic Union Pacific in pursuing its own interests preferred to ship its higher-quality coal from Wyoming to the market in Salt Lake City. By refusing to send sufficient coal cars to the Coalville mines, the railroad effectively reduced the business of the Coalville mines. Although the business practices of the Union Pacific Railroad were often blamed for the decline in the coal mines, the quality of the Coalville coal was also a major factor. The softer, lignite-type product found in the area could not be marketed as readily as the superior Wyoming coal. Had the coal been of better quality it is likely the Union Pacific Railroad would have made great efforts to gain control of the mines, or at least work closely with the mine owners. When the Union Pacific became anxious to profit from the Park City mine business, it considered it well worth the expense of building a parallel track from Park City to Echo and then proceeding to force the Utah Eastern Railroad out of business. In any case, the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad in the 1880s shipped a high quality of coal from Carbon County and effectively competed with the Union Pacific for the Salt Lake City coal business. So Coalville would have been hurt by that development, if it had not already lost out by the Union Pacific's manipulations. A few of the mines still continued in business by catering to the wagon hauling trade.

Agriculturally, during this time, the farmers learned a great deal about their soil and the climate and what would
grow best. Many chose to raise horses or cattle and some turned to sheep-raising. The family gardens supplied fresh fruits and vegetables, and people no longer had to travel to Salt Lake for supplies because businessmen established stores in Coalville that could take care of most needs. The incorporated town government and business institutions kept in mind the needs of both the farming and mining sectors. The lack of arable land rather than the lack of water limited the agricultural growth.

Chapter Three referred to the Federal Censuses of 1870 and 1900 to describe the character of the population with respect to the age of the population, numbers of children, occupations, amount of schooling and other data of interest. The population reached a peak in 1910 but declined steadily into the 1920s. The population decline can be attributed to the final closing of the mines, not enough farm land, and the commercialization of what farms remained so that fewer workers were required, and that the more highly educated sought better pay in other localities. Miners and farmers were about equal in numbers in 1900 but the number of miners dwindled and by the third generation economic factors were forcing young people seeking satisfying employment opportunities to migrate to other locations.

Chapter Four detailed the L.D.S. Church organization and its program for involving every member in some sort of activity. The L.D.S. Church remained the dominant influence
in the community. Changes in leadership, such as the installation of a new stake president, emphasized that a new era was beginning. Various outlets for social life existed, showing that even for those with different religious views, an abundance of clubs, community affairs, plays, sports or musical events presented opportunities for participation and ways to enjoy life.

Chapter Five discussed the political situation in Summit County and how the gentiles from Park City contested the Mormon voting strength. The coming of statehood in 1896 and the joining of Utah citizens in the two national political parties brought Utah, and, of course, Coalville, politically in line with the rest of America. The Church teaching that members should be self-sufficient carried into their political attitudes, and members welcomed the chance to vote independently of the local church hierarchy.

The coming of statehood resulted in at least two major advantages politically: (1) the federally-appointed carpetbag officials left Utah; (2) people voted by secret ballot for local citizens they considered to be qualified for the various governmental offices. Church leaders no longer felt the need to advise members in closed meetings concerning political matters. Instead, the Church encouraged people to attend either Republican or Democrat political party conventions, or to attend precinct meetings to vote for selected delegates and committee members.
The gentiles began coming to Coalville with the Union Pacific Railroad and kept the people from being isolated in their viewpoints. The railroad agents, mine managers, doctors, engineers, and survey crews were mostly non-Mormon, which gave the L.D.S. people an opportunity for contact with persons of differing life styles than that of the typical Mormon. These non-Mormons, though a minority, participated in civic affairs and politics. Thus, changes occurred in the political organizations of Coalville.

The residents enjoyed a peaceful, agricultural rhythm of life with all the amenities of a solid church organization, good schools, responsible town officials, and community-supporting businesses. The quality of life was good for nearly everyone and offered opportunities for church and civic service, as well as for recreation and entertainment. Coalville was a good place to raise a family and always maintained the qualities described by the Deseret News of September 16, 1883: "The people of Coalville are just good, honest souls, building a little at a time to that which they already have. They have security."

Although Coalville reached its peak of population and economic growth in the 1880s, and thereafter numerous efforts were exerted to expand the economy, it never evolved into a commercial city. By 1914, when this study ends, the fortunate citizens who owned farms or businesses remained loyal still and pleased with their home town. They felt they had a good
life. The ones who migrated out to find work or larger opportunities retained love and affection for the values learned in childhood, and a special appreciation for the experience they had enjoyed in Coalville, a typical small Mormon town. The Summit County Bee editor summed up their feelings: "Through all the fanfare of economic and social growth, a basic honesty of being at peace with ourselves, of being good neighbors, or maintaining strong family ties, with a readiness to put a shoulder to the wheel, has prevailed in the people who call Coalville home." \textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{56} Summit County Bee, 11 August 1989.
APPENDIX A

PERSONS IN L.D.S. CHURCH POSITIONS

Coalville Ward

1861-1875
Henry B. Wilde, presiding elder

1875-1877
Robert Salmon, presiding elder

1877-1889
Robert Salmon, Bishop

1889
Coalville Ward Divided

1889
Francis (Frank) H. Wright, Bishop North Ward

1889
George Beard, Bishop South Ward

1895
North and South wards combined

1895-1901
Francis H. (Frank) Wright, Bishop

1901-1909
Frank Croft, Bishop

1909-1912
William Z. Terry, Bishop

1912-1918
John E. Pettit, Bishop

Coalville East Ward

1885-1889
Samuel Clark, Jr., presiding elder

1889-1906
Joseph Wright, presiding elder

1906-1908
William H. Branch, presiding elder

1908-1909
Edward Sawley, presiding elder

Ward renamed as Cluff Ward

1909-1912
John F. Wilde, Bishop

1912-1930
John W. Staples, Bishop

1862-1870
John William Simister

1863
Thomas Beard, John Beard, Sunday School organized

1866-
Willet Harder, Supt. Sunday School

1868-
Mary Ann Walton, Relief Society pres.
Jessie S. Boyden, First Counselor
Sarah Cahoon, Treasurer
Jessie S. Boyden, Secretary

1869
Sarah Wilde, President

1874
Hannah Eldredge, Y.L.M.I.A. President

1882
William F. Barton, Cluff Ward Sunday School Superintendent
APPENDIX B

COALVILLE CITY OFFICIALS

May, 1866  
City surveyed by  
W. W. Cluff  
Charles E. Griffin  
Edmond Eldredge  
Alma Eldredge

Jan. 16, 1867  
Coalville City incorporated  
W. W. Cluff, mayor

City Council  
H. B. Wilde  
W. H. Smith  
H. B. Clemens  
Ira Hinkley  
John Staley

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>Mayor</th>
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<tr>
<td>1871-1872</td>
<td>Henry B. Wilde</td>
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<tr>
<td>1873-1875</td>
<td>Hyrum B. Clemens, mayor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872, 1875-85</td>
<td>Alma Eldredge, mayor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885-1889</td>
<td>John Boyden, mayor</td>
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<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>George Beard, mayor</td>
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<td>1893</td>
<td>Alexander Wright, mayor</td>
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<tr>
<td>1900, 1907</td>
<td>Frank Croft, mayor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>T. J. Lewis, mayor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Frank Pingree, mayor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Frank Rippon, mayor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C

SUMMIT STAKE OFFICERS

1865  William Wallace Cluff, Presiding elder over Wasatch, Morgan, Summit Counties and Southwest Wyoming to Lyman and Rock Springs.


1877  T. L. Allen Committee to build stake house Andrew Hobson George Dunford Charles Richins Chester Staley

W. W. Cluff, Chairman of Guiding Committee Alma Eldredge, secretary Alma L. Smith, Treasurer John Boyden Andrew Hobson Charles Richins

T. L. Allen, Architect and builder

1870  John William Simister, Stake choir leader

1897    William H. Branch, Supervisor of Religion classes

APPENDIX D

SUMMIT COUNTY OFFICIALS

Jan. 20, 1854    Summit County organization approved by Territorial Legislature

March 4, 1861    Official organization
                 Selectmen
                 A. B. Williams
                 Jacob M. Truman
                 William Henefer

                 Henry Wilde, County Treasurer

1863    Thomas Bullock, Chief clerk of House of Representatives, Utah Territory
        Ira Eldredge, First Representative from Summit County

1866    Elias Asper, Presiding Judge, County Court
        Thomas Bullock, County Clerk
        Oscar Lyons, County attorney
        Ed Allison, County Sheriff
        Mr. Bunott, County Surveyor

1865-1867    R. J. Redden, Prosecuting attorney
              George G. Snyder, Judge
Source: Leonard J. Arrington, "Utah's Coal Road in the Age of Unregulated Competition." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 23 (January 1955) p. 36
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A COMMUNITY STUDY OF
COALVILLE, UTAH
PERIOD 1859 - 1914

Norma Eileen Pyper Thompson
Department of History

M. A. Degree, August 1990

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to research original journals and other primary sources and then add material from secondary sources to show how conditions in Coalville were affected by the larger events in state, region and nation. Significant happenings were the Black Hawk Indian War, the coming of the transcontinental railroad, the collapse of Coalville's mining economy and Utah's becoming a state. Changes in agricultural methods and community life were noted.

The results of the study indicated that owners of large farms or businesses managed a productive life for themselves and families, as did those engaged in serving the farm and business sector. Because of shortage of arable land and lack of resources upon which to base industries, the town did not grow. Persons of second and third generations migrated to more promising locations and population declined.

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