

A HISTORY OF _____

*Salt Lake
County*



Linda Sillitoe

UTAH CENTENNIAL COUNTY HISTORY SERIES

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Salt Lake County's history is as unique as its striking landscape of towering mountains, a fertile but semi-arid valley, and a north-running river that empties into a lake saltier than the ocean. For centuries it provided a natural crossroads for a variety of ancient native peoples as well as several modern tribes.

Settled in 1847 by Mormon pioneers, the county's role as crossroads magnified its growing importance as a religious, commercial, governmental, and cultural center. For nearly half a century, the valley became the focal point of an economic and political struggle between Mormons determined to create a practical theocracy (made more vulnerable by the practice of polygamy) and resident non-Mormons whose more typical American values were backed by federal power.

By the time statehood came in 1896, railroads, mining, and industry had drawn a broad spectrum of newcomers from abroad. In fact, the county reached its peak of religious, ethnic, and racial diversity during the early lively decades of the twentieth century.

Now vigorously aligned with the greater United States, Salt Lake County continues to expand its population as well as business, cultural, and recreational opportunities, including the 2002 Winter Olympic Games.

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1996

Utah State Historical Society
Salt Lake County Commission

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Preface

Unique is a word so overused that its meaning has nearly vanished. Yet it is the appropriate word to describe Salt Lake County especially since white settlement in 1847. At that point, its natural role as a crossroads broadened to embrace a center—a gathering point—and soon afterwards a state and regional capital.

This uniqueness holds true despite the fact that at certain times, and in certain ways, Utah's capital county has aligned itself with and even led national trends, for better and worse. In supporting the nation's wars, in suffering during the Great Depression, in welcoming military industry, in experiencing a high post-war birthrate, and in moving from an agricultural to an industrial economy and from urban to suburban living, for instance, Salt Lake County has reflected the national posture.

What other landscape, however, combines towering mountains with a north-running river that empties into a lake saltier than the ocean? What other county became known nationwide and overseas as a church-state, combining political and religious leadership, education, and enterprise with a marital custom that provoked the wrath

of the federal government? Salt Lake County's ongoing battles between air pollution versus industry and transportation depend on an understanding of its unique topography. And an understanding of how formal and informal governance and lifeways work here is just as intrinsically linked with the great battle between Mormonism and Americanism focused within the Salt Lake Valley.

Perhaps a historic view may decipher some of the puzzles of contemporary times. Events within Salt Lake County within the last three decades have inspired numerous books, worldwide media coverage, and even television dramas, unmatched in number and intensity by *any* county not harboring a giant metropolis. Some of these involved crimes that spread tragedy afar but were situations in which Salt Lake County played a crucial role or suffered crucial losses. Others involved the deranged and crafty return of disowned or disavowed portions of early Mormon history, in new and dangerous forms.

Long before European and American explorers and settlers came to the Salt Lake Valley, bands of Utes, Paiutes, Goshutes, and Shoshones, and—before them—Fremont and Promontory peoples gathered to tell and hear the stories that explained their world. History has turned the myths endowed with spirituality toward the objective and documented text, yet it still performs the same function. Through history, we tell ourselves how what is came to be.

From the outset, the sesquicentennial history of Salt Lake County was conceived by the commissioners, staff, and historians who shaped the project as a work that would be accessible to readers of virtually all ages and backgrounds. In addition, it would highlight the contributions of peoples traditionally under-represented in such works.

As a result, I have relied not only on the classic histories provided by the state's great historians of past and present, but also on smaller, self-published community histories, on several excellent ethnohistories, and on a few unpublished theses and essays. I have also depended upon that trusty and sometimes abused workhorse, the print media. These contributions—lively and meticulous—all proved valuable. Many are cited in the chapter notes and the bibliography for the sake of readers who would like to search further. Thanks espe-

cially to the *Deseret News* library, which provided many of the photographs, showing great public spirit as well as superior organization.

This history is further indebted to the Utah State Historical Society, the Salt Lake County Commission and its Centennial Committee, and the Department of Community Support Services staff, as well as to three hardworking and influential project consultants: John R. Sillito, historian and archivist; Dr. DeAnn Evans, professor of communications; and William W. Slaughter, photograph expert and archivist. Each played an invaluable role.

Many thanks, also, to Dr. John S. McCormick, Dr. Stan Layton, and Dr. Michael E. Christensen for close and helpful readings of the manuscript, and to historians George Henry and Dr. Kathryn L. MacKay who, along with Dr. McCormick, participated on the original history committee. Their comments, as well as the ongoing assistance and encouragement of Dr. Allan Kent Powell, Dr. Craig Fuller, and Miriam Murphy of the Utah State Historical Society, were immensely helpful and are greatly appreciated.

General Introduction

When Utah was granted statehood on 4 January 1896, twenty-seven counties comprised the nation's new forty-fifth state. Subsequently two counties, Duchesne in 1914 and Daggett in 1917, were created. These twenty-nine counties have been the stage on which much of the history of Utah has been played.

Recognizing the importance of Utah's counties, the Utah State Legislature established in 1991 a Centennial History Project to write and publish county histories as part of Utah's statehood centennial commemoration. The Division of State History was given the assignment to administer the project. The county commissioners, or their designees, were responsible for selecting the author or authors for their individual histories, and funds were provided by the state legislature to cover most research and writing costs as well as to provide each public school and library with a copy of each history. Writers worked under general guidelines provided by the Division of State History and in cooperation with county history committees. The counties also established a Utah Centennial County History Council

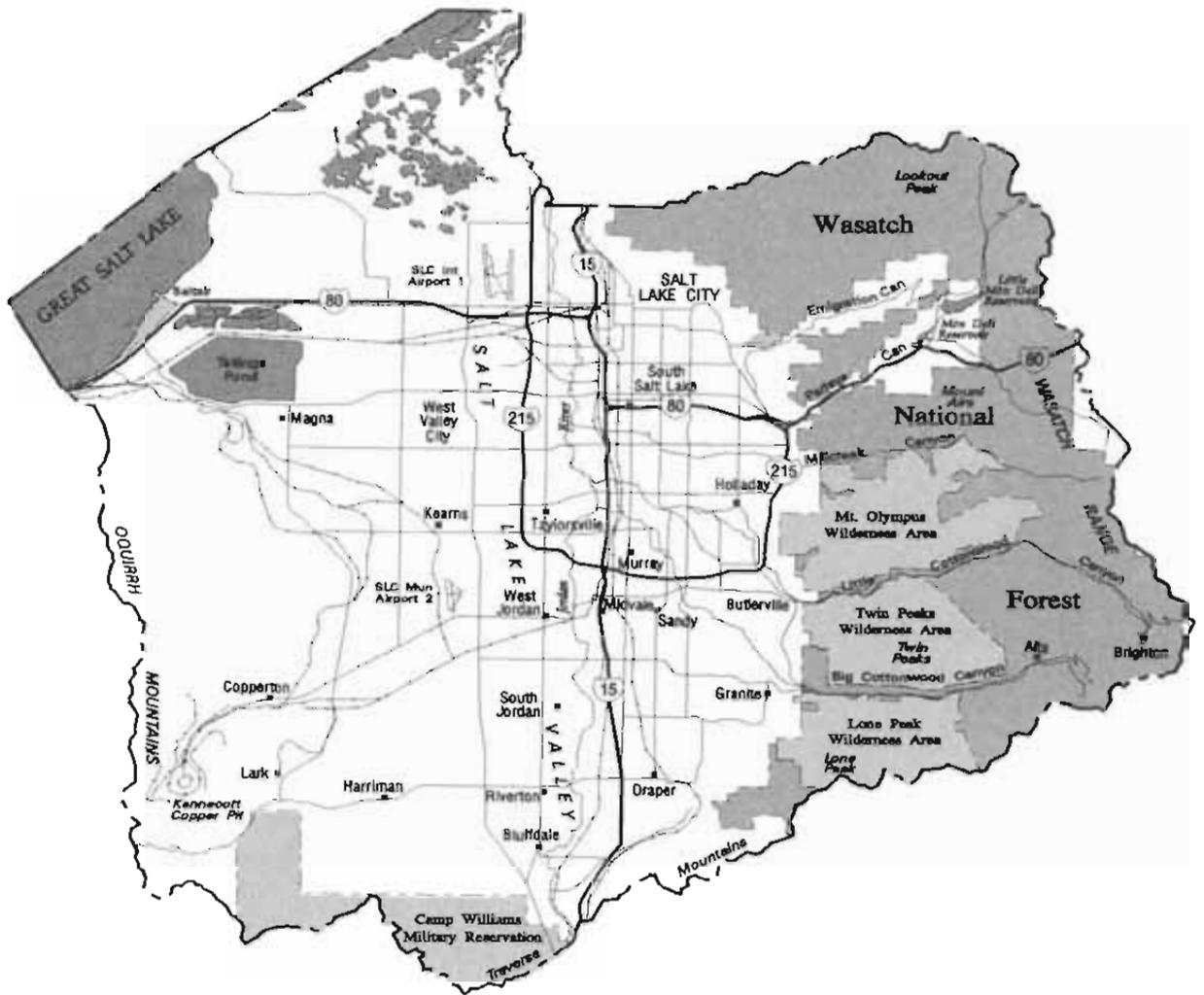
to help develop policies for distribution of state-appropriated funds and plans for publication.

Each volume in the series reflects the scholarship and interpretation of the individual author. The general guidelines provided by the Utah State Legislature included coverage of five broad themes encompassing the economic, religious, educational, social, and political history of the county. Authors were encouraged to cover a vast period of time stretching from geologic and prehistoric times to the present. Since Utah's statehood centennial celebration falls just four years before the arrival of the twenty-first century, authors were encouraged to give particular attention to the history of their respective counties during the twentieth century.

Still, each history is at best a brief synopsis of what has transpired within the political boundaries of each county. No history can do justice to every theme or event or individual that is part of an area's past. Readers are asked to consider these volumes as an introduction to the history of the county, for it is expected that other researchers and writers will extend beyond the limits of time, space, and detail imposed on this volume to add to the wealth of knowledge about the county and its people. In understanding the history of our counties, we come to understand better the history of our state, our nation, our world, and ourselves.

In addition to the authors, local history committee members, and county commissioners, who deserve praise for their outstanding efforts and important contributions, special recognition is given to Joseph Francis, chairman of the Morgan County Historical Society, for his role in conceiving the idea of the centennial county history project and for his energetic efforts in working with the Utah State Legislature and State of Utah officials to make the project a reality. Mr. Francis is proof that one person does make a difference.

ALLAN KENT POWELL
CRAIG FULLER
GENERAL EDITORS



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SALT LAKE COUNTY

“THE WORLD IS WELCOME HERE,” PREHISTORY TO 1847

The bronze statue of Brigham Young, aged by verdigris, topped its pedestal where Main and South Temple streets crossed in downtown Salt Lake City. Under sunny morning skies, Brigham overlooked yet another parade on July 24th celebrating the entry of the first white settlers, Mormon pioneers who had arrived in 1847.

For centuries the valley had been a natural crossroads; for these colonists it became a haven of hope. Within a half decade, the valley represented a county seat and a territorial capital; equally fast, an influx of non-Mormons with typically American expectations clashed with the Mormons' ideal of Zion, and their conflict perplexed and provoked the nation.

Brigham's stance amid the modern traffic in 1994 was familiar and assumed, just as his outstretched hand symbolized his first view from an overlook and the words that became a touchstone: "This is the right place, drive on." Many, not his followers, agreed with his assessment for their own reasons, contributing mightily to the growth, enterprise, cultural richness and diversity, and religious heritage of life in Salt Lake County.

Yet even as it became a metropolitan hub in the Intermountain West, both capital and valley pivoted in any interchange upon identity with Mormonism, “the master condition of [its] differentness. The church was the instrument of its creation, and church and city have lived in the most intimate of symbiotic relationships.” Not only was the bustling domain, extending far beyond Brigham’s gesture, long offered by the church as the best evidence that “Mormonism works,” but to that founding the valley owed “its status as a world capital, with roots implanted deeply in nearly every country.”¹

In fact, gathering below Brigham’s bronze hand in 1994, the parade proclaimed the theme, “The World is Welcome Here,” and the entries displayed an unusual diversity. The historical Brigham might well have been surprised, for he had wielded his considerable clout to secure this stronghold from native peoples, from the United States Army, from non-Mormon merchants, from miners, and from federal officials.

In the 1990s the theme welcoming the world gained a frenetic tone as boosters and politicians triumphed in scheduling the 2002 Winter Olympics in the Salt Lake Valley. In the process, this mainly urban county that sparkled—on clear days—between Rocky Mountain ranges and the Great Salt Lake received worldwide exposure, which would increase to an extent never before known.

By 2002 when the games arrive, the population of nearly 800,000 residents in 1990 will likely reach one million, distributed over 808 square miles that include fast-incorporating cities south of the capital. In some ways the county will remain a Mormon center, yet it is re-visioning itself as a cosmopolitan place, equipped and eager to embrace the international games along with the revenue, revelry, and scrutiny they inevitably will stimulate.

Perhaps Brigham would have understood the enthusiasm. After all, he and other church leaders quickly had established a system to transport converts by the thousands from northern Europe, shepherding them across the Atlantic Ocean and a continent’s breadth to reach and reinforce the Mormon fold. Too, he had welcomed the financial windfall that goldseekers brought as they hurried toward California. Like the prospective Olympic athletes and fans, the goldseekers had spent their money in the valley and moved on.



The traditional July 24th parade in Salt Lake City honors the first Mormon settlers' entry into the valley.

Furthermore, Brigham had delighted (just as Salt Lake City's first female mayor did in 1994) in entertaining the dignitaries who marveled at the “instant city”² that, within a decade of its founding, had hummed with enterprise and seized upon innovation.

Almost at once, those first colonists had commenced pioneering the valley to the southeast and then to the southwest. Some settlements, bolstered by forts and surrounded by farms, became agricultural and transportation centers; many burgeoned into mining towns, soon linked to the nation by rails. From the beginning, the valley's eastern communities—so near the canyons and their creeks—had found preference over the western areas when it came to development. This favoritism of east over west continued for more than a century, producing a tension that ran the valley's length.

The north-south dichotomy differed. Throughout both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Salt Lake City retained a magnetic hold on governance, culture, and commerce despite politicians' cyclical efforts to combine city and county services for the sake of efficiency and fairness. Although *bona fide* cities thrived south of the

capital only a few decades after settlement, the common parlance reflected Salt Lake City's dominance. References to "the city" meant the capital; "the county" meant every place outside the capital's boundaries. The terms persisted despite the illogic, even after the preponderance of the population flowed from "the city" into "the county" in the last half of the twentieth century. Important county and state buildings and prime conference and recreational facilities continued to rise in downtown Salt Lake City even as the fast-growing municipalities to the south flexed new muscle.

Those issues, however, were minor compared to the nineteenth century's concerns about Indian bands and, later, the polarization around oversight by federal armies and officials. The latter arrived knowing that if the Salt Lake Valley could be turned from the Mormons' Kingdom of God into another mainstream county, the entire Utah Territory would gradually align.

In contrast to nineteenth-century conflicts that split the valley and inflamed national opinion, federal connections became increasingly valuable to Salt Lake County during the twentieth century. The forced dependence on government aid during the sparse years of the Great Depression became a heavy commitment to military industry during and following World War II. From that time on, valley leaders aggressively sought to attract other business, industry, and investors to Salt Lake County.

Yet Brigham's instinct also survived to isolate and protect a people who had lost homes, a city, and loved ones to religious persecution. For more than a century, church, political, and civic leaders had perpetuated resistance to the world and its ways, despite this new welcoming. The most recent legislature to convene on Capitol Hill, for instance, remained mostly men for whom civic and ecclesiastical roles were sleeves of the same jacket. The lawmakers in 1994 had shown themselves nearly as reluctant to liberalize the sale of alcoholic beverages as their progenitors. While this might seem a small point, the confusion around procuring and enjoying liquor had long been a chief irritant for the valley's visitors and even for residents not staunchly LDS.

When it came to this and far larger issues, church and state had separated in the valley gradually and unevenly. Mormon bishops, for instance, were no longer civic judges as they had been in Brigham's



The balance of church and state is captured in this view south past the State Capitol and LDS Church Office Building.

day. Public schools no longer met in LDS wardhouses, instructed by teachers appointed by the church. Yet the valley had recently witnessed a double flurry in the courts over LDS prayers offered in valley high schools and in city council meetings.

While the valley's politics and trends eagerly synchronized with the nation in the first half of the twentieth century, certain social issues since, including the civil, equal, and reproductive rights movements, had waged battle in this valley more intensely than elsewhere in the state, sometimes drawing national attention. Here, some laws entered the public canon in direct conformance with current LDS policy; and here—increasingly in recent decades—strategies formed around certain issues with the intent of impacting the political landscape of the United States.

In these ways, the valley remained both center and stronghold. Although the valley's proportion of LDS residents had dropped to less than half the population in 1930, that figure rose to 64.3 percent by 1990 despite an influx of business people, who were often non-Mormon. Still, that proportion was 7.5 percent lower than in the state

as a whole, where thirteen of twenty-nine counties were more than 80 percent LDS, and one 90.9 percent.³

Statistically, then, with a white majority of around 92 percent,⁴ Salt Lake County had not become cosmopolitan despite its increasing sophistication. Although precise figures were not kept, the county probably enjoyed its most cosmopolitan decades during the early twentieth century when racial and ethnic minority sectors, burroughs, and villages flourished in the heyday of mining and smelting. Currently, however, the media captures the diversity maintained by small numbers and broadcasts images of varying cultures, lifestyles, and religious ideas throughout the Intermountain West.

Within the Salt Lake Valley, one might observe *shabbat* with the Congregation Kol Ami, soar on the exultant hymns of the Calvary Baptist Choir, accept Roman Catholic communion in congregations speaking Spanish or Vietnamese, or meditate at the Wasatch Zen Center. One could cheer a soccer team sponsored by the *Fraternidad El Salvador*, enjoy Samoan cricket matches, sign up for lessons in *karate* or *kung fu*, toast the latest triumph of the Utah Affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union, or socialize at the gay and lesbian community's Stonewall Center.

The University of Utah enhanced the valley's sophistication considerably, although only in 1991 would the institution hire a president who was truly an "outsider."⁵ Since statehood in 1896, and on a limited basis even before, the university not only promoted academic achievement but also encouraged a variety of intellectual and cultural pursuits ranging from medical and scientific research to the visual and performing arts. Brigham, who had enjoyed an evening at the theater as much as anyone, would no doubt approve of the contemporary valley's symphonies and its dance, opera, and theater companies, whether internationally known institutions based in Salt Lake City or accomplished groups performing in suburban cities.

The inevitable conflicts arising within a society at once homogeneous and democratic were well known to Brigham also and to the valley's peoples ever after. The very difficulties that had propelled the Mormons from one intended haven to the next in the nineteenth century had taken root in this valley, becoming in the twentieth century "the singular internal tensions which still shape [the valley's] life."⁶

At least since recorded time, paradox lay intrinsic to the valley's striking and exploitable landscape. Its mountainous frame was often described as alpine, while the salty sea to the west ranked as one of Earth's natural wonders. The Utah River, soon renamed the Jordan, ran north instead of south and emptied fresh water into a sea saltier than the ocean. Thus the valley offered easy access to refreshing canyons, powdery ski slopes, and briny waves. Yet the landscape also ensured serious environmental problems for an industrial society. A toxic haze capped the long, narrow valley on calm days, turning foggy in winter until winds or storms skimmed it away.

Of course the landscape was not entirely responsible for pollution woes. Salt Lake County had contributed heavily to the world's supply of copper, silver, and other metals for more than a century, adding oil refining and the manufacture of explosives, ammunition, and missile parts in more recent decades. Such enterprises not only bolstered the economy and offered employment, but tainted the air, the land, and the water to degrees that currently attract the attention of federal regulators. Additionally, as automobiles had revolutionized the early twentieth century lifestyle and suburban cities mushroomed in its latter decades, the valley provided the central sector of the corridor through the populous Wasatch Front. By 1994 the valley's freeways and main arteries clotted during the workweek with commuters, and exhaust fumes rose around each creeping vehicle as evidence of its occupants' frayed nerves.

Every mile of progress had its price, a truth learned earlier by the peoples who had frequented the valley before settlement. During the effort to attract the 1996 Winter Games, Olympic boosters contacted the Ute Indian Tribe, seeking its involvement. Since Europeans and Asians evidenced a consummate curiosity about Native Americans, committee members traveled to the Uintah-Ouray Reservation. Late one night of powwow drumming and dancing, they presented tribal chairman Luke Duncan with a formal invitation and an airplane ticket to an Olympic meeting in Japan.

After accepting, the Ute leadership thought further about its involvement in the Olympic plans. The snow created artificially for the Wasatch ski slopes left a gummy residue in the eastward flow of air, a residue that fell on reservation lands. The profits the games gen-

erated would mainly enrich the cities of the Wasatch Front. Also, the glory of hosting the international games would bless the descendants of the intruders who had pushed their way west, demolished many native cultures, and established their own way of life. The Utes returned the airplane ticket.⁷

For a number of years, however, the Utes participated in the July 24th parade, sending a delegation from the reservation to file below Brigham's hand and sometimes win a prize. Ute history, too, was mixed by human impulses. In 1994, when the Days of '47 proclaimed its welcome to the world, the parade entries represented people of many races and cultures along with the usual floats celebrating pioneer settlement.

In a sense the world already lived in Salt Lake County and always had, if the term indicated people who were not defined by a century's majority. The heritage of the present Indian tribes included the Fremont, the Desert Gatherers, and peoples alive in unrecorded time. African-Americans had been among early explorers and had arrived, free and slave, with the first Mormon wagons. The fast-growing city had fast attracted business, and with non-Mormon merchants came families and then clergy, hoping to augment, oppose, or convert the Mormons. The railroads fed communities such as Little Syria, Greektown, Japanese Town, and Chinatown's Plum Alley. Sports, recreation, holidays, and the arts all encouraged mingling between peoples; by the 1990s festivals displayed a range of talent and tradition that helped to compensate for small minority communities.

As Salt Lake County approached its sesquicentennial, it set about redefining, through its Olympic bid, its colorful, conflicted, and unique identity. While the focus lay on recreation and celebration, the effort required solving old problems and dealing with longstanding conflicts as well. Even as the valley pushed confidently into a new century, it reenacted certain elements of its past, for its common legacy encompassed desperation and triumph, conflict and change, optimism and conservatism.

Perhaps the Mormon pioneers could not have chosen a better geographical setting than the Salt Lake Valley. They were not the first to marvel at its potential or its contradictions. Viewed from any



From the earliest sightings, the Great Salt Lake captivated and mystified explorers, swimmers, and sailors, and frustrated those who tried to tame or exploit its power. The Municipal Boat Harbor is pictured here ca. 1940. (Utah State Historical Society)

canyon overlook, the vista was breathtaking. To the east, the Wasatch Range rose precipitously, with canyon streams lacing the semiarid but fertile valley below. To the west, the Oquirrh Range, thickly forested, had been named by Paiutes as they watched the “shining mountains” catch the first morning rays.⁸ The Utes called the valley a grasslands area; although early Mormon historians later painted it a barren desert, it abounded with plant and animal life and had long supported humans.

In fact, the valley—approximately twenty miles at its widest by forty miles at its longest—rested on the sands of an ancient sea, bisected by the Wasatch Fault. Yet on this geologically shaky ground, the Mormons would construct the intended Kingdom of God. Feeling themselves loyal and wronged Americans, the colonists had entered Mexican Territory, which, in 1848, was ceded to the United States.⁹

The Great Salt Lake delighted, mystified, and defeated human

visitors. Roughly seventy-five miles long and fifty miles wide, its heavy waters hosted no life but algae and brine shrimp; yet numerous species of bird and waterfowl swarmed its marshes. Deer, antelope, and other animals populated its islands, inspiring Indians to swim over and hunt. The salty waters glittered in the sun, mirrored vivid sunsets, warmed cold airflows—encouraging clouds to unload their moisture—and unleashed mighty waves when stirred by the wind. Human settlement, mining, and recreation would affect the lake only slightly. Its shallows determined its borders in a rhythm that eluded human ken. Repeatedly it rose and swept away piers and resorts, or retreated and left miles of stinking mud in its wake.¹⁰

The lake's power and majesty bespoke its heritage as the child of the legendary Lake Bonneville, which once covered 20,000 square miles in what are now Utah, Nevada, and Idaho. For centuries, more than one thousand feet of water had surged over what became the Salt Lake Valley. Yet even Lake Bonneville had not appeared until relatively late in the geological drama. The earliest dated rocks extended back two billion years before Lake Bonneville swelled over the western continent, and the rocks held hints of Earth's oldest secrets.¹¹

One billion years before human reckoning, the precursor to the Pacific Ocean had lapped against a shore that would become the Great Basin. Then 400 to 500 million years ago, small marine life teemed in this shallow sea, including fish, clams, sponges, and snails. Had a scientist lived then to draw an imaginary line and call it an equator, it likely would have crossed these warm waters due to the slow drift of entire continents. This era extended over more than 500 million years.

Then, over several million years more, mountains rose above the waves, and dinosaurs roamed the swampy flatlands, leaving a history of bone in the mud. Later still, about 50 million years ago, huge upheavals created the Uinta Mountains and the Uinta Basin to the east; still later, the Colorado River began cutting its way through the plateau. Relatively late in the complicated faulting of the Utah thrust, which occurred 140 to 50 million years back, the Wasatch Range appeared. By then—about 10 to 15 million years ago—Lake Bonneville lay enclosed by the Greater Salt Lake Basin. As mountains

shifted and faults developed, volcanoes left a legacy of mineral wealth.

About 10 million years ago, the recognizable outline of the Great Basin began to appear as earthquakes, and the resultant faults, zipping between huge blocks of earth, began to form its topography. At 800,000 B.C., the Ice Age saw glaciers creep from the north, possibly accompanied by wet weather. Throughout, Lake Bonneville etched its varying height in benchmarks along the eastern foothills. Little Cottonwood Canyon to the south was scooped into being as ice mountains crashed toward the lake.

By 100,000 B.C., the glaciers had retreated, and by 12,000 B.C., Lake Bonneville was shrinking. Before long, in geological time, humans hunted the meadows and forests for large mammals including the mastodon and mammoth, the camel, musk ox, and horse. Clovis and Folsom spear points would be named by anthropologists centuries later when they deemed these the first people known to have roamed the continent. As the wet period continued, the great beasts and even the camels and horses died off; scientists would debate whether Clovis man had overhunted the mammals to extinction or, more likely, whether the environmental shifts challenged the large mammals beyond their capacity to adapt.

Smaller mammals survived, and grasses offered their seeds and bushes their berries to humans. The forces of nature continued to engrave the mountain ranges and shift the level of the lake. When the waters fell, the caves the lake had carved along its shores sheltered people who then left their own record in the land.

The modern tribes of the Great Basin regarded earlier peoples and their ways on an ancestral continuum as direct as the white settlers viewed the *Magna Carta*. The Desert Gatherers, who lived contemporaneously with the Basket Maker culture to the south, traversed the canyons, plateaus, and valleys subsisting on nuts, berries, insects, and small animals. Their skills were continued by the populous Fremont culture that followed; the Fremont displayed a remarkable versatility in adapting fully to a varied environment that included semiarid desert, canyons, marshes, and meadows.

So adaptable and versatile were the Fremont, in fact, that they would raise more questions for scientists than the artifacts they left

behind could answer. Some were farmers, others nomads; or perhaps groups simply moved from one climate and region to another. The people who left behind clay pipes, animal snares, cattail mats, bone harpoon tips, corrugated pots, and horned figurines decked with feathers elude a strict definition. Fremont, in fact, became “a generic label for a people who, like the land in which they lived, are not easily described or classified.”¹² They gleaned the varied harvest available to a people willing to move and adapt.

The banks of the Jordan River, its delta at the Great Salt Lake, and the surrounding wetlands offered the Fremont fish, waterfowl, and numerous plants including pickleweed, bulrush, mustard, prickly pear, elderberry, and serviceberry. The Fremont carried and stored these and other supplies in woven baskets and clay pottery. The people not only gathered flora but snared rabbits and hunted antelope, deer, and bison as well. Not only did they take advantage of the caves beside the great lake, but they built shallow pithouses or pole and brush huts. Their bone knives and needles were finely wrought, and they left behind grinding stones and other tools as well as gaming pieces, figurines, and polished stone balls that hinted at unknown sports and rituals.

A characteristic gray pottery came to identify the Fremont, though it, too, varied. These people were also known for their one-rod-and-bundle baskets as well as moccasins constructed from a deer hock or mountain sheep leg.¹³ When scientists unearthed the artifacts of the Fremont, they found those of a people they named Promontory lying closer to the surface and intermingling, somewhat, with shards that indicated a Pueblo-like culture.

The Fremont and the Anasazi in the pueblos to the south were known to share certain traits, though the Anasazi favored larger social groups and systems. Perhaps the Promontory bison hunters displaced or dispersed the Pueblo-like culture. Perhaps the Fremont blended into other existing groups. Perhaps scientists' need to categorize and classify simply did not fit the adaptability of the early peoples.¹⁴ More definable and closer to sunlight in those caves lay evidence of the Shoshonean tribes of the Great Basin, linked to one another by language and kinship.

Leaders and healers representing Shoshonean tribes would join

anthropologists in the early 1990s in seeking to protect the burials that were becoming exposed at the edge of the shifting Great Salt Lake. Whether the remains had been Shoshone, Paiute, Goshute, Ute, or their predecessors made no difference; these burials must be respected and guarded by the descendants.¹⁵

Not only did the tribal leaders and healers address lawmakers about the need to protect these burials physically—a task the anthropologists also supported—but they also emphasized the need to administer to them spiritually in laying them once again to rest. In 1993 the legislators funded \$60,000 for an Indian burial repository to contain those remains, located at This is the Place State Park at the mouth of Emigration Canyon.¹⁶

The parley in the capitol between lawmakers and tribal leaders echoed many such encounters. Although the intermountain tribes were affected later than many by the Spanish and mountain men, by the nineteenth century such incursions became numerous from a relatively new group—Americans who envisioned their land as spanning a continent. These were not explorers who would travel through or trappers who would do business, but armies that galloped beneath a striped banner and wagon trains that unloaded people intent on changing everything.

The Utes were the first affected among the Shoshonean tribes. "To the European intruders, the Ute land seemed very large," wrote a modern Ute historian. "To the People of the Ute bands, the land was sufficient."¹⁷

The Ute tradition held no migration story, for their identification with the land was infinite. Ute homeland extended over most of what would become Utah and Colorado, dipping into northern Arizona and northern New Mexico. The Utes had occupied this area since being named the *Noochee*, or the People, by their creator. "Of the people remaining . . . *Senawahv* said, 'This small tribe of people shall be Ute, but they will be very brave and able to defeat the rest.'"¹⁸

The Utes did not occupy their land in a permanent sense, but moved through it in extended family groups called bands, who found it largely unnecessary to demand yield from the soil. They followed a food supply that changed with the seasons; they sought sanctuary from both winter's cold and summer's heat, worshiped at sacred sites,



The Utes lived in extended family units called bands, migrating through the Rocky Mountain region with the seasons, mingling with and sometimes raiding other tribes, and gathering for business and social reasons. (LDS Church Archives)

found refuge from raiding neighbors, and met in traditional areas for interband or intertribal councils and ceremonies. Yet they did not consider the land unoccupied or available in the way that *settlers*,

who by definition stayed put, owned the land and made it produce later would. To the contrary, the Utes considered this land their home.

The Utes, like other Shoshonean tribes, were gatherers, fishers, and small game hunters, according to the migration pattern of each band. They built willow screens and tied them to cottonwood poles stuck in muddy river banks, then scooped up the fish that swam into the skein. In spring, "as hundreds of birds began to blacken the sky, women knew the gathering season had begun. Families would leave their winter villages and go out into moist hills and desert valleys."¹⁹ Brush and willow houses were built for summer, for breezes provided natural air conditioning; yet the homes could be quickly warmed by a fire built just outside. Berries, seeds, barks, grasses, and even cactus leaves were dried and cached in storage pits for winter along with rabbit skin cordage for making blankets.

The Utes also hunted deer and elk and sometimes buffalo, and their sojourns through the Rockies exposed them to the ways of plains tribes. Hides were stretched into tipis; after a successful fall hunt, dried game was stacked on the willow racks at the top of the tipis, just below the adjustable smoke flaps.

Explorers had contact with the Utes as early as 1550, and word of these strangers may have spread to the bands in northern Utah. A greater impact on Ute culture during these centuries, however, came from the Spanish priests and colonists ruling the pueblos in northern New Mexico. Ute children who became servants in Spanish homes were sometimes allowed to return to their people as adults, providing friendly contacts for the Spanish and bringing with them new skills and customs.

In 1638 eight *Utacas* were captured and forced to labor in workshops in Santa Fe. As Ute slaves became weavers and tanners, new techniques infiltrated their own culture. Most important, from the Ute point of view, they gained access to the Spanish colonists' horses. In 1680 the Pueblo Revolt ousted the Spanish from the area for a dozen years. Ute slaves and servants were freed, and Spanish horses became available in large numbers to southern bands and tribes; as a prime item for trading and raiding, the horse spread to tribes and bands farther north.²⁰

The desire of the Spanish for Indian servants and slaves brought another impact, for it provided an outlet for an intertribal slave market. The mounted and business-oriented Utes became notorious for stealing the children of the unmounted Paiutes and Goshutes. The captives were not always sold to the Spanish, but sometimes they were brought to Ute camps where they and their descendants were gradually absorbed into the band. By the late sixteenth century and during the seventeenth, the Northern Utes were a power in the West. Their horses sped them to the plains where they traded with, learned from, and competed with the Cheyenne, Comanche, Arapaho, Pawnee, and Sioux tribes.²¹

Then in 1776 even as the thirteen colonies on the far side of the continent declared their independence from England, Ute guides led to the Great Basin two of the colonizing Spaniards, fathers Francisco Atanasio Dominguez and Silvestre Velez de Escalante, and a dozen followers. This expedition was fueled by high ambitions—to open a commercial trail to California from tenured Santa Fe and to establish Indian missions.

As far as the Gunnison River, the priests followed the journal of Don Juan Rivera who had made the trek eleven years earlier. Then their guides, whom they named Silvestre and Joaquin, led them along Indian trails north to Utah Lake.²² There they met the Tumpanawach band, a “powerful force in the area in terms of numbers and organization.”²³ Living at the lake’s edge, the Tumpanawach had an ample food supply readily available. Their affable community charmed the padres, who listened to their hosts’ tales of another band which lived near a great salt sea to the north. Escalante recorded, “The other lake . . . covers many leagues, and its waters are noxious and extremely salty.” The Tumpawanach assured their guests that “a person who moistens any part of his body with the water of the lake immediately feels much itching in the part that is wet.”²⁴ The Tumpawanach also described Puaguampe, or “witch doctors,” who lived near the lake, spoke the “Cumanche” language, lived on herbs, and were considered friendly to the Tumpanawach—but with the caveat that they had killed one man. The Utes may have been describing an actual band or a separate tribe, or they may have been teasing their wide-eyed guests and ingratiating themselves. In any event, the priests decided

not to view the salty sea. Instead they left, promising to send other padres who would live among the Tumpanawach and teach them to farm. A century later, the descendants of the Tumpanawach, then known as the Timpanogos Utes, rode into Great Salt Lake City and suggested that the Mormon leaders fulfill that promise.

Despite the intentions of the Catholic priests, no missions were established so far north. Politics were changing dramatically with a revolt from Spain in 1821 and the establishment of Mexico. With this development, "the lands of the Ute People were opened to the fur trade," a Ute historian explained, adding, "initially, the Ute People were also able to take advantage of the intruders who came into Ute territory in search of furs. . . ." ²⁵

Simultaneously with the upheavals to the south, other explorers were entering the Great Basin, including African-American fur traders James P. Beckwourth and Jacob Dobson. Louis Vasquez, Etienne Provost, and Jim Bridger were separately credited with "discovering" the Great Salt Lake in the 1820s. ²⁶ None of these early explorers recorded a band of witching Indians on the lake's shores.

Throughout the years from the 1820s through the 1840s, exploration, surveying, and mapping of the Great Basin continued with maps and descriptions circulating widely. In 1826 Jedediah Smith launched his first exploration from the annual mountain men's rendezvous on the Green River and directed a party of fifteen men through the Salt Lake Valley, continuing southward. By the time the group returned, they had made a wide, arduous circle and crossed the salt flats west of the lake. ²⁷ In the 1840s Kit Carson and John C. Fremont were among those exploring the Great Basin. Carson found the lake a disappointment. He carved a large cross in stone on Disappointment Island, later renamed for Fremont.

In these decades, however, the Old Spanish Trail being cut to the south was more significant to the indigenous peoples than the non-Indian forays into the Great Basin. The Ute bands observed the trail from various vantage points. When it opened in 1829, they saw it as a highway bringing business, for it crossed the lands of the Kapota, Weeminuche, Tumpanawach, and Pah Vant bands. By 1830 the Utes were charging wagon trains a tribute, and Wakara, leader of the Tumpanawach, was gaining a reputation and becoming wealthy. ²⁸

Throughout the 1830s the Utes kept up a brisk trade with the travelers; their animal pelts secured blankets, weapons and ammunition, utensils, and trinkets. But the newcomers left their mark just as Carson had in the stone, for they mapped and publicized the routes, raided for buffalo and other game, and erected trading forts.

The forts centralized the growing relations between the Americans and the Utes. They offered the native people liquor and vice as well as trade and exposed them to diseases to which they had no immunity. Also, the Utes grew increasingly dependent on the convenient utensils and goods available to them at the forts and expected a steady business flow. Thus when beaver hats went out of style and the market crashed, they could not understand why their pelts were turned away. In 1844 they expressed their frustration by burning several trading forts in eastern Utah.²⁹

Still, explorers, surveyors, trappers, and traders had far less impact than would those for whom they opened the way. The routes they discovered, the roads that opened, and the maps and reports depicting adventure and lush, open country found an eager audience in the states. Soon followed "the people who stayed. These were the people who wanted the land of the Utes for themselves."³⁰

While Wakara (anglicized to Walker) and the mounted Utes received a vivid press in the United States, the native peoples encountered most often by immigrants through and to the Great Basin were the unmounted tribes—the Paiutes, Goshutes, and Shoshones. Long before the years of settlement, these bands centered life around the nutritious nut of the pinon pine which blanketed much of the Intermountain West.

As with the Utes, the Paiute culture was spiritually based. The first day's harvest was preceded by a dance beginning at sunset and continuing through the night. "A wise elder, a woman, exorcised any lingering ghosts, then scattered the nuts over the ground . . .," demonstrating gratitude for nature's abundance. "As dancers slowly revolved around the campfire in shuffling steps, they sang in gratitude."³¹

Hunters as well as gatherers, Paiutes drove jackrabbits into long nets made of twisted fiber cordage, then clubbed them. While the meat roasted, the skins were cut into continuous lengths which were



Bands of Paiutes inhabited much of what became Utah and Nevada, migrating with the seasons, gathering pinon nuts and hunting rabbits and other small game. This group shows the effects of acculturation as its poses for an early photographer. (LDS Church Archives)

then twirled into furry strands. These ribbons were woven into robes and blankets. Even mice were skinned for cordage; one blanket, discovered in 1924, had been woven from the skins of six hundred meadow mice and remained in perfect shape decades later.³²

The early encounters between the Shoshonean peoples and the white immigrants engendered fear on both sides. In one area of the West and then another, various bands and then entire tribes were using guerilla warfare to resist the incursions into their homelands

and the disruptions of their lifeways. Atrocities occurred on both sides and were much reported. Those who journeyed west to build new homes felt both justified and vulnerable in their quest; the native peoples felt not only outrage at the invasion but a profound disorientation.

Although the whites' fear of the mounted tribes prompted respect, they derided the unmounted Paiutes, Goshutes, and Shoshones as "Diggers," so called for their custom of digging with sticks for roots, a main component of their diet. Journals of the day referred to them as "wretched, degraded, and despicable" people, invisible by day but emerging at night to steal food and livestock. When the travelers "heard a suspicious noise, they shot in the direction of its source, and at dawn they often found a dead Indian lying nearby." Since the body might belong to a man, woman, child, or elder, "the travelers' stories circulated this information as proof that all 'Diggers' were skulking thieves, no matter what age or sex."³³

One Murray settler, Gottlieb Berger, recalled that his father had moved two wagons of household goods plus cows and oxens to the Salt Lake Valley. The heavily loaded wagons laboring along rough trails became stuck easily, and the immigrants threw items overboard. Berger recalled hearing that his father cast aside four or five hundred pounds of sea biscuits. "It was only a little while until the Indians had gathered them all up. No one had realized that the Indians were near, but just as soon as the biscuits were thrown out, squaws appeared from all sides."³⁴

These bands, nearing starvation as their migration patterns were disrupted, must have viewed the wagon trains as a fearsome bonanza. Unlike the Utes (or the Mormons confronting the goldseekers a few years later), they were in no position to do business. Some of the bolder youngsters, "who naturally blamed the intruders for overrunning and destroying their food-gathering grounds and polluting their waterholes, saw no wrong in helping themselves to one or two of the emigrants' cows. . . ."³⁵

This, of course, was unacceptable to the cows' owners, and the Indians "lived in mortal dread of the stream of trigger-happy white travelers who shot at them as if they were rabbits."³⁶

The trails that first opened for westward caravans in the vicinity of the Great Basin were intended to go *through* not *to* the Salt Lake Valley. The first required squeezing through the nearly impassable Weber gorge to the north of the Salt Lake Valley. In 1846 several groups tried a southern route into the valley, traveling around the tip of the salty lake and continuing west. Regardless of the route taken, the first glimpse of the valley and the salt sea was frequently recorded in glowing terms. One traveler, Heinrich Lienhard, wrote:

The land extends from the mountains down to the lake in a splendid inclined plane broken only by the fresh water running down from ever-flowing springs above. The soil is rich, deep black sand composition doubtless capable of producing good crops. The clear, sky-blue surface of the lake, the warm sunny air, the nearby high mountains, with the beautiful country at their foot, . . . made on my spirits an extraordinarily charming impression. The whole day long I felt like singing and whistling, and had there been a single family of white men to be found living here, I believe that I would have remained. . . .

. . . The morning was so delightfully warm and the absolutely clear water so inviting that we soon resolved to take a salt water bath. The beach glistened . . . and on the shore we could see the still fresh tracks of a bear, notwithstanding which we soon had undressed and were going down into the salty water. We had, however, to go out not less than half a mile before the water reached our hips. Even here it was still so transparent we could see the bottom. . . .³⁷

The last train through the valley in 1846 held the most significance for the Mormon settlers who would enter the valley the following year. The Donner Party found Parley's Canyon impassable and so stopped to climb Little Mountain and cut a road through the heavy brush in what became known as Emigration Canyon. By the time these travelers emerged into the valley, they were weeks behind schedule. Unknowingly, they had eased the way for the next year's Mormon emigrants, but their delay would bring them a horror of exposure, starvation, and cannibalism when autumn snows trapped the company in the Sierra Mountains to the west.

Indeed, the Mormon pioneers and others who made the west-

ward trek felt indebted to the explorers, traders, map-makers, and emigrants who preceded them into what they considered a dangerous but inspired adventure. Unlike most pioneers, the Mormons moved west as a people, a dispossessed city, a devout religious group. Their last attempt at building the Kingdom of God had established Nauvoo, the second largest city in Illinois, boasting a population of ten thousand people.³⁸

The Mormons built Nauvoo after troubles with their neighbors had forced them from Kirtland, Ohio, the site of their first temple and after a miserable experience in Missouri. They were not the only group in nineteenth-century America to find it simpler to relocate than to try to reconcile differing beliefs and customs with others. Civil liberties were undeveloped in the United States courts or in the public tolerance. Freedoms designated in the Bill of Rights were ideals that protected few who differed significantly from the national norms.

More than any other place in their pressured migration westward, Nauvoo had encompassed the Mormon dream of a refuge both godly and powerful. Its politics, press, finance, and culture all were synchronized and directed by church leadership. That very solidarity ultimately reduced Nauvoo to ashes and its people to refugees, for it translated to outsiders as an undemocratic and cultist threat. The communal lifestyle and religious dependence on a prophet led to bloc voting, a private militia, and alarming rumors (essentially true, though officially denied) of polygyny, the taking of more than one wife.

When the Mormons settled beyond the Rockies, they brought the same beliefs and intentions they had defended in Nauvoo, determined to try again. Plural marriage, commonly called polygamy, was acknowledged shortly after the Saints reached the far side of the Rockies and was practiced mainly among the lay priesthood leadership. Though their church was less than two decades old, the Mormons entering the Salt Lake Valley carried a legacy of mob violence, rape, and bloodshed. As Mormon historian B. H. Roberts described one scene in Missouri:

The mob was now let loose upon the unarmed citizens of Far

West, and under the pretext of searching for arms they ransacked every house . . . destroyed much property, and shot down a number of cattle, just for the sport it afforded them. The people were robbed of their most valuable property, insulted and whipped; but this was not the worst. The chastity of a number of women was defiled by force; some of them were strapped to benches and repeatedly ravished by brutes in human form until they died from the effects of this treatment.³⁹

Eventually the founder of Mormonism, Joseph Smith, Jr., had been assassinated.

During the years when trappers and explorers delved into what would later be dubbed "Mormon country," this uniquely American religion had been developing a continent away. In 1830 Joseph Smith, Jr., known roundabout for his accounts of visionary experiences and the publishing of the Book of Mormon, founded a six-member church in Harmony, Pennsylvania. Like many of his neighbors, Smith was fascinated by the Indian burial mounds common in the East, which contained artifacts. Smith said he translated the Book of Mormon from divinely-received gold plates that bore a record of ancient cultures whose descendants included the American Indians. In the Book of Mormon and his later scriptural writings, Smith essentially re-visioned the Christian tradition and placed it in the New World. His interpretation of the Bible led him to reinstate the Old Testament practice of polygamy. By then Smith had been hailed as a prophet by a rapidly growing congregation, and he laid revelation as the church's cornerstone.

Spurned by established Christian denominations, the Mormons quickly saw themselves as a modern chosen people. They needed a promised land in which to build a "new Jerusalem" and prepare for Christ's second coming, which they felt was imminent. That vision not only attracted certain Americans but also appealed to many Europeans in the crowded and polluted cities of the nineteenth century.

Charismatic, energetic, and sometimes poetic, Smith reached his apex in Nauvoo. Not only did he serve as mayor and general of the Nauvoo Legion, but he declared himself a presidential candidate. As his influence grew and the Mormons' earlier troubles in Ohio and

Missouri caught up with them, Smith was jailed on various unproven offenses and finally charged with treason. On 27 June 1844, he and his brother Hyrum were shot to death when a mob attacked the Carthage Jail where they and other church leaders were being held.

Joseph Smith's death in his prime predictably left the Mormons in disarray and caused schisms within the fold. His legal wife, Emma Hale Smith, eschewed and denied the practice of plural marriage. She and others claimed her young son as his father's rightful successor. They returned to Kirtland.⁴⁰ Ultimately Brigham Young, president of the Council of Twelve Apostles, led the largest body of the Saints west, where he would be officially named church president. Hyrum Smith's widow Mary Fielding Smith made the trek, and her progeny would become prominent in the leadership of the "Utah church."

As Smith's close associate and great admirer, Brigham Young embodied this eventful and difficult past when he roused himself from his wagon sickbed for a look at the Salt Lake Valley. Within days he and his counselors climbed a peak north of the future city and, inspired by the sight that lay before them, raised a banner. Tradition held that this was the Stars and Stripes, but actually a handy yellow handkerchief with black polka dots was waved to express that initial impulse, then replaced by the American flag and due ceremony. When the Stars and Stripes did rise above the valley, so did a second flag—the flag of Zion, the banner of the Kingdom of God.⁴¹

The church leaders established a site for the temple, designated natural resources as common property, laid out the city on a standard grid they called the plat of the City of Zion, and gradually distributed untitled land. Within four months, nearly 1,700 people lived in the valley, and by its first anniversary the population stood at nearly five thousand, twice the number needed for urban status.⁴²

The land, of course, was at issue first and last—this grassy crossroads, banked by mountains beside a salty sea that lapped at caves and their ancient secrets. Even as differences arose between native peoples and the colonists, between the federal government and the Mormons, between those who chose to live in the city or homestead south of it, between longtime residents and newcomers, the land began to have its way with the people.



Wagon trains transported colonists to western states prior to the transcontinental railroad. The Perpetual Emigrating Fund shepherded thousands of European immigrants, who converted to Mormonism, into the valley. (LDS Church Archives)

Like the Indian bands, the colonists settled near the waterways but diverted them to serve agricultural needs. They sought refuge from summer’s heat in the nearby canyons and “forted up” in close quarters for the snowy winters. In desperation some of them, too, became “diggers,” surviving for a time on the roots the Paiutes, Goshutes, and Shoshones taught them were edible. Like Wakara and other Ute chiefs along the Old Spanish Trail, Brigham Young would exact a toll on main thoroughfares. Like native peoples, the Mormons believed the land was theirs—but to subdue not to traverse—and felt they had been chosen to live on it by their creator.

Interestingly, as the Mormon leaders designed the State of Deseret, they drew a circle beyond the valley as far-reaching as the lands the Utes claimed, though including less of Colorado and extending toward the west coast. Had Congress given the nod, Deseret would have become the largest state in the Union and likely would have flown two flags—the Star Spangled Banner and the flag of Zion.

That proposition, however, was highly unrealistic and did not occur. The future of the Salt Lake Valley with all its conflicts and triumphs waited to unfold. Crossroads it had been and remained; center it fast became; but its destiny as a capital county would be hard won. And long before the valley posted an official welcome, the world would begin to come.

ENDNOTES

1. Dale L. Morgan, "Salt Lake City, City of the Saints," in Ray B. West, ed., *Rocky Mountain Cities* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1949), 187.

2. This term was coined and applied to Salt Lake City, among others, by historian Gunthar Barth.

3. *Population Profiles of Utah Counties, Mountain States and United States: 1990* (Logan: Population Research Laboratory, Department of Sociology, Social Work, and Anthropology, Utah State University).

4. *U.S.A. Counties*, compact disk (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census Data Users Services Division, 1994). County minority ratios are computed by city and area for Salt Lake County by Anne Mathews and Lili Wright, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 20 March 1994.

5. Arthur K. Smith, who became president September 1, 1991, was not technically the first non-Mormon, for Joseph T. Kingsbury (1897–1916) considered himself non-Mormon. However, Kingsbury's close ties to LDS leaders identified his administration closely with the church. Other presidents were attracted from posts outside Utah but were LDS.

6. Morgan. "Salt Lake City," 187.

7. Author's observation of the Uintah-Ouray powwow (Fort Duchesne, July 1991). Follow-up interview with Larry Cesspooch, director of public relations and media, Ute Tribe (Salt Lake City, March 1992).

8. Lynn R. Bailey, *Old Reliable: A History of Bingham Canyon, Utah* (Tucson, Arizona: Westernlore Press, 1988), 11.

9. One-third of Mexican Territory became the southwest sector of the present United States following the Mexican War (which began in 1846) and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. This area's population was estimated at 250,000.

10. Vivid histories of the Great Salt Lake include Dale L. Morgan, *The Great Salt Lake* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1947), and Peter G. Czerny, *The great Great Salt Lake* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976).

11. For detailed geographical information, see Donald K. Grayson, *The Desert's Past: A Natural History of the Great Basin* (Washington, D.C.:

Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 68–69, or Jess D. Jennings, *Prehistory of Utah and the Great Basin*, University of Utah Anthropological Papers no. 98 (Salt Lake City, 1978), 3–4.

12. David B. Madsen, *Exploring the Fremont* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Natural History Museum, 1989), 2.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Author’s observation of legislative lobbying in State Capitol (Salt Lake City, 1991). Steven R. Simms, “Native American Burials in the Great Salt Lake Marshes: Problems and Solutions” paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Utah Statewide Archaeological Society, Salt Lake City, 1991.

16. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 24 April 1995.

17. Fred A. Conetah, *A History of the Northern Ute People* (Fort Duchesne, Utah: Uintah-Ouray Ute Tribe, 1982), 19.

18. Ibid., 2.

19. Ibid., 10.

20. Ibid., 28–29.

21. Ibid., 30.

22. Herbert E. Bolton, *Pageant in the Wilderness: The Story of the Escalante Expedition to the Interior Basin, 1776* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1972), and Fray Angelico Chavez, trans., Ted J. Warner, ed., *The Dominguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition Through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995).

23. Conetah, *Northern Ute People*, 25.

24. *Deseret, 1776–1976: A Bicentennial Illustrated History of Utah by the Deseret News* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Co., 1975), 13.

25. Conetah, *Northern Ute People*, 31.

26. Historians disagree on the lake’s discoverer. Dale L. Morgan challenges Louis Vasquez’s claim in his *The Great Salt Lake*. Jack B. Tykal writes in *Etienne Provost, Man of the Mountains* (Liberty, Utah: Eagle’s View Publishing, 1989) 49, that Provost “had a good claim” as “the discoverer of the lake from the American side of the fur trade, for it is quite possible that Donald MacKenzie of the British Northwest Company saw the lake while trapping the Snake and Bear Rivers in the years 1818 to 1822.” It is clear that by this era both European and Anglo-American explorers traversed the Great Basin and were familiar with the lake.

27. For a rich description, see Dale L. Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953).

28. Conetah, *Northern Ute People*, 33.

29. Ibid., 33–34.

30. Ibid., 35.

31. David Hurst Thomas, et al., eds. *The Native Americans: An Illustrated History* (Atlanta: Turner Publishing, Inc., 1993), 38.

32. Ibid., 38–39.

33. Ibid., introduction by Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., 13.

34. Murray Bicentennial History Book Committee, *The History of Murray City, Utah* (Murray: Murray City Corporation, 1976), 456–57.

35. Thomas et al., *The Native Americans*, 14–16.

36. Ibid.

37. Quoted in J. Roderick Korns, ed., “The Journal of Heinrich Lienhard,” in *Utah Historical Quarterly* 19 (1951): 134, 139. This information is revised and updated by Will Bagley and Harold Schindler, eds., *West from Fort Bridger: The Pioneering of the Immigrant Trails Across Utah, 1846–1850* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1994).

38. See James B. Allen and Glen Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), or Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1979), for detailed histories.

39. B.H. Roberts, *The Missouri Persecutions* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1900), is quoted for modern readers in Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975), 126.

40. For a differing perspective, see Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (New York: Doubleday, 1984).

41. Ronald W. Walker, “A Gauge of the Times: Ensign Peak in the Twentieth Century,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62 (Winter 1994): 5–10.

42. Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Co., 1984), 2.

THE CONTESTED KINGDOM, 1847–1860

The day Mormon wagons entered the Salt Lake Valley, life therein began to change. Mountain streams turned in their courses at the command of shovels and spread their waters. Plows struck the soil now expected to yield the crops the newcomers sowed. Certain valley inhabitants, ranging from coyotes to crickets, were decreed “destroyers and wasters”¹ and would be energetically killed. The Indians living near the Great Salt Lake, and other bands accustomed to moving through the valley, became almost immediately unwelcome.

Descriptions by Orson F. Whitney, a prominent nineteenth-century historian, convinced future generations that the Mormons entered a desolation with “interminable wastes of sagebrush,” a “paradise of the lizard, the cricket, and the rattlesnake.”² Yet settlers recorded whooping with joy at sighting “the most fertile valley . . . clothed with a heavy garment of vegetation, . . . with mountains all around towering to the skies, and streams, rivulets and creeks of pure water running through the beautiful valley.”³

As they enthusiastically claimed their new home, the Mormons



Black Rock is visible behind the Davis farm house near the Great Salt Lake. (LDS Church Archives)

represented only one group of determined and intrepid pioneers in a saga of western settlement which expanded the dream of the American colonists. Their practical success at causing “the desert to blossom as a rose,” in fulfillment of scripture and conception of legend, became evident that first decade within the valley. More unique, however, and more improbable was their own dream of building the Kingdom of God. They defied the American individualism that permeated their time in designing a communal utopia that thrived sufficient unto itself; for that first decade or so, this dream almost became reality.

The priesthood hierarchy that directed the westward movement also presided in the valley. Settlement was orderly and obedient, cooperation the hallmark virtue. Despite their loyalties as Americans, the colonists planned to manage everything themselves from Indian affairs to local governance. When, within a few years after entry, these

determined refugees petitioned Congress to empower Deseret as the nation's largest state, they revealed the immensity and fragility of their vision.

Brigham Young and the members of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles present in the valley convened within the first few days. Young “waved his hand over a spot between two forks of City Creek, and designated a forty-acre site for a new temple.”⁴ The city he then described commenced from that religious center, laid out in a grid of ten-acre blocks with eight lots per block. Streets measured eight rods wide with twenty-foot sidewalks along each side; houses were to rest twenty feet back from the sidewalk. The apostles affirmed this plan, a vote echoed that evening when the company met on the temple ground.

Young explained that timber, water, and other natural resources would be held in common under church governance. While the Mormons were not the first on the continent to irrigate fields, they were the first known to legally regulate the use of water for agriculture. Each household would receive land and water rights; each would be expected to obey church leadership and to tithe to support common projects and the needy.

The egalitarian aspects of the society formed a paradox with the strong hierarchy that governed all things. Just as top church leaders took plural wives in far greater numbers than the two or three encouraged for ward bishops, so did they select their lots first, most near the temple site. Later, church members drew numbers for their own homesites and farming plots. None of this land was legally titled, and a federal land office would not arrive for twenty-two years. When it did, problems arrived, too.⁵

The company that summer included nine women and several children, enlarged after leaving Winter Quarters in April by the “Mississippi Saints” *en route*. Along the trail, the women served as scribes and diary keepers as well as cooks, seamstresses, and caretakers for the children. Ellen Sanders, the “strong, young Norwegian wife”⁶ of Heber C. Kimball, Young’s counselor, was among them. Her husband left Young’s conveyance mid-journey for Sanders’s wagon. By the time their infant, Samuel, became one of the first white chil-

dren born in the valley, the number of females had increased dramatically until the female population roughly equaled the male.

On the first Sunday in the valley, Young addressed the company in a bowery erected on the temple site. Open along the sides and roofed by leafy limbs, the bowery resembled smaller Native American arbors and combined social and religious functions. There the settlers could gather in vested suits or long skirts and petticoats and find shelter from the sun while refreshed by a wandering breeze.

On the second Sunday, the settlers effectively shut down trade with the Indians in hopes of keeping the native peoples at a distance. While the belief that Indians descended from Book of Mormon peoples softened the Mormons' biases as compared to other immigrants, overall they moderated only from outright hostility to avoidance, popularly summarized as, "it's better to feed than fight them."⁷

Young had selected the Salt Lake Valley in part because it seemed uninhabited in contrast to the large encampment of Timpanogos Utes, led by Wakara, near Utah Lake. Young wrote: "[As] the Utes may feel a little tenacious about their choice lands on the Utah [Lake], we had better keep further north towards the salt lake, which is a more neutral ground. . . ." In this way, he added, "we should be less likely to be disturbed and also have a chance to form an acquaintance with the Utes, and having done our planting, shall select a site for our location at our leisure."⁸

Two small bands did live in the valley near the Great Salt Lake but were not nearly as well known or impressive to Americans as the Utes. One band, led by Wanship, had split from the Utah Valley Utes and intermarried with Goshutes; the other was led by Gosip who died in 1850.⁹

Both Ute and Shoshone delegations visited the pioneer camp within the first week after wagons arrived; thereafter, increasing numbers of Indians returned, hoping to trade for guns, ammunition, and clothing. The colonists also recorded that the Indians begged.

Cultural differences were immediately apparent. Not only did some bands find it difficult to sustain their lifeways, but native cultures supported a strong gift ethic. For centuries Europeans and then Americans had offered gifts to tribal leaders when they entered their territories. Even more basic was the native tradition of hospitality,

requiring that visitors be offered at least food and drink and usually a place to sleep. Yet the settlers crossed or lived on Indian land, reaped its bounties, and offered a pittance or nothing in return. Unlike the traders before them, they were reluctant to part with the possessions they had transported, and they cared far less for pelts and skins.¹⁰

Now the settlers' resolution forbade trade with the Indians except at their own encampments; thus Indians would have no reason to visit the settlers. Clearly, the Mormons expected little contact with native peoples except to convert and absorb any who were willing. To the extent they displaced the unwilling, they hoped to do so without a battle, but complaints about the Indians continued. The settlers felt pressured to preserve and produce the necessities of life. They were no more prepared to abandon their agricultural diet for game, nuts, and roots than inclined to discard their layers of broadcloth and woolens for woven grasses or tanned hides.

While few Indians lived in the valley, the native presence was strongly felt. A fort went up on the block later filled by Pioneer Park. The first winter about 1,700 people moved into its huts with slanting roofs and doors opening on a center court. There seventeen-year-old Mary Jane Dilworth opened a school in her tent for six pupils. As the city grew, so did twelve-foot high mud walls that provided employment but were intended as fortifications. When settlers ventured south in the valley they would build additional forts. Roundabout, the tilled earth yielded arrowheads, artifacts, wells, and burials; at least once, settlers took over an Indian cemetery. Encounters with native peoples would enliven the settlers' journals for decades to come.

In addition to the temple and fort sites, church leaders reserved other areas for public use. The block between State and Main and Fourth and Fifth South Streets (which would later hold the City and County Building) was immediately plowed and planted with potatoes. The site also welcomed arriving immigrant trains and later was used for a stray dog pound and by visiting circuses and shows.

The city was laid out in plats, one plat in each of the first three years. Within each plat, buildings, roads, and ditches grew with astonishing speed. Diverted streams lined the main streets, and teams of workers built ditches to the Big Field which spread beyond Ninth

South Street. Water turns became of paramount importance as settlers alternated at unleashing the precious flow.

On the northeast incline, the leadership designated a three-hundred-acre cemetery, a desolate place with no water supply. A rock wall guarded the perimeter and a rock house sheltered the dead until burial. In a tragic irony, the sexton and his wife were the first to need a plot, for their daughter, born at Winter Quarters in February, died 26 September 1847.¹¹

A macabre incident at the cemetery shocked the valley in 1860 when gravedigger Jean Baptiste (nicknamed John the Baptist) was discovered with stacks of burial robes and other clothing in his cabin. Charged with robbing the dead, Baptiste was unable to say which coffins he had ransacked. Some residents had their loved ones exhumed to check on their wellbeing even as the city's new police force debated how to deal with this horror. Finally Baptiste was exiled to Antelope Island in the Great Salt Lake. The legend of his bizarre crime grew when he simply disappeared, leaving evidence of neither his death nor his escape from exile.¹²

The settlers' first winter in the valley was mild yet difficult due to insufficient food. As livestock had entered the valley with each wagon train, the animals scavenged whatever crops they could find and trampled the rest. Winter deepened, and hungry Indians and wolves raided the livestock. The Council of Fifty, the chief governing body, rationed food to one-half pound of flour per person per day, and people experimented with eating crow and various indigenous plants such as sego lily roots, bark, and thistle tops which they discovered with the help of friendly Indians.¹³

An outbreak of measles added to the misery and became deadly when it infected Indian people who had no immunity. Although the afflicted natives tried the usual remedy of bathing in the warm springs at the north end of the valley, large numbers died. The settlers buried thirty-six natives in one grave alone.¹⁴

The spring of 1848 brought relief and renewed energy. The settlers planted five thousand acres with corn, beets, onions, turnips, peas, beans, cucumbers, melons, squash, lettuce, and radishes, all from seed brought across the plains. Seed from winter wheat filled another nine thousand acres.

As sprouts appeared, so did hungry crickets. That summer church authorities matter-of-factly wrote to Brigham Young, then in the Midwest, that the crickets “were still quite numerous and busy eating, but between the gulls, our efforts, and the growth of crops we shall raise much grain in spite of them.”¹⁵ Communal herds of sheep and cattle grazed land that could not be irrigated.

With the encouragement of warm weather, the settlers spread out. The Mississippi Company, led by John Holladay, struck out for Spring Creek, later known as Cottonwood Creek. They built dugouts and began shoveling a canal from the creek mouth. Cottonwood, also called Holladay’s Burgh, thus became the first farming district outside the growing Great Salt Lake City. John Neff had lugged his milling machinery to the valley; now he reassembled it on a stream. Before the year’s end he was producing flour on what became known as Mill Creek.¹⁶

Two main roads soon connected the southeastern homesteaders with Great Salt Lake City. The Upper County Road ran north from Big Cottonwood Canyon to Sixteenth South Street and would later be called Holladay Boulevard. The Lower County Road collected the higher road’s traffic and continued north. Sugarhouse, named for a sugar mill (that failed), would develop between Salt Lake City and Holladay, and the Lower County Road was renamed Highland Drive.¹⁷

The Berger family was among those attracted by the willows and cottonwoods in the southeast valley. Gottlieb Berger described the area as “quite a barren looking place,” but then delineated the thick growth of trees and creek basins and banks that were “pretty much alive with birds and small animals. There were many blackbirds, cat birds, mourning doves . . . skunks, minks, badgers, muskrats, otters, and foxes, and along the river a few beaver. A little farther up there were a few wolves.”¹⁸

A century later, when this same area wore convenient concrete, asphalt, and lawn, and only robins, sparrows, and pets amused the numerous children, young Gottlieb’s wilderness playground might seem lush. But by then even the word “wilderness” had a different ring, for it had become less something to tame than something to seek.

A year after Holladay got its start, William Stuart Brighton and Clara Brighton homesteaded a site at the top of Big Cottonwood Canyon. With their son William, the Brightons staffed a store and a post office in the village that took their name.¹⁹ (Another town called Brighton, probably named for the seaside resort in England, would be settled in the 1860s west of the County Road—Seventeenth West Street. The townsite was laid out to the south of Thirteenth South Street and surrounded by farms.)

All summer immigrants streamed into the valley where they were evaluated as to both needs and skills, then sifted into the settlement plan. The newly developed Perpetual Emigrating Fund functioned internationally, providing loans to prospective emigrants and supervising their embarkment on chartered ships. Mormon officials oversaw everything from sleeping quarters and meal preparation to social activities and religious services. Once in the United States, church agents arranged for the journey west, providing the travelers with teams and wagons, instructions, and sometimes a guide. For several years, relief trains set out from Salt Lake City to meet incoming wagon trains; later, waystations were established.²⁰

Immigrants' skills were noted even before they embarked for the New World. One list of Mormons leaving from Liverpool detailed occupations from accountants to engineers, ironmongers to masons, printers to cabinet makers, weavers and spinners to yeomen.²¹

The incoming Saints found a city in the making. The General Tithing Office acted as the valley's first bank and centralized the communal effort. Tithing scrip remunerated workers on public projects and was redeemed for merchandise in tithing stores. Both loans and savings could be managed through careful records kept in tithing books.

Meanwhile the Council of Fifty passed a speeding law. The fort now included three parts, and the council ruled that "no person shall ride or drive through the Forts or their lanes faster than a slow trot under a penalty of \$1.00 for each offense." To handle speeders, thieves, and rowdies, the council appointed a public complainer to act as both police and prosecutor. Offenders were fined or whipped, but there was no jail. The Nauvoo Legion was revived as a militia to handle larger problems such as protection against Indian raids.²²



One historian called Great Salt Lake City an “instant city,” for by its first anniversary it boasted a population of nearly five thousand. Here wagons stand in front of the William Jennings Store. (LDS Church Archives)

That summer, too, members of the Mormon Battalion entered the valley. Their march south to join troops fighting the Mexican War had missed seeing action and had been rerouted to California where the troops were discharged. They brought excited reports of a gold strike evidenced by the packets of gold they placed into circulation. The council tried to mint gold coins, but the effort failed until the following year. Still later the mint produced paper notes signed by Brigham Young. As some Saints pondered a move to California, Young doused the infectious gold fever with stern advice to eschew worldly wealth and continue to build Zion.

Thomas and Sanford Bingham received a similar response when, in August 1848, they drove a herd of cattle into a southwest canyon to graze. There the brothers found outcroppings that obviously contained ore. Young heard their report then told them to keep their minds on the cattle. Nevertheless, the brothers' name marked the canyon where they settled, a place that ultimately would be turned inside out for the metals it contained—but not with Young's approval.²³



The assertive and mounted Utes sought a business relationship with LDS leaders, but friendly exchanges ended in the Black Hawk War. Armed horsemen pose before the Eagle Emporium, which was later absorbed by the church-owned ZCMI. (LDS Church Archives)

That same summer of 1848, several hundred Timpanogos Utes rode in a cloud of dust and buckskin into the growing city. Wakara and his brother Sowiette led this impressive delegation and came in peace. According to Apostle Parley P. Pratt, the brothers “expressed a wish to become one people with us, and to live among us and we among them, and to learn to cultivate the earth and live as we do.” The Timpanogos Utes invited the settlers “to commence farming with them” in their valleys about three hundred miles to the south.²⁴ In making this offer, the Ute leaders knowingly or unknowingly echoed the arrangement Dominguez and Escalante had described for the Tumpanawach in 1776 except they suggested joining efforts considerably south of the Utah Valley. As a show of good faith, the Utes assisted that summer in rounding up stolen livestock for the

Mormons. A year later, Young sent settlers to Utah Valley where they built a fort; another party settled the San Pete area farther south.

When summer waned and the weather turned chilly, the colonists “forted up” for a second winter which would prove harsher than the first. The foodstuffs and livestock were better secured than during the first winter, but the settlers found the howls of wolves at night unnerving, “a constant reminder of the wilderness they had been forced to take refuge in. . . .”²⁵ In response, the Council of Fifty organized two teams to compete in a community shoot, aiming to rid the valley of predators.

On Christmas Day rifle reports echoed from the foothills as John Pack led one team and John D. Lee the other. Eighty-four settlers killed two wolverines, 331 wolves, 216 foxes, ten minks, nine eagles, 507 magpies, and 898 ravens.²⁶

The following spring, the settlers could not shoot the crickets that returned to gobble the expanding fields of sprouting crops. The ravenous insects took on monstrous proportions, described by the settlers, with forced humor, as a “cross between a spider and a buffalo.”²⁷ With this round of battle, the onslaught of the crickets and the rescue by the gulls acquired religious overtones. One diarist described the seagulls’ appetite for the insects as “a miracle in behalf of this people.”²⁸ A severe insect infestation in 1855 underscored that feeling, and the legends grew.

The cricket hordes gradually vanished. Bungling into the growing number of irrigation ditches, they were snapped up by swine and poultry; but the seagull won a niche in history and a statue on Temple Square. One modern historian noted, “It is equally out of gratitude and hunger of miracle that the white-winged seagulls today wheel across the Utah skies with their sharp, shrill cry, protected alike by taboo and written law.”²⁹

Once again warm weather renewed both the urge to colonize and calls from Young. Ebenezer and Phoebe Brown moved their five children to the rich pasturelands around South Willow Creek due south of Salt Lake City. Streams from Bear Canyon, Rocky Mouth, South Dry Creek, and Middle Dry Creek as well as various springs provided water. The settlers built a canal along the base of the Wasatch Range to the channel of Big Dry Creek. The town was named Brownsville

then changed to Draper for William Draper, the town's first bishop, who brought his family a year later.³⁰

Meanwhile, a few enterprising colonists "crossed Jordan" and settled in the grasslands stretching thirty miles to the west. Dugouts provided shelter in the hills above the river while the settlers plowed fields and built forts, homes, and meetinghouses. Elias Smith, the first Salt Lake County judge, chose the name Granger because the land looked productive. Early residents of Granger and adjoining Hunter included Joseph Harker, Alfred and Hannah Gibbs Jones, John Gerber, David Warr, and Peter Rasmussen.³¹

George A. Smith purchased land in what would become South Jordan, and Alexander Beckstead moved his family there after first farming in the future West Jordan, along with the families of Marius Ensign and Samuel Egbert. Archibald and Robert Gardner in 1850 built a canal to carry water from the Jordan River to the area around 7800 South Street. A sawmill, flour mill, tannery, and woolen mill clustered in this area as other settlers joined them.³² Butterfield, near the Oquirrh Mountains, was named for Thomas Butterfield, Sr., then renamed for Henry Herriman, a member of the First Council of Seventy.³³

Increasingly, as conversions and emigration continued among the peoples of northern Europe, the settlements became culturally diverse. In the early years, a Norwegian contingent arrived. Dan Jones and Reece Williams established a Welsh settlement near Granger, and in 1852 the community staged a St. David's Day celebration in Great Salt Lake City. English Fort—located between the future Bennion and Taylorsville—heralded the growing number of British settlers.³⁴ When Julius Gersom Brooks and Fanny Brooks became the first Jewish residents in Salt Lake City in 1854, they found themselves suddenly considered gentiles, as all non-Mormons were called.³⁵

Fort Union, south and slightly east of Salt Lake City, housed a virtual gathering of nations. (The area later became known as Union Fort.) Twenty-two families of Scandinavian, Italian, Finnish, Dutch, Welsh, and Canadian descent struggled to understand one another even as they strove to learn English. Each family kept a vegetable garden beside their adobe house while animals were corralled outside the fort. African-American Green Flake and his family also lived



Historians still debate the number of Brigham Young's wives, but his teenaged daughters were widely known as the "Big Ten" in Salt Lake society. While Young argued for modest homespun, his younger wives and daughters led the fashionable. (LDS Church Archives)

there.³⁶ Flake, who tradition maintained had driven Young's wagon west, Oscar Crosby, and Hark Lay all had been sent to the valley as slaves of southern Mormons, entering the valley in the first company.

Other black families were free, including Isaac and Jane Manning James. She became the matriarch of the first African-American community in the Salt Lake Valley, partly due to the status accorded her for having lived and worked in the Nauvoo home of Joseph Smith. When Jane Manning James died in 1908, current church president, Joseph F. Smith, spoke at her funeral.³⁷

Elijah Abel, a mulatto, also held special status since he had been ordained to the LDS church's priesthood in Nauvoo, a privilege soon revoked for men of African descent. He and his wife, Mary Ann Abel, managed the Farnham hotel, and he worked as a carpenter on the building of the Salt Lake temple.³⁸

These were exceptional people indeed, for slavery was legalized in the Utah Territory in 1852 and then lasted a decade. The law allowed the buying and selling of slaves of African descent and for-

bade miscegenation. It required slave owners to provide sufficient food, shelter, clothing, and recreation, as well as eighteen months of schooling to youngsters between six and twenty years of age. Slaves were required “to labor faithfully all reasonable hours, and do such service with fidelity as may be required by his or her master or mistress.”³⁹

Indian “prisoners, children or women” also became legal possessions, essentially shifting Mexico’s slave trade toward the white colonists. The intent, however, was described in the law as an effort “to ameliorate their condition, preserve their lives, and their liberties, and redeem them from a worse than African bondage. . . .” The owners of Indian slaves were required to educate them three months of each year and a school was accessible to children between seven and sixteen years of age. Miscegenation was *not* forbidden; in fact “some Mormons were induced to take Indian wives” and many raised Indian children.⁴⁰

Both laws regarding slavery reflected most settlers’ views, as Americans and Mormons, of their possessing a superior lifestyle. Their “higher regard for Indians than for people of African descent”⁴¹ indicated a policy of assimilation for those they believed to have descended from peoples depicted in the Book of Mormon. However, the Mormons’ interference in the Utes’ longstanding market for both slaves and horses eventually became a provocation to war.

In Salt Lake City, Zion’s heart, the west side of Main Street became increasingly commercial, and the east side followed suit. The Council of Fifty organized public work projects for wages credited to tithing. As a result, the Council House, the Deseret Store, an adobe church office building, a public bathhouse at the warm springs, a wall around the temple block, and an armory on Ensign Peak rose rapidly.

Throughout the early years of settlement, the LDS ward served as the essential unit of governance, society, and religion; the log or adobe meetinghouse, no matter how humble, became a community hub in the guise of chapel, school, and social hall. Long after Salt Lake City boasted theaters and ballrooms, the ward meetinghouse bound the Saints in each neighborhood and village together. Only two years after settlement, the valley held nineteen wards.

Army Captain Howard Stansbury observed the social aspect as he created a topographical map of the Great Basin. A typical dance might be attended by the prophet or apostles and likely would open with prayer, he noted; “and then will follow the most sprightly dancing in which all will join with hearty good will from the highest dignitary to the humblest individual.”⁴²

Despite the Saints’ unity, as early as 1849 the first breach appeared in the doctrinal wall of self-sufficiency. Eastern goods became available when James A. Livingston and Charles A. Kinkead opened the first retail store on West Temple Street near where West High School would later stand. Silk, calico, and linen began replacing worn-out clothing and homespun, and saddles, tools, and household goods were a welcome sight. Ben Holladay procured surplus oxen and wagons from the army, hauled in \$70,000 worth of merchandise and sold it all. The following year he brought more than twice as much and retailed the goods with equal success.⁴³

Young viewed these entrepreneurial efforts with a jaundiced eye, for outside merchants came only to make money, not to build Zion. They paid no tithing for the common good and showed no inclination to enter the fold. To his followers, Young stressed self-sufficiency as gospel. “If they impoverished themselves to buy things that couldn’t be provided within the territory, they would forever be the slaves of the gentiles.”⁴⁴

Yet the market for eastern goods existed within the valley, for the imported items not only offered convenience but spoke of home and civilization. Brigham found his most thorough defeat, perhaps, in assaulting fashion. He protested trousers newly tailored with a front fly rather than a drop seat; he tried to persuade women to wear a plain “Deseret costume” as a daily uniform. All the while, Brigham’s wives, especially the younger ones, set the standard of fashion as Great Salt Lake City offered increasing society and entertainment.

If non-Mormon merchants took advantage of the valley’s consumers, Mormons saw the 15,000 goldseekers sprinting through town that year as a mobile windfall. These travelers were willing to pay greatly inflated prices for horses, mules, vegetables, and flour, and the Mormons were glad to charge whatever the market would sustain. Many who were California-bound also offered surplus wagons

and harnesses at greatly reduced prices, a second boon. Young saw the Mormons' purpose in exploiting this situation as appropriate given their isolation and lofty goals; he saw the non-Mormon merchants' aim as purely selfish.

As a third benefit, the gold rush also brought business; blacksmiths, teamsters, wagonsmiths, laundresses, and millers were in high demand. Although Young turned his followers away from the gold rush to save their souls, gold mining in California actually "saved" the Saints financially, for "the most important crop of 1849–1851 was harvested, not in the Salt Lake Valley, but at Sutter's Mill. . . ."⁴⁵

Still, the outflowing currency, which Young estimated at \$500,000 between 1849 and 1852, rankled. He and the church historian inspected the merchants' wagons as they were readied to travel East. The historian reported them loaded "with more gold dust than had come to the [church] mint that fall. In one box was as much gold as a man could carry and there was a box of silver that required three men to lift it into the wagon."⁴⁶

Freighting quickly became a big business during the 1850s. Holladay's company grew to a thriving enterprise that would later lead to stagecoaches and the backing of the Pony Express. In turn, Young established the Brigham Young Express and Carrying Company, offering direct competition. In addition, a toll was exacted as early as 1849 from travelers entering the valley through Parley's Canyon.

More than money lay at issue as this situation developed. The valley's natural role as a crossroads was proving a disadvantage as well as an advantage. As Salt Lake became the only major city between the Mississippi River and the West Coast, it provided a natural stopping-off place for travelers; the Overland Trail itself attracted commerce. "Through traffic" was one thing in the leadership's eyes, and outsiders moving in on the market quite another. Yet by 1854, at least twenty-two non-Mormon merchants did business in the valley.

The Utes had already found that not everyone would be willing to spend their dollars and move on. By 1850, the first friendly overtures between the Utes and Mormons were turning dark. Settlers at Fort Utah (built the previous year in Utah Valley) deplored Ute raids on livestock and beseeched Young for justice. In an eerie echo of a



Brigham Young (center), posed with his counselors and apostles behind the Lion House. (LDS Church Archives)

Missouri governor's extermination order against Mormons, Young now ordered a "selective extermination campaign" against the Timpanogos Utes. "All the men were to be killed. The women and children were to be saved, only if they behave[d] themselves."⁴⁷

A militia of the Nauvoo Legion rode from Salt Lake City and laid siege to a group of about seventy Utes. Led by Big Elk and Ope-Carry, the group dug in near the fort but fled after two days of fighting. One cluster hurried up Rock Canyon where most died of wounds, exposure, or their old enemy, measles. The main group traveled south and, with their families, surrendered to the militia. Even then peace failed, for the next morning the Ute warriors were killed in a skirmish. The extermination policy continued for another year. When raids occurred, the militia rode out, and the offenders were tracked down and killed.⁴⁸

Although the provisional State of Deseret was a self-declared entity, in 1850 it organized along more conventional governmental lines.

On 31 January 1850, Salt Lake County officially came into being, with a population of over 11,000 residents. A high birth rate offset the proportion of European immigrants as a second generation continued to be born in the valley.

Salt Lake County's adjusted borders extended south to the Point of the Mountain, west to the summit of the Oquirrh Mountains and Black Rock beach beside the Great Salt Lake, east to the summit of the Wasatch Range, and north to the hot springs beyond Ensign Peak. Within each county, the assembly designated judicial precincts, a standard unit of local government. Originally the precincts did not align with the boundaries of LDS wards. By 1862, however, the two were united.⁴⁹

Inevitably church and state remained entwined. The Legislative Assembly met in the Council House on the southwest corner of South Temple and Main streets. Assembly members had been elected from a docket of candidates approved by Young and the Council of Twelve Apostles and confirmed by a vote cast on numbered ballots. Young explained, "It is the right of the Twelve to nominate the officers and the people to receive them."⁵⁰ Essentially this method duplicated the way church leaders called members to various positions, affirmed by the congregation's show of hands.

The Legislative Assembly also passed an ordinance creating the University of Deseret, funded with \$5,000 from the treasury. The university opened with characteristic optimism, and Orson Spencer became first chancellor; it operated on a limited basis for four years before financial stresses curtailed its activities. Public schools opened as well, with bishops appointing teachers determined by availability and qualifications. Students paid a fee for their attendance.

The assembly incorporated Great Salt Lake City by ordinance, calling for a city council, a mayor, four aldermen, and nine councilors. A newly-formed Public Works Department arranged for various mechanics and tradesmen to donate tithing labor within specialized fields. Full-time foremen were appointed to supervise the work of carpenters, joiners, masons, and "tithing hands."⁵¹

The city council also passed a liquor tax to generate revenue. Although few non-Mormons lived in the valley, abstinence from alcohol was stressed far less by church leaders in the nineteenth cen-

tury than it would be in the twentieth. Still, passing a 50 percent liquor tax implied a deterrent as well as a contribution to the city coffers. A year later, in fact, the city council banned the sale of hard liquor altogether. The next year it licensed certain establishments and rejected others, closing the Deseret House in 1853 for “distributing liquor freely.”⁵² A tradition of complex liquor controls and taxes thus began and continued to bring both revenue and controversy.

During 1850 regular postal service was established to the East, and the following year to the West. Communication was particularly enhanced by the appearance of a newspaper. The first edition of the weekly *Deseret News* appeared on 15 June 1850, delayed until then by an absence of national news. The press had been freighted in and assembled, and a paper supply secured, but until mail and newspapers became available with news from the States, a local newspaper wasn’t deemed worth printing—and the first companies of gold-seekers that spring had not bothered to bring any newspapers on their quest.⁵³

When newspapers did reach the valley, editor Willard Richards and his assistants sifted them for world and national news which they summarized. “Sometimes one paragraph carried topics ranging from a report of an organist with four hands playing for the emperor of Russia to gold diggings on Mormon Island in California.” The first edition consisted of eight pages, and its columns largely covered the slavery debate in Congress. In time the weekly paper would also offer practical hints, anecdotes, jokes, poetry, wedding and holiday toasts, and bits of fiction.⁵⁴

Once news arrived, keeping a steady supply of paper became the next challenge. Editors solicited rags for paper making, and the foundation for a paper mill was laid in Sugarhouse. Like the sugar mill, the venture proved unsuccessful and was moved to a new site.

Within Salt Lake City, civic pride abounded; residents were encouraged to care for the linden and poplar trees planted since settlement and to add flowers and shrubs to their carefully tended vegetable gardens. The national press was developing a gradual hostility toward Mormonism, yet journalists and other visitors were usually impressed with the city that struck one traveler as “a large garden laid out in regular squares.”⁵⁵

Other advantages of city life blossomed, for cultural organizations flourished and the bowery on Temple Square expanded. More than one thousand people attended the first concert held there, and many concerts and plays followed, encouraging additional theatrical fare and the building of the Social Hall. The Nauvoo Brass Band revived, and a Tabernacle Choir formed even before the first tabernacle was completed in 1851.

The physical health and moral well-being of the community also received attention. The Society of Health was organized to look after the needs of an ever-growing population, offering "information to the masses of the people, to lessen their burdens, and to enable them to help themselves."⁵⁶ The Old Fort which had lent shelter through the first winters was destroyed when city fathers learned "it had become a trysting place for persons of loose morals." In addition, certain veterans of the Mormon Battalion were "roundly censured for becoming 'idle, lazy and indolent, indulging in vice, corrupting the morals of the young females.'"⁵⁷ Several veterans were even ousted from the church and fined \$25 each.

The workings of the United States Congress were foremost in the minds of Salt Lake County residents, and not only for the discussion of slavery. Bolstered by an elected government, mail service, a newspaper, and cultural life, the State of Deseret applied to Congress for admittance into the Union. Its designated boundaries encompassed much of the remaining West which would make it by far the largest state.

At this apex of optimism and efficiency, the Mormon community would be termed a "near nation" by one historian. Another explained that while the Mormons "rejected secession and other forms of rebellion, they saw themselves in nationlike terms and assumed an increasingly deviant approach to the objectives and character of government."⁵⁸ The settlers regarded the United States Constitution as God-inspired, particularly its guarantee of freedom of religion, yet they also considered it imperfect.

Just as church and civil government inherently merged within Deseret, so did distinctions blur regarding ideas of church and government. The Mormons saw themselves as "the true heirs of the [American] revolution. Sovereignty was God's, the right to rule

divine, government the special province of the priesthood, and the rights of voters properly limited to consent.”⁵⁹

So strong and persuasive was this vision, although territorial status was received in 1850, that the colonists were shocked and disappointed when Congress denied their petition in February 1851.

Nevertheless, the colonists’ July Fourth celebration that year ensued on a grand scale. A military escort led a parade from the city along the Old Territorial Road (North Temple Street), followed by a brass band in a mule-drawn carriage. Next came the carriages of Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball with various of their wives and children. Apostles and their families followed, trailed by invited non-Mormons and their families, then “lesser dignitaries and townspeople.”⁶⁰

The caravan of carriages and wagons carried nearly the entire valley population on a four-hour trek to Black Rock beach on the south shore of the Great Salt Lake. “When the contingent arrived they erected an American flag on a tall ‘liberty pole,’ prepared a picnic dinner (which included snow from the Oquirrh Mountains), and spent the afternoon picnicking, swimming, and singing.”⁶¹ Nor did the party end before dusk. Still garbed in appropriate Victorian attire, the celebrants applauded orations and speeches, then slept on the sandy beaches.

The settlers showed similar adaptability when it came to the statehood denied them. With Brigham Young as governor, territorial government simply absorbed the Legislative Assembly, incorporated existing law into territorial law, and established legal civil government. Federal funding was quickly accepted to establish a public library. In reality, little changed. Bishops, stake presidents, and other church leaders were elected to public office, a pattern that would endure. Men with leadership ability frequently held multiple positions.

At general conference in October 1852, Young announced that the long-envisioned temple would be built with stones cut from the craggy granite ledges in Little Cottonwood Canyon. Although the cornerstones were laid the following year, more than a decade would pass before huge granite blocks, measured, cut, and numbered to match the architectural design would travel by ox cart and later by



The Salt Lake Temple cornerstones were laid in 1853. For decades, granite blocks, chiseled in Little Cottonwood Canyon, traveled north by ox-cart, then by rail. The temple's dedication in 1893 drew widespread national publicity.

railroad car into downtown Salt Lake City. This project's impact was felt the length of the valley. The name "Granite" became popular in the southeast valley as enterprises multiplied, and Sandy, to the south, became an essential waystation and agricultural town. Young would not live to see the temple completed, however, for serious challenges to Deseret interrupted the work.

The first came from the Utes, who initially drew hope from the establishment of the Utah Territory. An Indian agency was established by Congress, and some aid became available. As the Mormon population continued to grow, however, and the displacement of bands, wild game, and vegetation continued, the Utes recognized the settlers as true enemies. Furthermore, the Mormons found reprehensible the Utes' centuries-old trade "in horses, slaves, and tribute between the Ute People and Mexicans"⁶² and acted to curtail it. Meanwhile, it was quite evident to the Utes that some Indian people were legally enslaved by Mormons.

Although Young withdrew the extermination policy after a year, skirmishes continued. Finally a trade dispute left one Ute dead and

two others wounded, and the Utes declared war. Wakara and his brother Arapeen began raiding Mormon settlements in what would be called the Walker War. Over the next ten months, fewer than “twenty white and many more Ute People were killed.”⁶³

Forts went up in Herriman in the west valley and in Holladay in the east valley as fear raced through the outlying settlements. William C. Crump, a multi-lingual liaison, patrolled the west and south area, and also visited the Indian campgrounds.⁶⁴ The fort system on both sides of the Rockies and the curtailment of the arms and ammunition trade with Indians prevented the Utes from amassing a united front. Most significantly, they were vastly outnumbered. “In the six years since their arrival, the Mormons had become the majority.”⁶⁵ Young and Wakara made peace at Chicken Creek in May 1854, and the demoralized Wakara died the following year. Arapeen became the leader of the Timpanogos Utes and deferred to the LDS authorities.

For the next several decades, the Indian presence in the Salt Lake Valley was sometimes cordial, sometimes tense, but no longer violent. Occasionally a group of yelling horsemen would encircle a schoolhouse or cabin and scare the inhabitants. In the south valley, children were warned to stay clear of the willows along the river and creeks where Indians still lived. Many residents watched companies of Native Americans migrate through the valley, camping in familiar spots and sometimes begging, trading, or putting on exhibition dances.⁶⁶

One Murray settler identified Paiutes, Shoshones, and Bannocks in the area, though most recorded incidents without reference to tribe or band. “I was too young to smoke the peace pipe, but I have seen this done by some of the older people and the Indians,” John Berger wrote. “They would all smoke the same pipe, passing it around the circle.”⁶⁷

Settlers’ journals also recorded pranks and mischief, seasoned with colloquial terms and storytellers’ relish. One settler wrote how “young bucks,” who had migrated from the north and raced around whooping and yelling, stole the “young and beautiful” Elizabeth Morgan and took her to their camp. The men who went after her found her safe. “The Indians considered it a prank but the pioneers didn’t take it quite so lightly.”⁶⁸

Hyrum Beckstead, a Riverton resident, told how Indian people requested his father to dig a grave in which to bury two tribal members. "When the two departed members had been laid in their robes, along with articles of food, weapons, etc. one Indian took hold of me and said, 'Hump, put um in papoose.'" This suggestion, Beckstead recalled, was "anything but a joke to me. . . . The minute he let me go, it did not take long to run to the house and tell my mother she wanted me."⁶⁹

The second challenge to the Saints' sovereignty was announced amid a great celebration of a decade of living in the valley. This involved another trek—this time up cool Big Cottonwood Canyon rather than to the burning sands of the Great Salt Lake. Below and behind them, the celebrants of July Twenty-fourth could glimpse the decade's triumph.

At Salt Lake City's heart, construction had begun on the Lion House, which, along with the Beehive House, would host Brigham Young's family. The first tabernacle was replaced by the dome-roofed Tabernacle in 1857. The Endowment House on Temple Square allowed sacred rites to be performed for the first time since the Nauvoo temple fell during the Saints' chaotic exodus from the burning city. The Devereaux House, Salt Lake City's first mansion, had been erected just west of the city center.

Sophistication had arrived in the form of intellectual and cultural pursuits, including the Universal Scientific Society, the Deseret Theological Association, the Horticultural Society, and the Polysophical Society. The Deseret Philharmonic Society toured the territory, and the first tabernacle organ had arrived by schooner and mule-drawn wagon. Portraitist Solomon Nunes Carvalho had begun memorializing whoever would pose (and pay), and artist C.C.A. Christensen arrived in 1857 to begin painting the changing scenes all about him.

On the bench above North Temple, the city's first strictly residential district grew, providing homes for artisans and clerks who worked in the city. The Avenues were also called the North Bench or Dry Bench and were platted in blocks half the size of those downtown. Almost thirty years after the sector was designed, hawks, jackrabbits, and coyotes still inhabited the surrounding fields and

foothills. A mule-drawn streetcar traversed Third Avenue, but many residents simply walked downhill to town and carried their purchases and culinary water back up. Some hired water and ice delivery from the drivers of horse-drawn carts.⁷⁰

John Saunders recalled how, as a boy, he hunted rabbits, snakes, toads, lizards, and wildflowers between the Avenues and what would later become Fort Douglas. “One chore or errand I always dreaded was being sent by my mother to a very prominent business firm at the mouth of Emigration Canyon, called Wagener’s Brewery, to get yeast for the family bakery,” he recalled. “This was when cow herds were always rambling over the country, along the roadways and water ditches, and they were wild cows to a little boy like me. . . .” Fortunately, he could often hitch a ride with a passing wagon. “It was a frequent occurrence for the brewery wagon to run over a snake and cut it in two. There was no fear about that, because we would rather see two dead snakes than one live one.”⁷¹

With so much accomplished, the celebration at the top of the canyon began, merry and justified. Amid the camping, feasting, and programs, however, Brigham Young announced frightening news. President James Buchanan had ordered the largest peacetime army in the nation’s history to subdue a rumored rebellion in the Salt Lake Valley and to replace Brigham Young as governor. The Utah Expedition, led by Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, moved steadily toward the valley.

Immediately the Mormon leaders prepared for the worst. They sent out teams of guerrillas who slowed the approaching army by “raiding its supply trains, driving off its livestock, and burning the grass before it.”⁷² The church ordered all missionaries home and consolidated the population. Settlers in outlying areas moved into the central valleys, and all families north of Utah Valley were ordered to make an exodus south. The Saints covered over the cornerstones of the Salt Lake temple, filled in the excavation, and leveled the grounds.

As the army advanced, indignant editorials sizzled in the pages of the *Deseret News*, lit by the pen of editor Albert Carrington. “All that we ask and all that we have ever asked of government [are] simply our constitutional rights . . .,” he wrote. If the government continued to “deprive us of every privilege upon the earth . . . they will

learn that American citizens upon American soil will not be driven, any further than they may be willing, or than they may see fit to drive themselves.”⁷³

The move from the northern valleys commenced in March 1858, continuing throughout the spring. One report noted an average six hundred wagons passing through Salt Lake City during the first two weeks of May. Thousands joined the exodus, leaving straw and kindling on their doorsteps. Every structure would be torched if the army occupied the Salt Lake Valley, for the Mormons refused to relinquish another mecca to their enemies.

Instead, the army moved through the silent, empty city and established Camp Floyd beyond Salt Lake County’s southern border. Buchanan declared a “free and full pardon” for whatever defiance the government had perceived, and the siege ended without violence or destruction.⁷⁴

From Fillmore in central Utah, the *Deseret News* announced on 14 July 1858: “RETURNING TO THEIR HOMES—the First Presidency and a few others left Provo at 6 P.M. of June 30, and arrived at their homes in G.S.L. City at 3 A.M. of July 1. All who wish to return are at liberty to do so.”⁷⁵

Despite this peaceful conclusion to what had seemed impending catastrophe, change arrived along with the army, for Camp Floyd rooted the non-Mormon presence in the Great Basin. A newspaper called the *Valley Tan* appeared, and for two years gave the *Deseret News* hostile competition. A more neutral voice, the *Mountaineer*, came the next year, and similarly lasted two years before falling victim to the paper shortage. A plethora of small newspapers followed, most of them shortlived.

The *Deseret News* offered something new, as well, adding the *Pony Dispatch* based on the reports raced to the valley by the Pony Express. Salt Lake County residents could read Abraham Lincoln’s inaugural address eight days after he presented it “in front of the unfinished, domeless capitol in Washington. . . .”⁷⁶

Camp Floyd offered a base for Masonic activity with the founding of the Rocky Mountain Lodge which received authorization in 1859 from a Grand Lodge in Missouri. The Mormon and Masonic histories had mixed bitterly in the Midwest, for Joseph and Hyrum

Smith had become Masons, rising through several degrees. When certain symbols in Mormon temple rites later proved similar to secret Masonic symbiology, enmity flared between the two groups. In fact, many Mormons believed that Masons had been present in (if not leading) the mob that killed their prophet and his brother.

The Masons in the Salt Lake Valley felt this tension keenly, for they organized additional lodges to “better protect themselves from opposition and persecution.” The same day the Wasatch Lodge received its dispensation, Dr. John Robinson, a local physician and Mason, was murdered near his residence. “The apparent apathy of the civil authorities toward apprehending the perpetrators of this atrocity caused great alarm among the non-Mormons,”⁷⁷ a Masonic history recorded. Although, or perhaps because, they felt endangered, the relatively few Masons within the valley would prove during the next decades a small group’s potential to effect change.

Overall, the Mormon vision succeeded during the first decade of settlement, for growth, communalism, and a religious lifeway prevailed. Both Indian rebellions and the impending apocalypse feared from the approaching army were resolved. A thriving city, a county with expanding settlements, and multiplying social, intellectual, and cultural opportunities all boasted the value of planning and cooperation. The Salt Lake Valley had become a busy western crossroads and a religious center whose influence would continue to expand to many nations, drawing people toward Zion. Territorial, county, and city governments all operated in concert with the Mormon vision.

Nevertheless, Brigham Young’s most formidable battles lay ahead, not behind him; they involved neither arrows, guns, nor cannons. The most dangerous enemies were those who appreciated the Great Basin, he would find—as had tribal leaders and earlier peoples before them. New neighbors brought their own ideas, claims, and rights, their own vision of how the territory ought to run.

ENDNOTES

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THE WORLD MOVES IN, 1860–1880

As the Salt Lake Valley's settlements became productive, its destiny quickly aligned with its early identity as a crossroads. Periodically—perhaps since ancient times—an influx of people would energize its economy, society, and culture, bringing or even forcing change. By 1860 the valley had deliberately attracted an abundance of professional and skilled labor, which drew additional commerce; Salt Lake County also offered an ample array of raw materials and consumer goods. Then as news spread that the Paiutes' shining mountains gleamed with more than sunlight, newcomers multiplied in the valley, eager to mine the Oquirrh and the Wasatch ranges.

Ironically, the goldseekers, the army, the Overland Trail and Overland Mail, and then the proliferating mines supported and repeatedly rescued the determined Mormon struggle for an autonomous Zion. Yet these forces simultaneously destroyed self-sufficiency as both means and end, figuratively dismantling the walls around the kingdom.

As Brigham Young witnessed threats to Deseret, he wielded every financial, political, and religious weapon available to resist the world's

invasion. He did accept the future, however, when embodied by the telegraph, the railroad, and electric and gas utilities. Even though Brigham realized that each would bring further change, he correctly surmised that cooperation might give the Mormons a strong influence over the inevitable.

Meanwhile the split between the Mormon leadership and incoming merchants yawned as the outnumbered non-Mormons were bolstered by clergy, politicians, and growing affluence. The Mormons resisted relinquishing another sanctuary by disbanding their economic monopoly and political majority; however, the newcomers insisted on two-party elections, competitive trade, free public schools, and a pluralistic society and presented a powerful case to the federal government.

The retrenchment ordered by the threatened Mormon leadership only amplified the non-Mormons' protests of autocracy, as they, too, struggled to survive. During these decades, virtually everything became labeled by religion—newspapers, celebrations, banks, businesses, railroads, and schools. One prominent visitor, Sir Richard Burton, observed that three consistent explanations arose for each event: "that of the Mormons, which is invariably one-sided; that of the Gentiles, which is sometimes fair and just; and that of the anti-Mormons which is always prejudiced and violent."¹

While this war of worlds was economic and political, it soon spun on the very dagger that threatened the local non-Mormons least but proved their most effective weapon. They ensured that polygamy became a national issue, one the federal government could not ignore; however, no matter how pressured, the Mormon leadership believed plural marriage to be a holy ordinance that they could neither compromise nor disavow.

From 1860–80 the ideological conflict reflected in tangible ways valleywide. Salt Lake City's gardenlike squares subdivided into a more crowded and jumbled metropolis. Banks, theaters, mansions, and colleges appeared, and recreational options increased. The nature of the outlying settlements changed. Mining camps such as Alta and Bingham became towns; Murray and Sandy became hubs for farming, granite cutting, mining, and soon local smelting. Now frontier living lay mainly in the southwest lands where thirsty communities



This “panoramic view” of Salt Lake City appeared in *Harper’s Weekly* on 4 September 1869. (Utah State Historical Society)

such as Granger, Hunter, and West and South Jordan sought the steady water supply needed for growth.

Communication claimed a powerful role in this era. Messages flew between Salt Lake County and Washington, amplified by a polarized media and inflamed by pulpit-thumping sermons. Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish congregations gained steady footholds in the valley, and education gained the sponsorship of various denominations, some of which raised funds in the East.

Life in the Salt Lake Valley changed as significantly during these decades as during the settlement phase, as national attention increased. The nature of the conflicts and the growth centered here ensured that when a solution to the “Utah problem” finally arrived, it could not be wholly claimed by either side. The line drawn indelibly, if invisibly, in the valley’s dust marked a division, yet also joined both sides and their future.

During the 1860s the Salt Lake Valley felt the impact of a resident army even more strongly than in the few years previous. Camp Floyd

south of Salt Lake County's borders looked to Salt Lake City as a hub of business and entertainment. So often did the soldiers ride their steeds along Seventeenth West, sometimes driving cattle before them, that residents complained bitterly of property damage. To stop the complaints, the troops built a fence of California redwood, which changed the street's name to Redwood Road.²

The soldiers' visits spurred trade in prostitution downtown and encouraged the sale of liquor to the point that Main Street was nicknamed Whiskey Street.³ The city began to operate a distillery, granting itself the exclusive right to sell liquor. The city council informed Young in June 1863 that the liquor business alone brought in more revenue than all city taxes. By 1871 a liquor license in Salt Lake City cost \$750 dollars per month as compared with \$56 per year in Chicago. Finally the Territorial Supreme Court ruled that the imbalance represented an illegitimate exercise of the city's power.⁴

All day on 4 April 1861 the skies rained, hailed, and snowed, as if unleashing a portent. That evening the Pony Express raced into town with news that Fort Sumter had been fired on. With the outbreak of the Civil War, the army was summoned away from Camp Floyd, but the federal government proved loathe to leave the Mormons unobserved. In the first telegraph sent from the Great Basin, in October 1861, Young assured the world of the territory's loyalty to the Union: "Utah has not seceded," he wrote, "but is firm for the Constitution and laws of our once-happy country."⁵

Yet in a nation split by war, some in Washington feared that the Utah Territory might align with the South. The Mormons had a history of dissatisfaction with the federal government, and they had legalized slavery. The Overland Mail and Overland Telegraph provided an excuse for sending another federal contingent to the valley, even though Young insisted the Mormons could guard the new communications system. Already he had lent significant support to the stringing of 1,600 miles of telegraph line. By 1865 the Deseret Telegraph would be under construction, and a school of telegraphy would open in Salt Lake City, attracting a student body of young men from towns all along its proposed route.

Nevertheless, President Abraham Lincoln called for volunteers, and Colonel Patrick E. Connor was appointed to head the Third

California Volunteer Infantry. Advised to keep an eye on the Mormons as well as protect the wire, Connor marched his troops across the Jordan River at the White Bridge (at about North Temple Street) in October 1862. He opined that they entered a “community of traitors, murders, fanatics, and whores.”⁶

The *Valley Tan* had publicized the ores in Salt Lake County’s canyons, and Connor saw mining as a rewarding venture in more than one respect. Not only did the potential for personal enrichment exist, but he explained that a gold rush to the Salt Lake Valley would overwhelm “the Mormons by mere force of numbers . . . without the loss of a single soldier in conflict.”⁷

Not surprisingly, the Mormon leadership viewed Connor’s troops as armed rowdies sent by a federal government that had betrayed their efforts and friendship once again. Furthermore, Young had long decried mining as a mercenary and divisive venture, likely to attract to Zion the very elements the church preferred to live without. Now proof arrived.

Connor lacked the tact or the intention of striking camp outside the LDS stronghold, but established Camp Douglas (named for the late Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, whom Lincoln had defeated) on the eastern foothills above the site designated for the university. The soldiers quickly built dugouts, for winter approached, but with spring, log structures went up, replaced by red sandstone buildings in the mid-1870s.⁸

It readily became apparent that the soldiers burned with acute strains of the “war fever” that afflicted the nation, and other non-Mormons were stricken nearly as hard. To them the Mormons appeared traitorous since they viewed the war from an emotional distance. The horror and chaos, in fact, seemed the apocalypse the Mormons expected to herald Christ’s return, and the ghost Government of Deseret stood ready to govern if the Union collapsed.⁹

Since Connor limited the troops’ role to that of an occupying force, the Mormons justified maintaining the Nauvoo Legion at 13,000 strong until the Black Hawk War ended in the late 1860s. Overall, mining would be left to soldiers and other non-Mormons; yet some Mormons also became involved as shown by a small and early alliance.

As picks and pans proliferated in Bingham Canyon, a Mormon group under Connor's direction located the West Jordan Mine and formed the Jordan Silver Mining Company. Before long, army personnel noted two other claims. On 17 September 1863, fifty-two people met at the West Jordan warehouse and formed the West Mountain Quartz Mining District which claimed (in vain) the entire Oquirrh Range.¹⁰ The four miners reported in the 1860 census grew to more than five hundred by the 1870 count. By 1880 one visitor described Salt Lake City "as the Main Street of one large mining camp."¹¹

The united and communal lifestyle established in the valley began to erode. The Miners' National Bank of Salt Lake City was chartered on 3 March 1866, with \$150,000 in capital, by midwestern freighters William Kiskadden and John F. Nounan. In 1869 the bank's increased assets of more than \$400,000 were taken over by the First National Bank of Utah, under the partnership of Warren Hussey, a Colorado gold broker and land agent, and Charles Dahler, the Denver agent of Ben Holladay's Overland Stage Line. The bank failed due to a mining slump during the Panic of 1873. Boise banker B. M. DuRell founded the third national bank in the territory. His Salt Lake City National Bank of Utah, however, was voluntarily liquidated after four years.¹²

The Deseret National Bank appeared in 1871, a "Mormon bank" with Young as president. Although far more conventional than the General Tithing Office, this bank's partnership evolved through the church's cooperative effort, and the bank supported church goals. The founders included prominent merchant William Hooper, also a territorial delegate to Congress, and church leader and merchant Horace S. Eldredge, as well as their bookkeeper, Lewis S. Hills. After the other banks failed, Deseret became the only national bank in the territory.¹³

However, a number of private banks also appeared including the Walker Brothers Banking Company, McCornick and Company, and Wells, Fargo and Company which purchased Holladay's Overland Stage Line, among other interests. Between 1864 and 1880, thirty-four banking institutions operated within the territory, most privately owned.

Well before the Deseret Bank was founded, Young and other church leaders bore down on financial competitors. In 1857, the year the Utah Expedition began, one Mormon had expressed the general view to a congregation: "Like blood-suckers, all [non-Mormons] want is our money; they have never written a letter to the States to rebut a single falsehood or misrepresentation."¹⁴

The power that complaints about Mormonism held in Congress became apparent when the Morrill Anti-Bigamy law passed in 1862. It established penalties against the practice and severely limited the property the church could hold. However, the law was quickly countered in the valley through changes in the territorial laws and the transfer of church property to Brigham Young.

Quickly handled or not, the Morrill law and the local influences behind it did little to soften the Mormon leadership toward non-Mormon competition. In 1864 the churchmen took extreme measures, meeting in convention to establish price controls. In 1865 they went further, urging the Mormon population to boycott non-Mormon establishments so that financial ruin would drive the competitors from the valley.

Independent merchants, accustomed to *laissez faire* capitalism, already objected to the church's regulations and to the deferential customs that "in effect, subordinated business to religion." In their eyes, "the rigid personal and business code of Mormonism was a symbol of puritanical superstition and an invitation to open resistance."¹⁵ Although church leaders offered to enfold the capitalists within the Mormon system, most independent merchants wished to be enfolded no more than they wanted to be quashed. They concluded that Young was a tyrant, and the church a coercive and growing monopoly.

Even LDS merchants had to display their loyalty sufficiently in Young's mind. The four Walker brothers had played a major role in the business and banking community since their arrival in 1852. When visited by a church emissary, J. R. Walker wrote a check for \$500 to aid the poor. The bishop informed him that Brigham Young would not accept this donation in lieu of a 10 percent tithe; if they refused to tithe, he would cut them off from the church. "Whereupon J.R. Walker tore the check to bits in front of the bishop and said, 'Cut

away.” The Walker brothers thus joined the ranks of non-Mormon merchants.¹⁶

In contrast, millionaire William Jennings converted to the Mormon faith and “parlayed his goods into a prospering business,” which extended from freighting and cattle industries to selling Utah produce and manufactured items both wholesale and retail. In 1865 Jennings built the Eagle Emporium, reported to take in \$2 million per year.¹⁷

Frederick Auerbach offered a third approach to the divide between Mormons and merchants. This Jewish entrepreneur, who had sold goods from a tent in Rabbit Creek, California, drove a wagonload of merchandise into Salt Lake City in 1864. He called on Young, who accompanied Auerbach down Main Street to find a site for a shop. Young selected a shack occupied by a carpenter who was urged to move to the rear of the building and to build some shelves for Auerbach at the front.¹⁸

Brothers Fred and Samuel Auerbach stocked the shelves with goods ranging from hats, fabric, trim, and menswear to wallpaper, furnishings, mining gear, and farm tools. Their doors opened by or before dawn, and fur pelts, gold dust, tithing scrip, and greenbacks were all accepted over the counter.

Young’s welcome to Auerbach exemplified a mellowing that he more often showed to the federal government as the decade advanced. His closest counselors changed, and he softened his public statements regarding autonomy and government, particularly after the Union won the Civil War in 1865. The peace agreement “jolted Utah only less than the South,” for the war had preoccupied Washington lawmakers to the point that they left Utah policy irresolute.¹⁹ On a religious level, the expected apocalypse had vanished and Deseret had not been tapped for leadership; now Mormon leaders must deal with mundane problems from a more conventional viewpoint.

Despite this adjustment for the majority, the valley’s African-American residents—numbered at twenty-four free people and twenty-six slaves in 1850—rejoiced. During the early years, the slaves met in a hall on State Street, opposite the future site of the City and County Building, to discuss their condition. They would “gaze in

wonderment at the lofty mountains, which reared their snowy peaks heaven-ward, and completely forbade them from ascertaining how they could make their escape back to the South, or to more congenial climes," reported the *Broad Ax*, a black community newspaper. "For we were assured that their lives in the then new wilderness, [were] far from being happy, and many of them were subjected to the same treatment that was accorded the plantation Negroes of the South."²⁰

Two early residents, Mr. and Mrs. Alex Bankhead, apprised the newspaper of the "joyful expressions which were upon the faces of all the slaves when they ascertained they had acquired their freedom through the fortunes of war."²¹

In the post-war period, the LDS church assumed a "shrewdly conceived and ably conducted public relations program" which placed the church in a position of "superior virtue" as represented by Young and the delegates he sent to Congress. If the negative image forming nationwide could be reversed, the church believed its original goal of home rule would become more attainable.²²

By the decade's end, however, the church's pressure on independent merchants only intensified. In 1869 Young directed the Saints to cease trading with "unfriendly" and "profiteering" merchants, and specified an alternative. The Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution encompassed Jennings's Eagle Emporium along with his wealth and ability and also incorporated the stock and assets of other subscribing merchants and investors. A retail cooperative opened in each ward or village, and church-owned factories endeavored to provide all consumer goods. Enforced by social pressure and even church discipline and led by the church's best financial talent, the doctrine of self-sufficiency finally became a practical reality. ZCMI flourished, and Jennings was elected Salt Lake City mayor in 1882.²³

Confronted now by what seemed certain ruin, some independent merchants managed to sell their enterprises to the church. Soon even that option vanished, for Young rejected offers from twenty-two business owners. Losses mounted in the non-Mormon sector, and some businesses failed entirely.

Complicating this situation and the antipathy it aroused was the fact that the Mormons had ceded vast water and timber rights to the



The Salt Lake Theatre allowed Salt Lake County residents to enjoy many of the nation's stars and popular dramas. This photograph was taken during the play "Lightning Express," ca. 1900. (LDS Church Archives)

church for community-wide oversight. They also had settled undeeded tracts as their personal property. Even after territorial courts arrived in Utah in 1851, and the long process of sorting legal entitlement began, the Mormons managed to evade the federal courts. Not only were judicial precincts (which oversaw elections, irrigation, and so on) drawn along ward boundaries, but the Territorial Assembly found a legal means of sending most cases to the probate courts, solidly under Mormon control.²⁴

From time to time violence broke out over property claims and even resulted in casualties. Again, a sense of justice depended upon which version of rightful ownership prevailed. As at least two non-Mormons "involved in these feuds were killed and the criminals never brought to justice," fear compounded the non-Mormons' frustrations. As a result, "All of this and more was reported in Washington as evidence that the Mormons had set up a 'theocracy' disloyal to the United States."²⁵

Not surprisingly, the literature produced within the valley dur-



The domed Tabernacle features a pipe organ, remarkable acoustics and is the home of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. The unusual structure has been visited by a variety of guest speakers, including ministers and politicians, and, since its completion in 1867, has housed the semi-annual LDS general conferences. (LDS Church Archives)

ing these decades fell short of achieving literary value due to the zeal or vitriol that infused each sentence. Expatriate Mormons, such as T.B.H. and Fanny Stenhouse, and friendly non-Mormons, such as Elizabeth Kane, fared best in print. Meanwhile, artists such as John Hafen, Louis Pratt, and John Fairbanks studied in Paris with LDS church support and returned to later paint murals in the Salt Lake temple, as well filling canvases. Also, photographers Charles W. Carter, Charles R. Savage, Marsena Cannon, and George E. Anderson used the new technology of light and film to record the many visible changes in structures and lifeways.²⁶

Throughout these decades, the struggle was expressed and sometimes fueled by sermons on both sides. Among non-Mormons, the Protestants were especially confrontive. The Reverend Norman McLeod, a fiery Congregationalist, led out, convening his flock on New Year's Day 1864 at Daft's Hall. McLeod's spellbinding skills drew crowds including some Mormons, and his anti-Mormon tone was

quickly adopted by other ministers. He became the main force behind the building of an adobe Independence Hall on Third South and Main streets, used for numerous non-Mormon functions. He later left the ministry to edit the *Utah Vedette*, an unsuccessful attempt to replace Connor's *Union Vedette*.²⁷

The Reverend Daniel S. Tuttle arrived in 1867, establishing the Episcopal Church in Utah as well as in Montana and Idaho. That same year, the Episcopal mission secured a rundown adobe bowling alley on the east side of Main Street between Second and Third South streets and founded St. Mark's School, the first non-Mormon day school in the territory. Soon outgrowing its original quarters, St. Mark's moved several times before gaining its own building in 1873. Rowland Hall, a boarding school for girls, quickly evolved from the grammar school.²⁸

"Apostate Mormons hailed with delight the opening of our schools and gladly sent us their children, willingly paying for their instruction if they were able to do so," Tuttle related. "Even some of the orthodox Mormons sent their children. They said they wanted their children to get a good education," and could see to it themselves that their children did not "embrace the heresies of the mission schools."²⁹

For a time the Episcopal Church allowed the Methodists to meet in its edifice to hear the sermons of the Reverend A. N. Fisher, D.D., Bishop Calvin Kingsley, and the Reverend Leslie Hartsough. Then the Methodists found their own place of worship in Faust's Hall—an unfinished hayloft over a livery stable. Soon the Methodist Rocky Mountain Seminary, established as the Salt Lake Seminary in 1870, offered instruction in sciences, languages, music, and art.³⁰ In 1875 the First United Methodist Church dedicated a \$72,000 church on Third South, described by the *Salt Lake Tribune* as "the most magnificent church building in the Rocky Mountains."³¹

Within the Presbyterian church at Second South and Second East streets emerged the Presbyterian Preparatory School, which offered classes from kindergarten through high school. Eventually the school enrolled high school graduates in the Salt Lake Collegiate Institute—sixty-three of them by 1875—and later divided and evolved into Westminster College.³² Emigration Creek wound through the south

end of the shady campus on Seventeenth South and Thirteenth East streets.

Though vastly outnumbered, the Protestants in the valley shared missionary zeal with their Mormon neighbors, adopting a policy of vigorous proselyting. The ministers within the Utah Territory found themselves in the interesting position of supporting their congregations through personal fundraising in the East. Tales of polygamy and political autocracy shook donations loose in ways that reports of befriending the Mormons never could. Then, with monies ensured, the ministers returned to their valley homes and the tensions there.

In June 1866, Father Edward Keller took an option on a lot in downtown Salt Lake City with plans to build the first Roman Catholic church in Utah. Despite problems over title, in 1871 a church was dedicated. Named for Mary Magdalene and affectionately called St. Mary's, it replaced the original adobe structure used for worship.³³

In 1873 Father Lawrence Scanlan arrived as pastor of the Salt Lake Parish, with about ninety parishioners in Salt Lake City and Ogden and over seven hundred scattered throughout the territory. Unlike the Protestant ministers, Scanlon courted the friendship of the Mormons. Two years after his arrival, he welcomed the Sisters of the Congregation of the Holy Cross from Indiana who would prove dynamic in improving the health and social conditions for valley citizens.³⁴

Salt Lake City's relative sophistication drew Jewish settlers, as well, who numbered around seventy in the 1860s. The community grew in relative harmony, for the Jews adopted a tolerant posture toward the Mormons who believed themselves to be spiritual descendants of the children of Israel and who identified with the Jews as a persecuted people. In 1881 the Congregation B'nai Israel was founded and the Congregation Montefiore in 1899.³⁵

In 1870 the mind as well as the soul received solicitous attention when the first mental hospital was erected where Saint Mary of the Wasatch would later stand at about Ninth South and 2400 East streets. The Salt Lake City Insane Asylum was directed by the city physician, Dr. Seymour B. Young, who became probably the territory's first graduate of an eastern medical school. Young purchased

the property in 1878 and ran a humane and gracefully arranged hospital known as “The White House on the Hill,” with its gables and porches. Vegetable, wheat, and flower gardens skirted long driveways, and the institution maintained a herd of cattle as well as chickens and pigs. Although some windows were barred, many patients were allowed to roam the gardens and cultivate the land.³⁶ Elizabeth Riter Young, the doctor’s wife, purchased hospital supplies, sewed clothes for the women patients, and oversaw meals for patients, staff, and visitors. Some patients were even nursed in the Young household which encompassed their own dozen children. The hospital also housed the criminally insane among the hundred patients considered full capacity.³⁷

As the eventful 1860s ended, two events ensued as crucial as Brigham Young’s decision to boycott non-Mormon merchants. Railroad ties were banged together in Promontory, Utah, spanning the nation, and the Cullom Anti-Polygamy Bill was introduced in Congress. The first brought the world’s peoples to the Salt Lake Valley in ever increasing numbers. The second heralded an era of stern, even cantankerous, federal control. Together they ensured that valley life would never again be the same.

Despite the inevitable changes it would bring, Brigham Young encouraged the advent of the railroad just as he had the telegraph. He supported petitions to Congress and purchased \$5,000 in stock in the Union Pacific Railroad Company, hoping to gain influence for the Saints; however, the transcontinental railroad bypassed Salt Lake City for Ogden to the north. Young did not attend the historic ceremony 10 May 1869 at Promontory to witness the driving of the golden spike.

Instead rails almost flew into the grade of the Mormon-owned Utah Central Railroad, stretching south from Ogden to Salt Lake City, so that by 1870 the capital county was linked to the nation. Brigham Young drove the final spike before a cheering crowd of 15,000 persons in Salt Lake City.³⁸ The line continued south as the Utah Southern Railroad, transforming towns such as Murray and Sandy on its way. Young and his sons became prodigious railroad builders, their lines crisscrossing three-fourths of the territory.

The “Great” was dropped from Salt Lake City’s name in 1868, though the city, in fact, had grown greater. Adding unparalleled elegance was the Salt Lake Theatre, constructed by LDS leaders in 1861–62 at First South and State streets. Brigham Young declared himself “designer and general dictator of the whole affair”³⁹ and had his rocking chair placed in the center of the front row when the gold and cream-colored theater was finished. Architect William H. Folsom was supervising architect of the structure, graced by galleries, front boxes, and proscenium. Virtually every star of the American stage appeared there including Sarah Bernhardt, Ethel, John, and Lionel Barrymore, P.T. Barnum, Maude Adams, Edwin Booth, “Buffalo Bill” Cody, Al Jolson, and Lillian Russell. The building’s demolition during the modernization of the 1920s left a gaping hole in the city’s architecture as well as in the cultural life of the community.⁴⁰

Salt Lake City’s original plan had not identified a business district; one had sprung up as retailers entered the valley. With the advent of mining, additional commercial buildings, hotels, banks, and mansions clustered downtown. Railroad tracks now multiplied west of the city center, and a “west side” spontaneously developed around and beyond them.⁴¹

Candles cupped by metal provided the first streetlights, later replaced by gaslights. The Salt Lake City Gas Works Company was organized in 1872, with Mayor Daniel H. Wells, also a member of the LDS First Presidency, as company president. Wells’s triple status “presumably simplified matters when his company applied for a franchise and negotiated a contract to provide lighting for city streets.”⁴²

In 1873 the Mormon church took over the new Salt Lake Street Railway Company with Brigham Young as president. “No smoking” signs were posted in the mule-drawn cars that soon ran on rails to all parts of the city. Within a decade, the company’s fourteen cars drawn by eighty-four mules traversed nine miles of track. One popular line carried health-seekers to Wasatch Springs at the north end of the city. The Mormon control over the city’s infrastructure aided religious goals, including the hauling of the granite temple blocks to Temple Square.⁴³

Young’s family remained the Mormon model in elite society.

Construction began on a mansion known as Amelia's Palace, named for Young's youngest wife, Amelia Folsom Young. This rivaled the finest of the non-Mormon mansions emerging along South Temple Street, with its use of marble and imported woods. Intended as a residence for church presidents and a center of hospitality, the mansion's destiny would be quite different. Only John Taylor, Young's successor, would live there, and then only sporadically. Sold to non-Mormons and known as the Gardo House, the mansion continued to host elegant society until its inglorious demolition and replacement by a federal bank.⁴⁴

The University of Deseret moved several times and suffered lapses in funding and activity during those decades. As early as 1869, it offered classes to both genders. Young women were encouraged by Brigham Young to prepare to work as "bookkeepers, accountants, clerks, cashiers, tellers, payers, telegraphic operators, reporters, and fill other branches of employment suited to their sex."⁴⁵ In 1870 the Timpanogos Branch, a school functioning in Provo, was adopted by the University of Deseret, but it separated into the Brigham Young Academy a few years later.

Despite the Mormon dominance in valley life, non-Mormons gained significant strength by the 1870s. Shortly before the railroad came, only seven hundred non-Mormons were counted among the valley's 11,000 residents. By 1874 the non-Mormon population tripled, comprising a full quarter of the valley's residents.⁴⁶ While a numerical minority, this group included most of the valley's wealthy citizens, and they paid half of Salt Lake City's budget through taxes.⁴⁷ The merchants who had survived the boycotts now recouped their losses, while mining magnates and investors flourished.

As mansions and luxurious homes appeared not only along South Temple Street but on the benches and at the mouths of canyons, the non-Mormons' evident wealth was resented by the majority. Some merchants brought their families to the valley and made lasting contributions, but others proved entirely opportunistic. Non-Mormons held separate celebrations on holidays such as the Fourth of July, and neighborhoods developed based on religious affiliation. Most non-Mormons lived in the southern and western portions near downtown while Mormons lived to the north and east.

Between Third and Sixth South and Main Street and Third West streets, one-third of the residents were non-Mormon.⁴⁸

Elections highlighted the split in the populace. In Sandy, for instance, when prominent Mason Robert Baskin of the Liberal Party ran for congressional delegate against Apostle George Q. Cannon of the People's Party, his supporters paused outside nearly every Mormon home. There they offered three cheers for Baskin and three groans for Cannon.⁴⁹

When the election came, "non-Mormons and Mormons came to blows outside the voting booths. Mormon John Sharp was severely beaten and might have been killed but for the intervention of William Hiskey." A conductor on the Utah Central Railroad, Hiskey arrived with the northbound train and, "armed with two six-shooters, dispersed the crowd in all directions." Though armed men lay in wait for Hiskey for several days, "the conductor's prudence matched his courage and he took care not to be available."⁵⁰

Perhaps in a climate so polarized, it was inevitable that a progressive group emerge. Mormons such as William Godbe and Edward Tullidge and a dozen others encouraged the church leaders to welcome mining and other "outside" enterprises and abandon the policy of retrenchment. The Godbeites, as they quickly became known, were summarily excommunicated for arguing with Young's economic policies but became an important liaison between sides. Godbe's freelance lobbying in Washington, in fact, helped to forestall the imposition of a military solution to the "Utah problem." Locally, their main contribution came through establishing the *Mormon Tribune*, soon renamed the *Salt Lake Tribune*.

From the start, the *Tribune* energized the journalistic dialogue in the valley by challenging the church organ, the *Deseret News*. Neither newspaper was subtle nor overly concerned about libel litigation, and the issues of the day raged in their columns. Within a few years, the *Tribune's* leadership went from the hands of conflicted Mormons to those of anti-Mormons, and it became a vitriolic opponent of Young and all things LDS.

"To the publishers of the *Tribune* during the 1873–83 decade, objectivity was a vice not to be tolerated in news columns, editorials, or correspondence from readers," commented a *Tribune* history.⁵¹

Overall, the American press favored vigor and color over factual reporting, and the Utah papers followed the trend. Founded the same year, 1872, the *Salt Lake Herald* echoed the *Tribune's* viewpoint.

The *Deseret News*, the valley veteran, found support from its spin-off, *The Daily Telegraph*. The *News* itself, in keeping with the church's policy of adopting a position of superior virtue, often ignored the *Tribune's* diatribes and let the *Telegraph* fight back. Still, its own combative reports and editorials appeared regularly, stiff with outrage and righteous indignation.

The newspapers echoed the political parties that had developed around the same polarity. In 1870 non-Mormons gained a political voice as the Liberal Party joined the recently formed Independent Party and nominated a delegate to Congress. In response the Mormons organized the majority People's Party.

While the Liberal Party stood no chance of victory in electoral politics, it kept issues alive both locally and nationally. A tidbit from an 1876 issue of the *Tribune* illustrated the polarization, for it described the People's ticket as "a Priesthood city ticket" comprised of "1 President of the Church, 1 Apostle, 2 Bishops, 3 Bishops' Counselors, 2 sons-in-law of Brigham Young, and Brigham's private secretary."⁵²

The local split grew with debate in Washington around the Cullom Anti-Polygamy bill co-authored by Robert N. Baskin (who would serve as mayor of Salt Lake City and as chief justice of the Territorial Supreme Court) and his fellow Mason, Reuben Robertson.⁵³ The Radical Republicans in Congress considered several ways to bring Utah into line, including dismembering the territory, reducing the power of the Mormon-controlled probate courts, and passing the Cullom Bill to augment the Morrill law which had been easily circumvented.

While a minority of rank-and-file Mormons practiced plural marriage, a majority of leaders from bishops to the prophet did, and thus it was highly visible in Salt Lake County. Despite lurid tales of harems, the erotic aspect was officially discouraged; still, a certain amount of courting took place both in private and in public. This scandalized non-Mormons while Mormons argued it was a more

honest and godly practice than the indulgences they attributed to non-Mormons such as taking a mistress or patronizing prostitutes.

Family life probably varied at least as much in polygamy as in its more popular American cousin, monogamy. Some plural families shared one roof; in others each wife had her own dwelling and the husband rotated between them. Some men accepted "the principle" but stopped with a second wife, perhaps marrying sisters as insurance his wives would get along. Some men added wives who otherwise would have no home; others chose maidens in the bloom of youth.⁵⁴

Young women volunteered to marry Andrew Wood Cooley, for instance, the youthful bishop of the Brighton Ward west of the Jordan River. Cooley and his brothers had joined the gold rush, but Andrew converted to Mormonism and stayed in the Salt Lake Valley when his brothers traveled on. His wife never came west. In 1866 he married Mary Asenath Huntington who had crossed the plains as a six-year-old and whose polygamous family was close to the Youngs and Kimballs. A daughter was born the year following their marriage.⁵⁵

Apparently Rachel Caroline Coon, who had grown up in polygamy, instigated Cooley's plural status. This "vivacious, dark-haired, oval-faced, and blue-eyed"⁵⁶ twenty-year-old was known as a natural leader, a daughter of Abraham Coon, whose enterprises near the West Mountains inspired the naming of Coonville, Coon Canyon, and Coon Peak. Rachel enlisted her best friend, twenty-four-year-old Mary Jane Jenkins, in the plot. When, as a ten-year-old, Jenkins had emigrated from England, she was hidden from Indians visiting the wagon train for fear her long, red tresses would prove a dangerous curiosity.

One day the two young women visited their friend Mary Cooley and somehow suggested that she share her husband with them. Descendants were left to imagine Mary's initial reaction, but no doubt it was influenced by Andrew's position as bishop as well as by the beliefs of all concerned. Andrew began courting Rachel Coon first, then Mary Jane Jenkins. The friends, "radiant and gowned in white," married Andrew Cooley in February 1868 in the Endowment House "for time and for all eternity."⁵⁷ As they approached the altar, Rachel offered the position of second wife to her friend; equally

accommodating, Mary Jane shortened her name to Jane so as not to be confused with Mary.

Andrew Cooley's fourth wife, Ann Hazen, was offered to him by her father who felt she paid excessive attention to a non-Mormon fellow working on the railroad. "How long Andrew mulled the request is unknown, but his answer was affirmative, and so was Brigham Young's. Andrew's wives all knew and loved Ann though they had a little reservation about her being only fifteen years old."⁵⁸ Separate portraits taken of Andrew with each wife showed the bearded patriarch and Mary seated side by side; Jane, Rachel, and Ann posed in turn beside his chair, each with a hand resting on his shoulder.⁵⁹

The Cooley family offered only one example of the ways in which polygamy redistributed affections and sometimes allowed women greater independence through sisterly support. Statistics suggested that polygamous mothers bore fewer offspring than their monogamous counterparts, yet the system still contributed to rapid growth—one of its purposes. Divorces were fairly common and granted by the church⁶⁰; some who upheld the principle described it as their religion's sternest test, and therefore its most exalted. For many generations hence, numerous people in Salt Lake County would be linked by familial ties as descendants of large polygamous families.

When the Cullom Bill passed the House of Representatives, protests erupted throughout the Salt Lake Valley. The new turtle-backed Tabernacle on Temple Square, completed at an equivalent cost of \$300,000 only a few years earlier, now rang with speeches and resolutions. Women in polygamy staged their own protest meeting, drawing educated and eloquent speakers such as Eliza R. Snow, president of the Relief Society auxiliary which had been reorganized for the first time since Nauvoo. Snow, a plural wife of Joseph Smith and now of Brigham Young, described polygamy "not as servitude or vassalage, but as a divinely ordained partnership."⁶¹

Non-Mormons and Godbeites were less united in favor of the bill than Mormons were against it. Participants at one meeting in February 1870, at the Masonic Hall, debated modifying the bill. "There were differences of opinion among the Gentiles, and even among the Masons, as to what methods of procedure should be employed in handling matters of public policy. . . ."⁶²

Certainty was growing in Washington, D.C., however, where President Ulysses S. Grant coordinated the effort to quash Mormon influence. He sent J. Wilson Shaffer as territorial governor and James B. McKean as chief justice of the Territorial Supreme Court with orders to wrest Mormon power from the probate courts and the Nauvoo Legion and to battle polygamy. Nauvoo Legion units drilled in defiance of Shaffer's orders, and arrests were made, but Mormon juries refused to indict.

Polygamy, however, was another matter. "Virtually unhampered by due process, McKean quickly procured a number of important indictments" against visible Mormons, including one charging Brigham Young with lascivious cohabitation. Actually McKean viewed this indictment as a test of "Federal Authority Against Polygamic Theocracy."⁶³

Forcing the "Lion of the Lord" to defend himself in court invited spectacle; however, Young not only "refused to roar but also hired the best gentile attorneys and turned away wrath by mild and co-operative demeanor."⁶⁴ Meanwhile, the People's Party prevailed at the polls, and Mormon lobbyists pleaded their cause to a national audience. The Cullom Bill failed to pass the United States Senate.

Given this victory in Washington despite the increasing hassles at home, LDS leaders may have underestimated the federal government's determination. In another effort to prove loyalty, the ghost State of Deseret disbanded and let its constitution gather dust. The territorial assembly granted suffrage to women in 1870, joining Wyoming in this reform well ahead of most of the nation; however, since the vote allowed Mormon women to support the LDS system including polygamy, suffrage in Utah was not viewed by non-Mormons as entirely progressive.⁶⁵

Optimistically, in 1872 the territory sent Congress another bid for statehood. The petition found a cold reception.

The valley's urban centers, described as "one large mining camp," were linked by State Street, which extended south to the Point of the Mountain. The agricultural town of Murray called it String Street and then, as locals turned to mining and additional miners swarmed in, Gold Street. The town's name, too, evolved—from South



The farming town of Sandy was transformed by the Utah Southern Railroad, built by Brigham Young and his sons, and by mining interests in the nearby canyons. Here, Main Street is shown in 1881.

Cottonwood to Franklyn, named for a new smelter. Then, when the Utah Southern Railway brought enough growth to justify a post office, the town became the namesake of territorial governor Eli Murray, an unpopular choice.⁶⁶ As six smelters appeared in the farming community, increasing smoke and fumes began to chase the meadowlarks from the skies.

Sandy City to the south became an important and diversified hub. Young christened the town in 1873 for its thirsty soil as he dedicated the railroad station.⁶⁷ (Some wondered if engineer Sandy Kinghorn had gained a namesake.) The town began as a farming settlement; land was cheaper and more plentiful in the south valley than around the capital and was enriched by Big and Little Cottonwood creeks and several streams.

In the 1860s, even before the railroad came, Sandy felt the impact of silver mining at Alta in Little Cottonwood Canyon. The farming town below changed to suit the clientele, for on their days off, “the miners hit the town, patronizing Sandy’s many hotels, boarding houses, saloons, and brothels.”⁶⁸

The railroad eased the task of both the miners and the granite



Alta, in Little Cottonwood Canyon, was a substantial silver mining town as shown here in 1873. (Utah State Historical Society)

cutters, who worked lower in the canyon. Railroad cars gradually replaced ox-drawn wagons in hauling granite, and rails soon climbed the canyon to the mine. "Two mules pulled the railroad cars up the mountain . . . in single file walking in the middle of the track. When they reached Alta, the engineer turned the mules loose and young men herded them down the canyon. . . ."⁶⁹

Alta itself became a bustling town by the end of the 1870s, boasting between eight and nine thousand residents who were accommodated by "more than twenty-six saloons, 180 houses, five breweries, hotels, stores, and even a city hall."⁷⁰ So rich was the ore, that it was worth sending halfway around the world for processing. After oxen bore it down the canyon and rails sped it to San Francisco, the ore was then loaded onto ships for the voyage around Cape Horn to Wales for processing. After the Emma silver mine was exhausted, the silver market shrank, and a rash of fires and avalanches wreaked destruction, Alta's population declined significantly.⁷¹

Sandy was also a significant supply station and transportation link for the Bingham Canyon mines. Virtually all ores extracted from

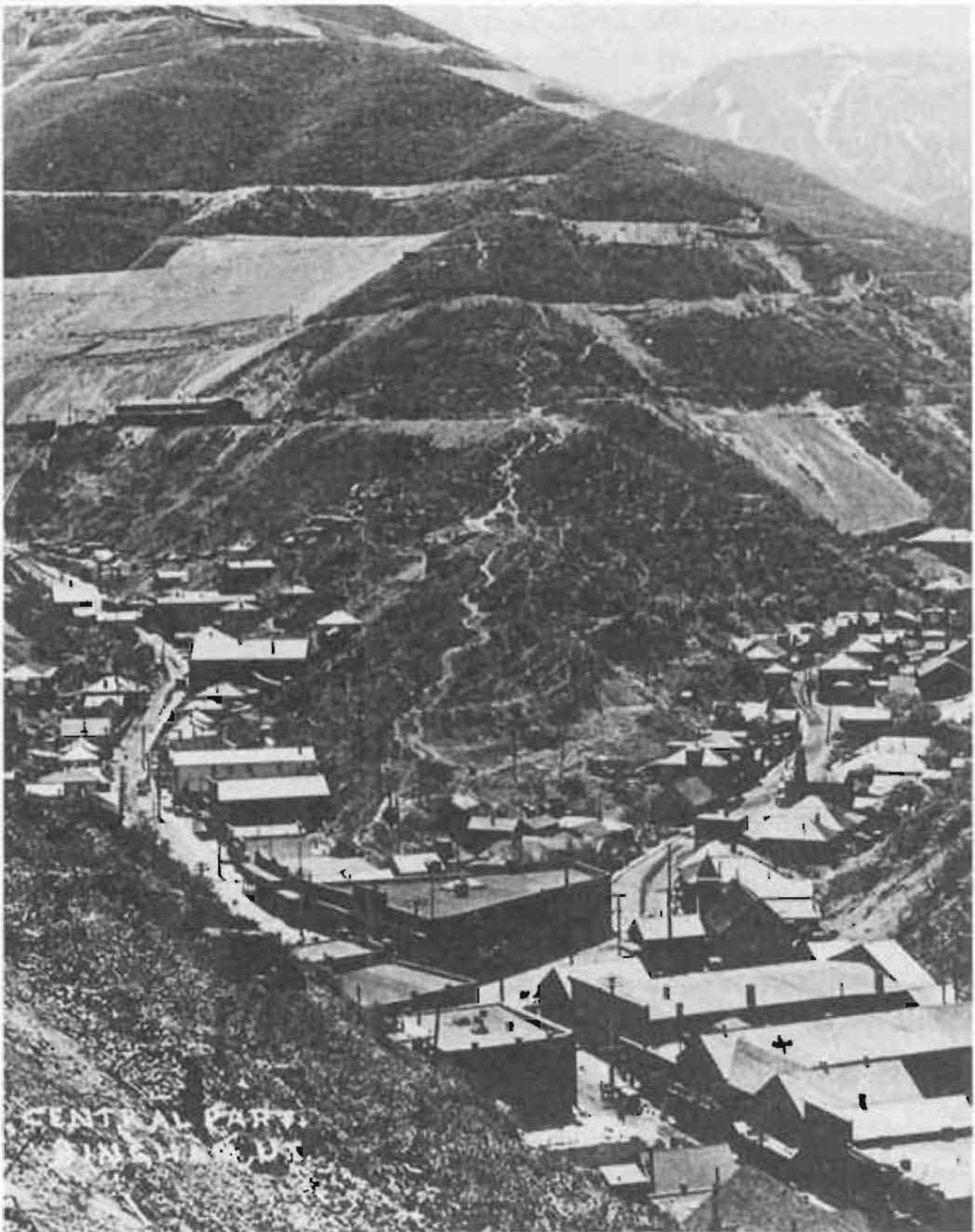
the canyons during the 1860s went through Sandy, then crossed the Atlantic Ocean to Wales. The depot became the town's heart and train whistles its voice even after valley smelters localized ore refining, employing hundreds of local men. "Crates of commercial products rolled down the gangplanks of boxcars while slant-bellied ore cars shunted busily through the web of tracks linking the samplers, smelters, and farther destinations."⁷²

Like Alta, Bingham sprang up around mines and claimed no stable core of farmers and townspeople. Even before the railroad reached the south valley, the mines produced nearly \$900,000 of gold alone, as well as silver, copper, and lead, for a total worth of more than \$2 million. Then Hugh White conceived the idea for the Bingham and Garfield Railway Line, linking the mines to the Utah Southern Railroad in Sandy and extending south to Camp Floyd. Prominent non-Mormons including Baskin and the Walker brothers participated in its \$300,000 incorporation.⁷³

Linked by rail to refiners and markets both local and distant, Bingham boomed, accruing a startling collection of houses, shacks, and tents along the narrow canyon walls, soon interspersed by a ribald collection of boarding houses, hotels, saloons, and brothels. The canyon creek ran through town, providing culinary water and bearing away garbage. For decades Bingham held a reputation as a law unto itself. Between 1870 and 1880, a dozen cases of murder or manslaughter were reported in the newspapers, "most the result of dispensation of frontier justice that was upheld by mining camp common law."⁷⁴

Some sought water in the southwest valley just as intently as the Binghamites sought precious ores. Both a lack of irrigation water and Indian hostilities had slowed growth south and west, despite forts throughout the region. In the 1860s, Riverton developed as an outgrowth of South Jordan, and, in the 1880s, Bluffdale developed along the bluffs above the Jordan River as an extension of West Jordan. From 1861 to 1867, West Jordan residents worked on the Rock Meeting House, notable since it was built from neither logs nor adobe. It became a gathering place for settlements in the south valley on both sides of the river and was later renamed Pioneer Hall.⁷⁵

Plans for canals had circulated throughout the 1850s, and Young



Bingham grew along the sides of a canyon that was later consumed by the huge open-pit copper mine in the early 1970s. (Utah State Historical Society).

ceremoniously broke ground; but the move south as Johnston's Army advanced had halted the grading, and progress was slow thereafter.

North Jordan Canal's original channel that supplied water to Archibald Gardner's mill in West Jordan was extended into Granger in 1877.⁷⁶

By then Salt Lake County had begun an eight-year, \$70,000 project to provide a series of canals flowing north from a dam at Jordan Narrows near the outlet of Utah Lake, despite opposition from Utah County. Canal digging became a major enterprise, and farmers earned their water rights by digging sections through their lands either with picks and shovels or with horse-drawn scrapers. South Jordan Canal was excavated between 1870 and 1875, and the Utah and Salt Lake Canal progressed, delivering Hunter its first water in 1881. Meanwhile, the Brighton and North Point Canal snaked across the river bottoms, bringing water to struggling farms on the alkali-plagued flats south of the Great Salt Lake.⁷⁷

With the end of the Black Hawk War to the south, relations with Indian tribes eased in the valley, and migrating groups remained a common sight. One camping ground lay at about 13400 South and 1900 West, where poplar trees shaded the tents and tepees, and ponies grazed on the grasses. "While camped here, they went begging for flour, sugar, and other foodstuffs; everything except meat," one settler recorded. "From their homes in the South Mountains, they trailed down in their small wagons pulled by two little ponies. . . . We could see them coming, a little trail of dust."⁷⁸

The railroad station in Draper became the place for Indian families to pick up their government allotments of several hundred pounds of coal. A tannery and shoe shop complemented the required co-op store in town, and the Old White Meetinghouse hosted all manner of public gatherings, including a village school taught by Dr. John R. Park.

Unusually well educated for a public school teacher in that place and time, Park received the monthly wage of \$60, with thirds of that sum paid in cash, wheat, and potatoes. "That was above average pay in those days but Dr. Park was worth it," a Draper history commented.⁷⁹ Park's students included adults as well as children, for many settlers hungered for knowledge. His fame as an educator spread. He served as president of the University of Deseret, and his name later graced the administration building at the University of Utah.



As early as 1851, people flocked to the shores of the Great Salt Lake to sun, picnic, and float on the briny waves. Here, a group poses at Black Rock Beach where Heber C. Kimball's home preceded several luxurious resorts. (LDS Church Archives)

Perhaps nothing during Salt Lake County's embattled decades presented a greater contrast to the fervor of political extremes and to the dusty labor of mining and agriculture than the delights available on the shores of the Great Salt Lake. Beginning with Heber C. Kimball's house erected on Black Rock beach, valley residents eagerly combined comfort with the pleasures of sun, sand, and salty waves.

The Lake Side resort erected in 1870 by John W. Young, one of Brigham's railroad-building sons, monopolized the fun for several years. While the beaches provided the main attraction, a three-decked steamship, the *City of Corinne* (named for a non-Mormon town to the north), offered luxurious sailing for 25 cents. Affluent Salt Lakers enjoyed dinner then dancing on deck, while waves splashed and rippled below.⁸⁰

In 1875 after future president James A. Garfield took a cruise, the ship's name became the *General Garfield* and its base changed to Lake Point, a competing resort that featured more than one hundred new bathhouses and a small pavilion. Now for the higher price of \$1.50,

tourists could take a two-hour, twenty mile cruise on the lake and perhaps spot the buffalo herd that grazed on Antelope Island just for the sightseers' delight.

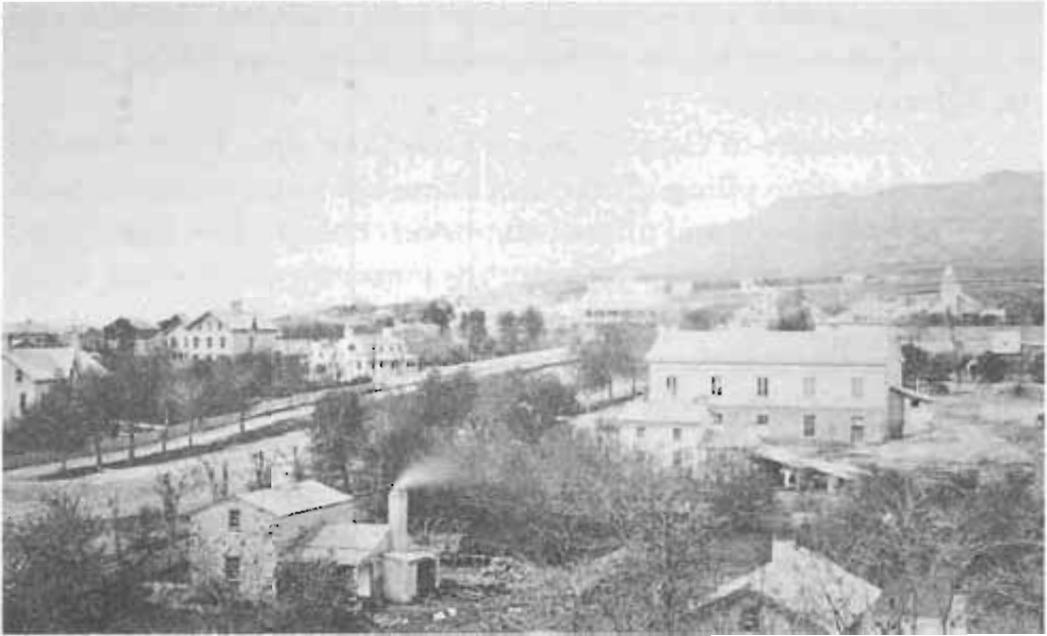
The splendors of Garfield Beach raised the ante. Its tri-towered pavilion rose from pilings fifteen feet above the water and three hundred feet from shore, and offered afternoon concerts, fine dining, and dancing. Nearby awaited such vigorous amusements as a race track, shooting gallery, bowling alleys, and boats for hire.⁸¹

During the last three years of the 1870s, organized baseball attracted many fans, for at least seventeen teams played throughout the county. The Deserets and the Red Stockings were the best known clubs and challenged teams from outside the territory.⁸² Betting and boisterousness became problems at some games, and the sport hovered at the edge of respectability. Before one game, the *Salt Lake Tribune* promised its readers: "Ladies may rest assured that nothing improper will be permitted on the grounds."⁸³

Baseball, in fact, was the pleasant pastime of boys on the Deseret Baseball Grounds, located above the north wall of Salt Lake City on the day the world seemed to end. At 5 P.M. on Wednesday, 5 April 1876, a huge explosion rocked the valley, heard from Farmington to the north to Bingham Canyon to the south. Five hundred tons of rock flew through the air, killing and injuring residents as boulders ripped through homes and businesses, and thousands of windows shattered throughout downtown Salt Lake City. One Civil War veteran would pronounce the capital city more devastated by the blast than Fredericksburg had been after a month's bombardment.⁸⁴

An earthquake!—a volcano?—Connor's troops firing cannons on the city?—the end of the world! All these conclusions were reached during the shocked moments after the blast. Ballplayers who had not been knocked unconscious raced excitedly into the city with the news: three powder magazines near the Nauvoo Legion's arsenal on Arsenal Hill had exploded.

As residents crept up the hill toward the epicenter, they discovered feet still in shoes and other human parts amid the devastation. Two teenagers, Charles Richardson and Frank Hill, had been killed at the site. Flying boulders had also killed three-year-old Joseph H. Raddon, as he played with other children in his yard, and Mary Jane



Early Salt Lake City looking north up present day State Street toward The Beehive House, Arsenal Hill, and Ensign Peak. (LDS Church Archives)

Van Natta, a pregnant woman pumping water on the other side of the hill. Several elegant homes from Warm Springs to the mouth of City Creek Canyon were virtually destroyed.⁸⁵

LDS general conference proceeded in the Tabernacle that weekend, even though nearly one thousand panes had shattered on the north side of the building. Although cloth was nailed over the openings, the interior remained so chilly that Brigham Young caught a severe cold and was unable to attend the remaining sessions.⁸⁶

Investigation showed that target shooting was popular on Arsenal Hill, and a burning paper wad fired from a gun had ignited loose powder on the ground near the ammunition magazines and sparked the explosion. The magazines were owned by DuPont, ZCMI, and the Walker Brothers and located fifteen to twenty feet apart. A DuPont official testified that he had complained earlier about target practice on the hill, but to no avail.

The explosion was widely reported throughout the United States and in Great Britain; even as Salt Lake City officials removed explosives to a safer site, other cities evaluated the locations and conditions

of their own powder warehouses. Slowly the valley began to recover from this catastrophe so immense that the *Deseret News* predicted that time henceforth would be reckoned from the date of the explosion.⁸⁷

A century, however, would lose remembrance of the Arsenal Hill disaster. A more distinct turning point came with the last breath of Brigham Young, drawn in August 1877. The death of the man known as the great colonizer also received national and international coverage, for the Salt Lake Valley had drawn the world's increasing attention and participation in both eager and hostile ways during the 1860s–70s.

The valley had become more than a traveler's waystation, a Mormon's mecca, a sightseer's curiosity, an entrepreneur's mother-lode. Its ores now fed a metal-hungry world and increasingly attracted new populations; its politics enlivened newspapers on both coasts, and its issues were debated in Congress. Meanwhile its commerce multiplied and varied, supporting both society and culture.

Past and future crystallized in Young's obituaries. He was memorialized rather kindly in the national media, dearly mourned as the "Lion of the Lord" in the *Deseret News* and vilified in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, which announced that "the most graceful act of his life has been his death."⁸⁸

From the north city wall to the outlying settlements, much of the valley bore mute witness to Young's organization, leadership, and foresight, but the canyon mines, the frequent train whistles, and the *Tribune's* editorials predicted the future. When Brigham died in the valley that his hand had designated, his vision largely lived on—but none of the issues he had confronted died with him.

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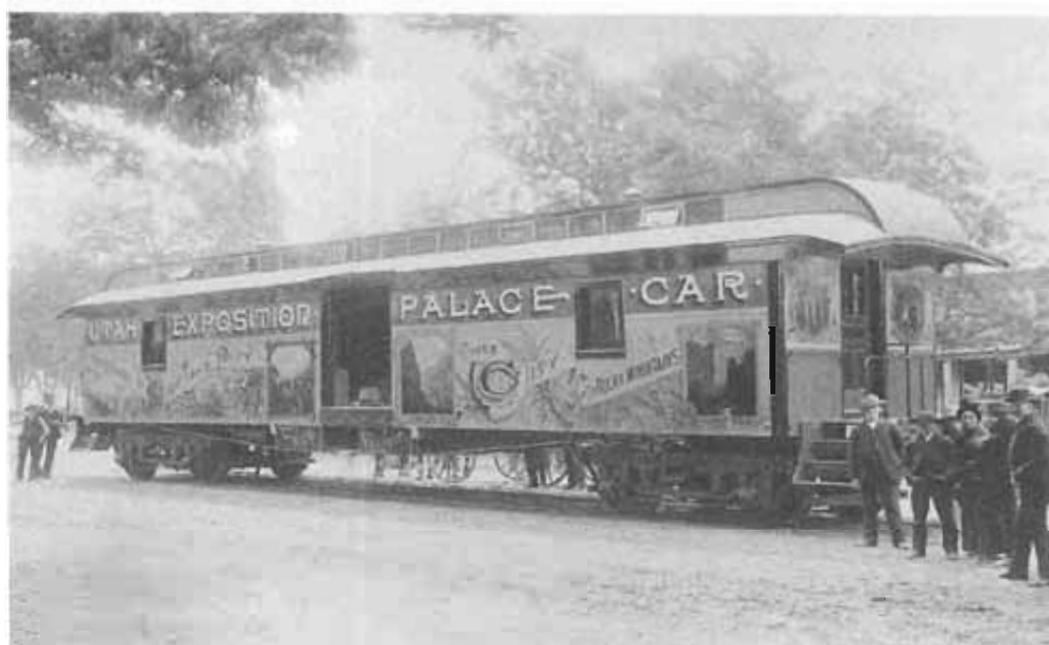
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THE KINGDOM OF GOD WANTS STATEHOOD, 1880–1900

The Salt Lake Valley gradually recovered from the explosion on Arsenal Hill; yet at times, over the next two decades, the valley itself seemed a powder keg likely to explode from any careless spark. Within Salt Lake County the struggle for power commenced, with statehood the pre-eminent goal of Mormons and federal control over divergent customs the requirement of the non-Mormons. Tension flared into sporadic violence with elections or news of repressive legislation.

By the mid-1880s, the territorial prison in Sugarhouse processed a new type of prisoner by the hundreds; these “cohabs”—people caught living in polygamy—ranged from the elite to the ordinary, the young to the elderly, and included women, though comparatively few. The apocalypse the Mormon settlers had feared since leaving Nauvoo did not come, yet federal persecution intensified against individuals as well as institutions so severely that it finally drew the sanction of leading non-Mormons.

Meanwhile the valley welcomed significant numbers of new residents, for the railroad had opened the mines like a cornucopia of



In 1888 the Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce launched the Exposition Palace rail car exhibit filled with scenic paintings promoting the valley's resources and attractions. (LDS Church Archives)

precious metals. Mineral profits from silver, lead, coal, and copper soared to \$10 million in 1882 and survived a national depression in the mid-90s. During these decades, non-Mormons reached parity in the population, dominated among the affluent, and for the first time found a strong political voice.

As smelting localized, it demanded manpower. Foreign workers arrived from Asia and Southern Europe to turn the wheels of the industrial revolution, and national ethnicity became a defining element within neighborhoods, businesses, boarding houses, and coffee-houses. Salt Lake City bustled with commerce and increasingly suffered the crowding and sanitation problems of other nineteenth-century cities. Meanwhile towns and cities in the county grew willy-nilly, and the demand for sheriffs, fire protection, and other government services increased.

Thus typical and atypical elements of frontier growth coexisted in the Salt Lake Valley, a colorful, conflicted showcase for the issues of time and place. Like a drama reaching climax and resolution in act after suspenseful act, these decades closed one era and opened the

next, for nonconformity was suppressed and Americanism triumphed. Polygamy, the war cry of the 1860s–70s, became the bludgeon of the 1880s, then the 1890s' tattered flag of surrender. Accordingly, within a few short years, everything—politics, economics, and lifestyle—realigned around new ethics and systems, and Salt Lake County claimed its modern destiny.

As political pressures intensified and the non-Mormon sector grew in numbers and influence, the LDS church leaders' grip on their plan for Zion gradually loosened. By the 1880s, Salt Lake City was filling up, and many large downtown blocks were subdivided by developers. Narrow streets and courts opened to business and housing. In 1883 the Salt Lake City Fire Department reorganized on a professional basis, and the Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade was established in 1887. Meanwhile rectangular blocks marched south as new developments encroached on the Big Field beyond Ninth South Street.

Early developments in what became South Salt Lake included Hussler Mill on Mill Creek near State Street. Winder Dairy formed in 1880, initiated by the wives of John R. Winder, who, as a counselor in the LDS First Presidency, pushed work on the temple toward completion. Later three separate Winder dairies, all run by family members, combined at 4400 West and 4100 South streets in Granger.¹

Calder Park developed into a popular amusement park with boating on a lake created from swampland. Later, leisurely crowds enjoyed a dance pavilion, merry-go-round, bandstand, racetrack, roller-skating rink, and bowling lanes. In 1891 the Rapid Transit Street Car Company, which operated the park, linked it to town and installed electrical power. At its peak, Calder Park drew more than 100,000 patrons per season. Later the land was sold to the LDS Granite Stake and renamed Wandamere Park, then sold to Charles Nibley, who donated the land to Salt Lake City for recreational use. The Nibley nine-hole golf course thus became a permanent fixture.²

Electrical power had arrived in the valley, unreliable but shimmering with potential. Both the LDS-owned Salt Lake City Gas Company and the Salt Lake City Council turned down the chance to sponsor electrical light service, and the *Deseret News* editorialized



In 1891 streetcar service reached Calder Park, which drew more than 100,000 patrons per season at its peak. Later the park was acquired by Charles Nibley who donated the property to the city which created the Nibley Golf Course. (Utah State Historical Society)

that the service had not been proven practical. Undaunted, Charles C. Ruthrauff, an agent for the Brush Electric Light Company, approached non-Mormon businessmen. As a result, George S. Erb, who operated the Walker House and Townsend House hotels, became company president; Henry W. Lawrence, active in liberal politics and prominent in merchandising, mining, and real estate, became vice president; William Hoge became secretary; and board members included bankers William S. McCornick and David F. and Matthew H. Walker.³

At eight o'clock on the evening of 31 March 1881, electric streetlights were turned on in Salt Lake City, dazzling a crowd of spectators. Soon Main Street became known as the "Great White Way." Although electrical service was so undependable through the rest of the century that some thought it faster to take a mule-drawn trolley than an electrified one, the new energy source steadily improved. Electricity changed urban lifestyle and revolutionized mining and

agriculture. By the 1890s, utility poles not only lined Salt Lake City's streets but marched down the middle as well.⁴

Despite the conveniences of electricity and the new-fangled telephone, sanitation became a major problem. Hundreds of work animals moved through the city each day and inconveniently dropped dead in the intersections. A sewer system was not undertaken until the 1890s, and some areas lacked sewers until the 1920s. "Filth clogged the streets," as the gardenlike town disappeared. "Garbage piled up in yards. Household wastes ran onto the ground or into open gutters. Privy vaults and cesspools overflowed and leaked."⁵

One problem lay with providing clean, fast-running water, for the original ditches through the city flowed slowly now, clogged with debris. City Creek, on the other hand, still rioted out of control especially in the spring, and the fast current drowned a number of children. The installation of water mains solved both problems, and City Creek was channeled below the temple block where it powered the pipe organ in the Tabernacle.

Social problems increased with the changing population. During the latter decades of the nineteenth century, city leaders tried to restrain a growing prostitution trade by locating brothels in the upper stories of respectable businesses on Commercial Street—later Regent Street—between First and Second South streets. Periodically, prostitutes were arrested, examined, fined, and released. Otherwise, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported, the women "were allowed to go along without fear of molestation as long as they did not ply their trade so openly and brazenly as to offend the public eye."⁶

Sugar House developed as an important business and residential district in the city's southeast corner. The sugar mill for which it was named served as a paper mill, a woolen factory, a bucket and tub works, a roundhouse and machine shop for the Utah Central Railroad, and a coal yard office and weighing station. A variety of Sugarhouse businesses extended services southeast to residents in Millcreek and Cottonwood. By the mid-1880s, Sugar House gained increasing importance due to the presence of the territorial prison and the new clientele that began rotating through its doors.

Meanwhile the paper mill, which provided newsprint among other products, had moved to the mouth of Big Cottonwood

Canyon, housed in a \$100,000 structure built with discarded temple blocks. In 1892 the building burned. Telephone calls notified both the manager of the Granite Paper Company and the fire department. Fire wagons rushed thirteen miles south and east—one horse dropping from exhaustion on the way—but by the time they arrived, the mill was in ruins and was never rebuilt.⁷

Shops, stores, hotels, saloons, and businesses of all kinds multiplied during these decades. Women represented a minority in the workforce, though a significant one. More than two thousand working women were listed in the *Utah Gazeteer*, for instance, between 1892 and 1893. More than seven hundred were represented in the professions of teaching, medicine, music, art, and literature.⁸ In addition, 260 women stood behind store counters, and more than sixty others dominated the lodgings business, operating hotels, lodging houses, and boarding houses. Over 150 women listed themselves as laundresses or washwomen and another thirty as waitresses or cooks. Only eighty women stenographers, secretaries, typists, bookkeepers, and copyists appeared in the listings, as men still dominated the clerical field, but nearly one-fourth of the female workforce worked in manufacturing, including milliners, seamstresses, knitting mill workers, and factory workers.⁹

Women also played an enormous role in social and community work. Joining the LDS Relief Society in charitable endeavors were women's aid societies among the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish communities. Congregationalist women not only formed an active benevolent society, but also a sewing school and a Young Ladies Missionary Society. Baptist women made a special effort to reach the Finnish, Swedish, and tiny African-American communities. As early as 1866, the Jewish Ladies Benevolent Society aided charitable causes and assisted the Masonic Lodge with its annual ball. No sooner was the first Unitarian charter in the county signed in 1891 than the Alliance of Unitarian Women began crucial fundraising through sponsoring teas, dances, and dinner parties.¹⁰

The Methodists established a women's boarding house known as the Esther House and ran four charitable societies. In 1881 Angie F. Newman spearheaded a successful drive to create a "house of refuge for discontented and abandoned plural wives and children."

Although Newman's plan soared through the fundraising and building stages, the \$100,000 building failed to attract its desired clientele. In 1887 only eleven women and twice as many children moved into the structure that later became the Ambassador Club.¹¹

Non-Mormon women, accustomed to supporting mission schools, orphanages, and other good works, approached polygamy politically, as well. Two hundred women formed the Anti-Polygamy Society, which sponsored lectures and meetings locally and in the East, and published *The Anti-Polygamy Standard*. The group saw itself in the tradition of the early abolitionists who had mobilized public opinion to eliminate slavery; they hoped to rescue their LDS sisters from what they viewed as a coercive system and a social evil.¹²

At one point, the society petitioned Congress with 250,000 signatures collected nationwide to request that women in Utah be deprived of the right to vote in order to diminish Mormon influence.¹³ This stance was not unanimous among women's groups in the East, some of which supported suffrage regardless of polygamy, yet it had an effect.

Church missions within the county also led out in providing medical services. The Episcopalians opened St. Mark's Miners' Hospital in 1874 in a converted residence on Fourth South and Fifth East streets. Supported by a dollar donation from miners' monthly wages, it primarily treated injuries and lead poisoning, serving eight hundred patients in 1883 alone. In 1894 the St. Mark's School of Nursing opened, the first in the territory.¹⁴

The Sisters of the Holy Cross opened the Holy Cross Hospital in October 1875, a long-lived charitable hospital. The sisters worked with Father Scanlan to establish the St. Ann's Orphanage and St. Mary's School as well. Wealthy Catholics such as mining magnate Thomas Kearns played a major role in funding.¹⁵

When the Holy Cross Hospital moved to a new location, the LDS Relief Society founded the Deseret Hospital on its former site in 1882. The Deseret represented the Salt Lake Valley's first general hospital but would remain open only two years. A number of women ranked prominently within the medical community, including Dr. Ellen Fergersen, Dr. Martha Hughes Cannon, and Dr. Romania



Pupils from the Seventeenth Ward School, shown here, attended classes held in LDS wards, were taught by teachers called by bishops, and paid a tuition. (Utah State Historical Society)

Bunnell Pratt—the last, Utah’s first trained ophthalmologist. All three served a stint as resident physician.¹⁶

In 1882 the National Board of Health reported Salt Lake City’s mortality rate lower than that of two-thirds of other cities in the United States.¹⁷ This marked a significant change over the early settlement years when an 1850 report showed the second highest death rate of any state or territory due to inadequate housing and food, infectious diseases, and childbirth complications.¹⁸ Infant cholera, however, took a tragic toll every summer, and the lack of sanitation compounded the ravages of typhoid fever, smallpox, and other communicable diseases.

Nothing, perhaps, better illustrated the complex interactions in the valley around religion than the distinctions between children’s schools. The private mission schools were free, but the public schools were not. All were denominational in the sense that they were supported by churches and included religious teachings within the classroom.

In terms of geographical boundaries, open enrollment, and tax

use, the Mormons had established public schools. School districts coincided with LDS ward boundaries, and teachers taught Mormonism along with academics. Funding came from tuition as well as property taxes. By the 1880s, a teacher generally supervised seventy-two students for an average salary of \$46.80 per month for men and \$28.31 for women.¹⁹ Even the *Deseret News* editorially accused the system of employing teachers who “had no other qualifications excepting they were out of employ,” and of overcrowding and high tuition.²⁰

In 1884 the University of Deseret welcomed secondary students on Union Square where West High School would later stand. At that time, twenty teachers were listed on the faculty; however, the university felt the pressures of the times and went through numerous ups and downs before its status would be stabilized by statehood and a campus built, partially on lands ceded by Fort Douglas.

Meanwhile, other denominations established their own schools in the valley. Protestant mission schools became particularly prodigious, founded with the intent of arming students against Mormonism even as they studied secular subjects. These schools were supported by eastern fundraising and claimed trained teachers, which attracted many students including Mormons. This professionalism would credit the mission schools as the forerunner of the public school system. The Presbyterian Church alone operated thirty-three schools in the territory with fifty teachers and an enrollment of over two thousand pupils, most of them Mormon.

The Catholics also welcomed Mormon students at St. Mary's Academy, All Hallow's College, and other schools. Scanlon, who became bishop in 1891, described a friendly feeling, “owing to the fact that I, with my priests, have adopted reconciliatory policy towards them. Instead of abuse, which is unmercifully poured out against them from Protstant pulpits,” he went on, “we preach Catholic truth savored with charity.”²¹

Despite the decisions of various Mormon families to send their children to mission schools, the LDS church vigorously resisted the dismantling of its territory-wide public school system in favor of free schools. This policy raised almost as much ire locally and in the East as did polygamy.

Even recreation in Salt Lake County seemed stamped LDS or Non. For decades, the resorts along the southern tip of the Great Salt Lake had proven popular, though criticized in the *Deseret News* as morally harmful, especially for youth. In 1893 the newspaper announced that an LDS church-owned company had hired architect Richard Kletting to design the “Coney Island of the West” on the south shore to provide a grand recreational alternative. Originally company officials banned Sunday opening and the selling of liquor but later changed each policy in order to maintain a competitive business.²²

Saltair’s domes and arches blazed with thousands of electric lights, dazzling its clientele. From the central pavilion, two-story wings extended into the lake. Bathhouses lined the first floor with stairs leading into the water, allowing bathers, the *Deseret News* explained, to enter the lake “unseen by the mighty crowd of spectators and avoid the light remarks and ridicule of the vulgar and unrefined if clad in the too often abbreviated and unsightly bathing suit.”²³

The resort offered a restaurant, snack bars, and picnic areas. With nightfall, ladies took gentlemen’s arms and lifted their fanciest skirts to climb the grand staircase leading to a large ballroom flanked by club rooms, dressing rooms, and parlors for men and women.

Families caught the train to Saltair for daylong excursions, and downtown residents escaped after work for a relaxing swim or walk around the pavilion, all catching a night train back to the city. So popular was Saltair that the first seasonal attendance in 1893 totaled 100,000, impressive since the city’s population rested at 50,000.²⁴

Salt Lake County’s increasingly diverse population was manifested in many ways. For instance, the all-black Twenty-Fourth Infantry was stationed at Fort Douglas until 1898. The troops boosted the small African-American community by 40 percent, still only 0.5 percent of the total population.²⁵ The presence of federal troops was resented by the Mormon populace, and the black soldiers felt a double lash of prejudice.

In October 1896, Private Thomas A. Ernest protested in a letter to the *Salt Lake Tribune* that the men of the Twenty-Fourth Infantry had enlisted in the military “to uphold the honor and dignity of their

country as their fathers enlisted to found and preserve it." Ernest continued: "We object to being classed as lawless barbarians. We were men before we were soldiers, we are men now, and will continue to be men after we are through soldiering. We ask the people of Salt Lake to treat us as such."²⁶

The first African-American congregation in the territory emerged with the founding of the Trinity African Methodist Episcopal Church. The chapel for the East Side Baptist Church, completed on Third South and Seventh East streets in 1891, was later acquired by the African-American Cavalry Baptist Church after the East Side congregation merged with the First Baptist Church. The First Swedish Baptist Church was organized in 1891 also, and in 1896 the westside Rio Grande Chapel was dedicated.

Those drawn to the valley by railroads and mining reflected the immigrant workforce pouring into the United States. From settlement on, the proportion of foreign-born residents had been high. In 1870 nearly 69 percent of the heads of households in Salt Lake County were foreign born; however, 56 percent of them came from English-speaking countries.²⁷

That pattern began to change with the arrival of Chinese workers who built the great western railroads, soon followed by mine and smelter workers of Slav, Greek, Italian, and Japanese descent. Although the workers clustered in boarding houses, tents, and shacks near the mines and smelters, each group also maintained a presence in Salt Lake City.

Chinese workers were granted little credit for their railroad building, and yet their innovative methods amazed superintendents. In Bingham Canyon and elsewhere, railroad builders such as Charles Crocker, general superintendent of the Central Pacific Railway, encouraged their use.

The Chinese lowered one another in hand-woven baskets in order to set dynamite charges that blasted tunnels through sheer cliff faces. In addition, the workers insisted on Chinese dishes, high in vegetable content and healthier than the meat-and-potatoes diet of American workers. Their tea drinking protected them from the effects of polluted water; the creek running through Bingham Canyon suffered from both industrial and residential pollution. And they surprised

other canyon residents with their penchant for a steaming bath every evening, which eased sore muscles as well as assisted hygiene. Most folks believed a weekly bath more than sufficient.²⁸

No reliable records were kept of the number of Chinese and other ethnic workers in Salt Lake County during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; however, the 1890 census counted 271 Chinese residents in Salt Lake City alone, and the city continued to house the largest community following the turn of the century.

Plum Alley ran north and south between First and Second South streets, dividing the block between State and Main streets and was lined with grocery and merchandise stores, restaurants, and laundries. When the Chinese Lunar New Year came around, the community invited city dignitaries to attend a feast, followed by gifts of red envelopes containing money for the children. Henry Ju recalled collecting this “lucky money,” which could amount to “quite a haul, . . . they used to give silver dollars.”²⁹

The traditional parade featured a two-hundred-foot Chinese dragon, “which progressed along the street like a gigantic centipede,” Ivy C. Towler remembered. “The dragon itself, which swayed from side to side, had a head six feet tall spitting fire from its vicious red mouth.” Canvas painted in bright colors draped over wooden arches to give the dragon’s body “a muscular appearance. Curtained sides hung down within two feet of the ground showing the legs and [sandal-clad] feet of many Chinese marching in regular rhythm.”³⁰

Murray saw an influx of smelter workers from Yugoslavia, Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. Italian and Japanese people also joined the community but applied their skills more often to farming vegetables to sell to the smelter workers. The town split between the more settled farmers whose activities revolved around LDS wards and schools and the industrial workers who found support and camaraderie in proliferating coffeehouses and saloons.

In the 1890s Murray hit its rebellious heyday, with forty-seven saloons, breweries, gambling establishments, dance halls, and brothels. “The town motto during this decade was ‘If Anybody Went Dry on State Street in Murray It Was Their Own Fault.’”³¹

Murray claimed that one saloon owner, Charlie Thiede, attained the dubious honor of first convicted murderer in the county. Thiede



Mining gave agricultural Murray a split personality as saloons, boarding houses, and brothels appeared in the once-staid farming community. Smelting soon attracted many foreign workers, but its fumes polluted both fields and air. (Utah State Historical Society)

ran a popular establishment, but one night he chased his wife out of the house, then cut her throat. Before a county sheriff arrived on the scene, an angry crowd nearly lynched Thiede. Some Mormons believed that some sins required spilling the sinner's blood in atonement, and thus made sure that Thiede was sentenced to hang. By "not shedding his blood, the court essentially condemned Thiede to eternal damnation."³²

After 1890, Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes began arriving in search of employment. Murray shared this population with Bingham Canyon to the West and Midvale (originally called Bingham Junction) to the south. The jobs the Slavs took in the mines and smelters were dangerous and industrial accidents common. The traditions of the godfather and the extended family assumed paramount importance in this perilous and strange environment, for "many Yugoslav workers lost their lives, and the godfather and godmother often fulfilled their maximum duties."³³

In time the men sent home for "picture brides," who arrived by



Bingham maintained a reputation for local governance, ethnic diversity, and rowdy entertainment well into the twentieth century. However, the prodigious mining communities were plagued by fires and avalanches. (Utah State Historical Society)

railroad. As families formed, they sank roots and became part of the community. The old country became less dominant in their minds and its claim on their paychecks diminished. Families gravitated to Catholic or Greek Orthodox churches, and parents sent their children to English-speaking schools to learn the strange American ways.

The social and cultural barriers newcomers faced in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century were formidable. The language, laws, customs, and worldview contrasted with their own, and the larger community disparaged their differences. “Newspapers were filled with lurid accounts of gambling, fighting, and socialism as Utah’s own brand of yellow journalism appealed to the sentiments of readers and played on national fears.”³⁴

Boarding houses became an essential part of the labor scene, often segregated by workers of many nationalities. Some were large company-owned edifices that took in a hundred or more workers. Others were private homes boarding two or three countrymen. Many

Yugoslav families took in borders which added a little income and much household labor. "Laundry, cleaning, and cooking chores were increased for those already burdened with children, communal plumbing, and primitive cooking and laundering facilities."³⁵ Until the mid-1920s, however, the boarding system prevailed in Yugoslav homes.

Sandy City was nearly overwhelmed by mining, but in the 1890s, the sugar beet industry gave agriculture a boost as an important cash crop. Improved technology and financial subsidies encouraged farmers to reserve part of their land for the beets, and the LDS church founded the Utah and Idaho Sugar Company. A sugar factory built in neighboring West Jordan linked the two communities and boosted agricultural profits.

Irrigation water remained a paramount concern. In 1880 the Utah and Salt Lake Canal Company formed and proved stronger than other irrigation companies which were separated by precinct boundaries. In 1884 canals were finally completed to carry water west from the Jordan River, and construction continued on pumps and canals to bring water north from Utah Lake.

Towns such as Granger depended on community dances, plays, and other events to lighten the agricultural workload. In the 1880s, A.J. Hill, for instance, would send his white-topped buggy drawn by a team of black horses to the end of the streetcar line on State Street. The buggy would return with Frank Merrill's orchestra aboard and the dancing would begin. Later, the Seven Keys Band and the Steadman Brothers' orchestra made the same trek, traveling in a long, narrow wagon pulled by a team sporting plumes in their bridles. The blue-suited band members were an inspiring sight as they moved down the dusty country roads.³⁶

By the 1880 census, more than one hundred people were scattered in Riverton, an area that proved ideal for growing sugar beets. Men listed their occupations as farmer, shepherd, schoolteacher, store clerk, and canal worker; all the women were identified as housekeepers. The need for the latter was illustrated by the majority status of children—61 percent of the total population!³⁷

For two decades Riverton residents traveled ninety minutes by wagon to Sandy to shop or twelve hours round trip to Salt Lake City.

In 1887 the intersection of Redwood Road and Herriman Road (12600 South) formed the first commercial area, featuring a small store. Then in 1893 Daniel Densley built a two-story brick building that housed small businesses and provided recreation. A post office, bank, harness store, barber and beauty shop, cobbler, and general merchandise store all moved in. The top floor featured a hard wood dance floor and a stage; the hall soon hosted dances, wedding receptions, and community parties.³⁸

Interestingly, businesses closed in Riverton on Thursdays for decades until no one could remember the reason. The custom may have originated with British settlers who were accustomed to a half day off on either Wednesday or Thursday afternoon. Or it may have evolved from Mormon fast and testimony meeting, held Thursday afternoon. Or it may have been a combination of both.³⁹

Bingham, the source of so many metals, continued to develop. A passenger rail service linked the town to Salt Lake City, a public school opened, and religion arrived. First a small Catholic church was built in Carr Fork in 1890. In 1897 the Baptists established a mission and, two years later, the LDS church organized the Bingham Ward. Meanwhile the Methodists started Sunday school in the public school building, then in 1897 dedicated a church where a miner known as Brother Thomas Johns began preaching.

Religion of any kind found wide-open Bingham a daunting challenge. In 1912 a Methodist superintendent reported: “Any minister who goes to this charge will either backslide and become a mere performer of things ministerial, or he will follow his Master into more than one Gethsemane.”⁴⁰

Like Alta, Bingham saw more than its share of natural disasters and was even nicknamed Jinx town. A fire in the summer of 1895 swept down the canyon and destroyed forty-five structures valued at more than \$200,000. The *Deseret News* reported: “It is lamentable to see all the homeless people walking up and down the canyon without any place to lay their heads.”⁴¹ Folks who still had homes took in the homeless, and the Catholic Church provided a temporary shelter. The miners “panned the ashes of their former cabins, retrieved their gold dust, and rebuilt.”⁴² With the turn of the century, Binghamites began pressing Salt Lake County for incorporation.

Throughout the growth and enterprise of these decades, the polarity manifest around religion intensified over the issue of polygamy. Brigham Young was followed as church president by John Taylor, a mild-mannered, white-haired stalwart and a firm polygamist. Taylor counseled courage in the face of federal opposition, telling an April conference in 1882, "Let us treat it as we did the snowstorm through which we came in this morning—put up our coat collars . . . and wait until the storm subsides." After the storm, he continued, "comes sunshine. While it lasts it is useless to reason with the world; when it subsides we can talk to them."⁴³

The political storm, however, did not subside. In 1882 the Edmunds Act imposed heavy fines for polygamy and ruled the children of polygamous unions illegitimate. It established a five-man Utah Commission to register voters and run elections, excluding those who practiced plural marriage. More than 12,000 people were denied the vote when they could not pass a test oath. In addition, the commission worked through the courts to prosecute and imprison more than 1,300 people living in polygamy.⁴⁴

Mormons responded to this disenfranchisement with outrage. On 4 July 1882, valley residents awoke to find American flags flying at half-mast above Mormon-owned buildings. At first non-Mormons guessed that Taylor had died while in hiding. When they understood the act of protest, they were furious. The *Salt Lake Tribune* unleashed a series of editorial attacks, jibing that it would "hear no more of Mormon love for the Stars and Stripes."⁴⁵

The Mormons were just as militant, and serious unrest spread. "Shootings were threatened by partisans of both sides at several sites of half-masted flags." Bloodshed was avoided, but the repercussions continued for weeks with charges of Mormon autocracy and treasonous attitude. A rumor that the Mormons would protest again on 24 July prompted President Grover Cleveland to order the commanding general at Omaha, Kansas, "to keep all posts . . . in full strength and prepared for any emergency that might arise in Utah."⁴⁶

Not surprisingly, with the shift in population and the exclusion of many Mormon voters, electoral politics changed. Mid-decade a few members of the Liberal Party won election to the Territorial Legislature. Then in August 1889 the Liberal Party did what had

seemed impossible only a few years earlier—carried Salt Lake County in a legislative and county election by a margin of forty-one votes.

Jubilant *Tribune* headlines read: “Salt Lake City Goes Liberal; The Death Knell of Mormon Rule; The City is Gentile by Forty-One Votes; People Wild with Enthusiasm. . . .”⁴⁷

Mormon newspapers screamed fraud—election day irregularities were common at the time—but the election held, a clear shift in political fortunes. “For the non-Mormons up to that time had been too impotent in the political elective apparatus to even steal an election in Salt Lake.”⁴⁸

Not only did Mormons deny and resent non-Mormon accusations of an autocracy, but they saw the ringleading *Tribune* editors as tyrants themselves. An election song of the defeated People’s Party accused the opposition in lines that vividly illustrated the polarity:

. . . Hurrah, hurrah, free whisky they’ll try,
 But as for free water, that’s all in your eye.
 They call us priestridden, but what shall we say
 Of that tyrant, the tripod, they trembling obey?
 They’ll vote as they’re told when *The Tribune* ring sits.
 And they won’t vote at all unless TRIBBY permits . . .
 Perhaps it is treason to talk in such tones;
 But they live in glass houses and shouldn’t throw stones.”⁴⁹

As partisan politics raged, the Edmunds law brought personal hardship to numerous families in Salt Lake County. Federal investigators hunted patriarchs and even questioned children who were taught to lie about their parentage. Many men—husbands, fathers, church and community leaders—lived on the underground. False walls in homes guarded secret rooms, and tunnels allowed the hunted to escape to a safehouses that spanned the western continent in the style of slavery’s Underground Railroad in the East.

Since the courts were awkward places in which to establish the intimate ties of plural marriage, the enforcement of anti-polygamy laws evolved. The most common charge became unlawful cohabitation, punishable by a \$300 fine, six months in jail, or both. Eventually a refusal to deny involvement in plural marriage became tantamount to conviction, a practice sustained by the United States Supreme



The Utah Territorial Penitentiary in Sugar House was expanded in 1877 to accommodate hundreds of non-violent prisoners—polygamists. (Utah State Historical Society)

Court. In other words, those accused of plural marriage were presumed guilty until they declared themselves innocent—and in the process denied spouses, children, and religious beliefs.⁵⁰

Beginning in 1877, workers began to expand the territorial prison sprawling south of Twenty-First South street. Cells were added to total over two hundred, augmented by bathrooms, a kitchen, a bakery, a new hospital, and women's quarters, as well as a new home for the warden. A stone wall surrounded an exercise yard and gardens and orchards where prisoners worked.⁵¹

Church leaders George Q. Cannon and Abraham Cannon both served time, and the latter kept a detailed journal, describing a cell approximately twenty by twenty-six feet and twelve feet high, lined with three tiers of bunks, each bunk sleeping two men. A “fresh fish” was initiated by performing for the group—singing, dancing, speaking, or standing on his head. Apostle Lorenzo Snow ducked the requirement by saying the only poem he knew contained fifty verses and would take all night.⁵²

Cannon described the daily diet as mainly potatoes, bread, soup, and



A photographer caught the Andrew Cooley family on its way to court for Andrew's polygamy trial, which resulted in conviction. He posed with three of his four wives Jane, Rachel, Ann, and seventeen children. Mary, whose home was in downtown Salt Lake City, is not pictured.

meat. Prisoners were divided into the "toughs" and the "cohabs" and issued horizontally striped suits. The cohabs were allowed more visitors and privileges than the toughs, including church services and classes in languages, reading, and writing, at a price of \$1.50 for three months. They braided horsehair into bridles, belts, and whips, and made items to sell at raffles.⁵³ Nevertheless, confinement was not easy; inmates were plagued by vermin and sometimes served inadequate and spoiled food. Prison life was particularly hard on the elderly and the infirm.

In addition to dealing with family disruptions and hardship caused when the men fled or went to prison, women also served time for refusing to testify against their husbands. Isabelle Maria Harris was the first woman imprisoned under anti-polygamy laws. At age eighteen, she had become Clarence Merrill's third wife and bore him two babies before seeking a divorce. Officials called her before a grand jury, suspecting that because she was divorced, she would name her former husband as a polygamist. She refused and was cited for contempt of court, fined \$25 dollars, and given a four-month prison sentence. She took her infant to prison with her and left her older son with her family.⁵⁴

The Cooley family was among those running afoul of the law. When Andrew Cooley was summoned to federal court in October 1885, an enterprising photographer rode to the Brighton farm and captured the family on film, dressed up to attend court with him. Mary Cooley was at her Salt Lake City home and not pictured, but Rachel, Jane, and Ann lined up, each holding a baby. Sixteen other children flanked tall Andrew at the center.⁵⁵

Visitors were allowed on Thursdays but could only obtain a pass and speak to prisoners the first Thursday of the month. Otherwise, they could only stand on a platform near the wall and observe their loved ones in the prison yard. No one was allowed to make any sign of recognition.

Half of Cooley's term passed before his family could visit, and then the January day was so cold that the warden invited the family into his home to warm up with tea and soup. To view Andrew, "They all stood on the wall, including the children. Smaller ones were possibly lifted up to see over the rail of the walk. Unbidden tears fell as the women watched their husband and the children their father."⁵⁶

Andrew's letters from prison were laden with worries over his family's wellbeing both materially and emotionally. Jane's family grew destitute and finally received meat, flour, and potatoes from the bishop. Andrew was beside himself when, in mid-March, he heard that Rachel's thirteen-year-old Marietta (called Net) suffered with pneumonia. When word came Net was dying, Andrew was granted a visit home, accompanied by a guard. The girl seemed to rally upon seeing her father who comforted her most of the afternoon and promised to return the next day; however, when he reached Rachel's home a second time, he learned that Net had died minutes earlier. His efforts to revive her were futile, and he was refused permission to attend her funeral. Two compatriots recently released from prison spoke in his stead.⁵⁷

Only a week after the funeral, Andrew Cooley's release date arrived. Had he been a wealthier man, he could have paid a \$300 fine and court costs of \$120 and been freed a month sooner.⁵⁸ While in prison, he suffered the symptoms of a kidney ailment, variously described as diabetes or Bright's Disease, both of which caused

malaise, loss of weight, pallor, and anemia, and neither of which could be effectively treated.⁵⁹

The Cooley family took up their lives again, but less than a year later Andrew was hauled into court again, becoming the first polygamist convicted and incarcerated a second time. Again he received a six-month sentence. His health failed so rapidly that a reduced fine of \$25 plus \$30 in court costs was paid by a brother-in-law. Andrew was freed in time to hold Ann's new baby, born in September 1887. He died a month later.⁶⁰

In 1887 a crucible was reached that had been forecast by a meeting of the People's Party in an unofficial constitutional convention. (The Liberal Party had refused to participate.) The LDS People's Party drew up a constitution containing an article that prohibited polygamy. One month later, on 19 July 1887, the Saints buried John Taylor who had governed the church almost entirely from the underground.

The following day, under the newly passed Edmunds-Tucker law, the United States Attorney for Utah filed suit in the territorial supreme court to recover the church's property and to formally dissolve the Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Perpetual Emigrating Company, and the Nauvoo Legion. Utah women lost suffrage, and all LDS church property in excess of \$50,000 was confiscated.⁶¹

With that stroke, Zion fell. The Salt Lake temple, still unfinished, the Tabernacle, the Endowment House, the Tithing Office and yard, the Church Historians' Office, the Church Farm, and Amelia's Palace, all were lost to the federal government. Also seized were the church's stock in the Salt Lake Gas Company, the Deseret Telegraph Company, various businesses and enterprises including fifty thousand head of cattle, and more than \$200,000 in cash.⁶²

Taylor's successor, Wilford W. Woodruff, was also a polygamist; however, in 1890, Woodruff did what Taylor had found impossible, acting "for the temporal salvation of the Church." He announced a Manifesto to end the practice of polygamy and assured the federal government and the world that the principle stood at an end.

Actually, polygamy did not disappear overnight, for Mormons understood that Woodruff was amending practice and not belief. A



The completion of the Salt Lake Temple in 1893 ended a forty-year effort. (LDS Church Archives)

Second Manifesto in 1904, however, underscored the pronouncement, enforced by the excommunication of two church leaders who disobeyed. Gradually, polygamous families set about rearranging their living conditions and encouraging monogamy. Several societies aided wives and children who were displaced or abandoned in the disruption that followed.

The aging Woodruff set an elegant example of the shift in lifestyle. He owned twenty acres of farmland between Third and Fifth East, bordering on Seventeenth South streets. A year after he issued the Manifesto, the Woodruff Villa was built south of the farm cabin, a three-story home with winding staircases and beautiful fireplaces. His youngest wife lived in the villa, supervising holiday dinners and birthday parties for the entire clan, while his older wives lived in their homes downtown.⁶³

The renunciation of polygamy represented an enormous accommodation to mainstream American life and paved the way for statehood. However, temple rites continued then and a century hence to seal more than one wife to a man for the life beyond mortality. Quietly and illegally, thousands of polygamists continued to practice,

hailing Taylor as the last “true prophet.” Though excommunicated if found out, these fundamentalists formed a significant subculture lasting throughout the twentieth century.

Following the 1890 Manifesto, events moved quickly as water surging through a breach in a dam. With an exchange of promises, polygamists received amnesty and church property was returned. Dedication of the Salt Lake temple in 1893 allowed church leaders to take advantage of outsiders’ longstanding interest in the granite edifice with tapering spires. The Union Pacific Railroad published a twenty-four page booklet announcing the event and advertising the routes to the valley. “The fame of this city and its Mormon institutions has gone abroad into the four quarters of the world,” it read.⁶⁴

The *Chicago Tribune* described the temple as “ablaze with splendor.”⁶⁵ Around 75,000 Mormons attended fifteen days of rites at which President Woodruff repeated a dedicatory prayer. Dignitaries who chose to attend were welcomed and escorted through the temple prior to the dedication, including Charles S. Zane, who, as chief justice of the Territorial Supreme Court, had vigorously pursued polygamists.⁶⁶

Perhaps Zane’s tour of the Salt Lake temple indicated how, just as the Manifesto commanded sudden change for many Mormons, the prospect of statehood impelled non-Mormons toward cooperation as well. Another example came when the cornerstone was laid in 1892 for the City and County Building on Fourth South between State and Second East streets. Salt Lake City Mayor Robert N. Baskin and the Masonic Fraternity oversaw the ceremony. Perhaps as a protest to the punitive Edmunds-Tucker Act, the cornerstone was laid at the rear of the building. In his speech, Baskin equated the Mormon pioneers with the Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth Rock. Speakers also praised the end of the LDS church’s domination of political affairs.⁶⁷

The handsome Richardsonian Romanesque building was constructed on steel rails and reinforced in concrete, to stabilize the sandy soil left by Lake Bonneville. Its sandstone walls slowly rose more than three hundred feet to a bell tower flanked by clocks. The four gold alloy bells pealed at the impact of strikers of various weights, announcing the time almost valleywide at every quarter



Dedicated in 1894, the graceful City-County Building housed city and county offices, Utah's constitutional convention, and state offices until the State Capitol was completed in 1915. (Utah State Historical Society)

hour. From that tower, the entire county lay visible, extending from the islands of the Great Salt Lake to the mineral-rich Oquirrh Range to the lofty Wasatch Mountains. The first elevator west of the Missouri River was installed, and by the end of 1894, Woodruff dedicated the building.⁶³

Within the City and County Building's arched doors, space was divided into county offices on the south and city offices to the north. A variety of government functions were installed from the county

coroner to numerous scribes copying official documents by hand. The new public library opened in the building, a lobbying triumph for the Ladies' Literary Society. Its core of books and materials was donated by the Grand Masonic Lodge of Utah. The courts, the legislature, and other assemblies used the building until the State Capitol was constructed on the north bench.⁶⁹

Most importantly, Congress invited the submission of Utah's constitution, and a constitutional convention convened in the City-County Building to deliberate the issues of statehood.

The suffrage movement was rising nationwide as two prominent groups merged in 1890 to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association; however, Utah women now had to insist on their right to vote, for Mormon leadership split on the question. Eliza R. Snow, who had outspokenly supported polygamy, now rode through the territory on horseback collecting petitions, then brought them to the constitutional convention held in the City-County Building. Ultimately the convention voted in favor of female suffrage.⁷⁰ One year later, Dr. Martha Hughes Cannon would be elected to the Utah Senate, the first woman in the United States to hold that office. As such, she traveled to Washington, D.C., to speak at the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the Seneca Falls Declaration of Women's Rights.

Workers' rights also came to the fore, an increasingly urgent question as the industrial population grew and diversified. Craft unions had organized in the 1850s as artisans came to the valley, but the LDS church had consistently opposed unionism, convinced it represented the "selfishness of the poor."⁷¹ The church sometimes failed to pay workers, justifying withholding wages with the overriding cause of building the kingdom. Consistently it aligned with business and even the hostile Republican party.⁷²

As the number of industrial workers in Utah grew, however, the trend toward unions did also. The American Federation of Labor was organized in 1886 and its efforts and traumas were felt locally. In the 1890s craft unions demanded collective bargaining and closed shops. Management fired back with collection action while the LDS church leveled the accusation that unions interfered with "the divine rights of human beings."⁷³

The Liberal Party offered itself as the champion of the workers, but discontent workers bolted and formed the Independent Workingmen's party which was immediately applauded by the People's Party and just as quickly rejected by the Liberals as a conspiracy resulting from "unlawful cohabitation between the managers of the People's party and four or five characterless 'men of the town.'" ⁷⁴ A Liberal Labor League was organized next.

As the familiar Mormon/non-Mormon split developed and exacerbated around labor issues, some workers decided that creating an independent party had been a tactical error. The Independent Workingmen's/People's Party was defeated at the polls, and the entire episode factionalized workers, leaving them weakened as a political force.

Tensions between labor and industry heightened with the economic pinch of a depression in 1894. Nearly half the workers in the county became unemployed, with nearly 1,600 depending upon the LDS church alone for support. Industrial production suffered similarly massive losses. ⁷⁵

Mining magnate Thomas Kearns told the constitutional convention, "I think it is the duty of every man in this convention to throw around the laborer of this territory all the protection we can." ⁷⁶ Ultimately the state constitution included laws that prohibited employing women and children in underground mining and provided for an eight-hour day in both mining and public works. In 1899 many of the craft groups affiliated with the Utah Federated Trades and Labor Council. ⁷⁷

In an effort to ensure admission to the Union, the Utah constitution borrowed language from several states recently admitted. It guaranteed that the state would not support any religious denomination or activity, that polygamy was illegal, and that discrimination could not be based upon race, religion, or gender. Finally the document went East.

As part of statehood negotiations, the LDS church agreed to dissolve the People's Party and to divide members among the then dominant Democratic and Republican parties. Many joined the more sympathetic Democrats, yet many others aligned with the party in power, even though the Republicans had been their worst enemies.



Statehood on 4 January 1896 brought a rousing celebration. A flag, created in the ZCMI overall factory, draped the Tabernacle dome and left the forty-fifth star open for an electric light to shine through. Electricity also lit the word “Utah.” (LDS Church Archives)

For a time, the Liberal Party clung to its identity, but eventually, in 1893, it dispersed into the major parties, as well. Quite naturally, non-Mormons and Mormons found themselves working together to defeat the opposite ticket.

The valley that had seen so much conflict led the celebration on 4 January 1896 when President Grover Cleveland signed the statehood act. The *Deseret News* headlined the event: “Official Message That Arouses Joyous Enthusiasm in the Hearts of the People.”⁷⁸ Around 15,000 people thronged into the Tabernacle beneath a dome draped by a huge American flag. Sewn at the ZCMI overall factory, the banner’s forty-fifth star was left vacant, allowing electric lights to shine through. An American eagle adorned the organ pipes where lights formed the dates 1847–1896 and the word “Utah.” A chorus of one thousand children waved tiny flags, and Tabernacle Choir director Evan Stephens introduced a new song, “Utah, We Love Thee.”⁷⁹

By then Woodruff was eighty-nine years of age, and George Q. Cannon, a counselor in the First Presidency, read his remarks. Following the administering of the oath of office to state officials, a forty-five round salute was fired from the Capitol site, and Governor Heber Wells offered his inaugural address. The Reverend T.C. Iliff offered a benediction.

Following the ceremony, crowds filled Salt Lake City's streets, streamed into the Grand Opera House and the Lyceum to enjoy programs, and high-stepped at the Inaugural Ball held in the Salt Lake Theatre. The governor and first lady led the grand waltz followed by quadrilles, two-steps, a minuet, a schottische, a polka, and other dances.⁸⁰

With statehood, the memory of Brigham Young reclaimed an eminent position within the Salt Lake Valley and was even offered reverence by some who had denounced him. Fifty years of settlement were celebrated by placing his statue in the intersection of Main and South Temple streets. The change in times was apparent in the effluence of *Salt Lake Tribune* editor C. C. Goodwin, whose verbal duels with *Deseret News* editor Charles Penrose had long scorched local newsprint. Now Goodwin declared:

Whatever the future holds in store for Utah, that story of toil and suffering and final triumph should be held as sacred history to every man who honors devotion to duty in man, and self-sacrifice in women.

It should be taught to the children in schools . . . that a wrong act on his or her part would be a reproach to the brave men and women who came here in the shadow of despair and by incessant toil and by life-long self abnegation laid solidly here the foundations of a state.

And out of the granite of these mountains should be hewed an imperishable monument, which should be set up in some conspicuous place, and upon it, should be embossed words like these:

"They wore out their lives in toil. They suffered without complaint. From nothing they created a glorified state. Honor and reverence and glory everlastingly be theirs."⁸¹

The public ceremonies symbolized the tiny stitches that quietly knit the county and its peoples together in numerous ways. Politics

and government, economics, education, health services, and cultural events all began to operate now through systems not identified by religion. Gradually and officially, the separation between church and state allowed peoples with differing worldviews to draw together.

Salt Lake County ended the nineteenth century as a capital county vibrant with enterprise, innovation, challenge, and triumph. Yet this century's ideological battles would emerge in the next in subtle but crucial ways. A lifeway had been suppressed, and a people simultaneously empowered. American individualism and values had triumphed, yet the struggle to assert them would continue. Overall, however, the change in century and status offered what this valley full of immigrants had individually and collectively sought—the opportunity for a new way of life.

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NEW CENTURY, NEW STATUS, 1900–1930

Perhaps few Americans felt as modern as Salt Lakers at the turn of the century. So historical had the first settlers become that the Daughters of Utah Pioneers began collecting journals and memorabilia and interviewing the oldtimers. Now Salt Lake County cradled the largest city in the intermountain area as well as mining villages often defined by ethnicity, agricultural towns, booming enterprises, and newly fashionable country estates. A broadening variety of residents joined efforts to solve common problems but also suffered the anxieties of cultural diversity.

In the early twentieth century, Salt Lake County seized every opportunity to show its all-American spirit. It welcomed President William Taft for a visit and sent the Tabernacle Choir to a private performance at the White House. World War I's call for troops inspired a hearty response and stiff intolerance toward any not eager to participate. In fact, the charge of being different flew at newcomers during these decades as disgustedly as it had once been hurled between "unAmerican" Mormons and "ungodly" non-Mormons.

Progress was the byword as skyscrapers rose on the Salt Lake City



By 1925 Salt Lake City's Main Street was a maze of urban technology, with trolley wires and rails lacing the centers of streets lined on both sides by parked automobiles. When car travel won out, the wires and rails were removed. (Utah State Historical Society)

skyline, and smaller cities incorporated and imposed order on the mining town bluster. Parks opened, fans cheered at sporting events from baseball to bicycle racing to boxing, and social and environmental problems yielded to reform. The clutter of power poles vanished from downtown streets soon after automobiles chugged into town, nine hundred of them by the turn of the century. Increasingly

apparent were the modern implications of living in a high-edged bowl, and valley residents learned to balance clean air and green fields with convenience and prosperity. Still, every modernization moved Salt Lakers toward the sense of national normalcy they craved.

These colorful decades also brought the aftershocks of dramatic change. The *fiat* against polygamy neither transformed lifeways overnight nor disrupted longstanding business and political alliances. The census showed Salt Lake County to be 40 percent LDS, making Mormons a minority who still outnumbered any other religious or ethnic group. LDS church and business leaders resumed power quickly and, with new respectability, sealed alliances in Washington. As cooperation alternated with competition, former antagonists in the abandoned People's and Liberal parties found the spell transforming them to Democrats and Republicans did not adhere with the touch of a preemptive wand.

In these heady times, the Salt Lake Valley provided 20 percent of the nation's mineral wealth and, as smelters mushroomed and modernized, became a major processing site. Electricity powered drills, fans, rollers, crushers, locomotives, farm equipment, and streetcars, as well as a variety of household appliances. The valley virtually hummed.

Human energy infused the labor movement, then organizing nationwide. Workers' increasingly militant efforts met the stern resistance of the valley's business hierarchy, backed by the National Guard. Two notorious crimes erupted in this milieu of labor tensions, causing local alarm and drawing national attention. Ironically, while the mining chiefs suppressed labor, they allowed control over the mountains' wealth to slip into the hands of a corporate hierarchy outside the state.

The workforce and population diversified as workers were imported by the hundreds and thousands. Ethnic communities sought a lasting place in the overall pattern, despite a nationwide backlash, by the 1920s, against immigration that was felt within the valley. Social and cultural differences were vast and profound; yet newspapers that published in a variety of languages, Greek coffee-houses, Japanese restaurants, Serbian Christmases, and more attested

to the variety of roots sinking and finding sustenance in the cultural soil.

Nevertheless, the valley remained prominently Anglo and strongly LDS as evidenced by a rather astonished report from the United States Census Bureau. In 1920 Utah's birthrate led the nation among white populations, a fact attributed directly to Mormon influence.¹ Before 1930 around 159,282 people called the Salt Lake Valley home.

Early in the twentieth century, the austere and politically forceful Joseph F. Smith became LDS church president and personified that era as distinctly as Brigham Young had symbolized colonization and as Woodruff came to represent accommodation. As a boy, Joseph had trekked west with his mother Mary Fielding Smith after his father Hyrum fell with the church founder in Carthage Jail, Illinois.

Even Joseph F. Smith's personal life revealed the changing times. One gadfly occasionally provoked Salt Lake County attorney Parley P. Christensen into enforcing unlawful cohabitation laws against the church president whose six wives lived in Salt Lake City. More than once Smith was hauled into court; he pleaded guilty, paid a fine, and went on about his business.²

This aspect of the job may not have won Christensen many friends. In 1920 he emerged from a fragmented Progressive movement as a national presidential candidate on the Farmer-Labor ticket. He garnered only 3 percent of the Utah vote but gained a historical footnote as the first Utahn to run for president on a national ticket³ (later followed by J. Bracken Lee and native Utahn Sonia Johnson).

As an apostle, Smith had urged scrapping the People's Party for a conventionally partisan system. Now he pressed to further align the valley's politics with national parties and concerns. Unlike most Mormons statewide, Smith was a strong Republican, despite the persecution that that party had inflicted on Mormonism, Smith saw no advantage in siding with a loser.

Smith played silent partner to Apostle Reed Smoot, elected to the "Mormon seat" in the United States Senate for three full decades, from 1903 to 1933, despite a serious attempt to unseat him due to his church's practice of polygamy. Humorless and powerful, Smoot pro-

moted business interests and party regularity. The duo even managed to oust mining and civic power Thomas Kearns from the Senate's "gentile seat" in favor of George Sutherland, a Protestant with an LDS background.⁴

Kearns's anger echoed in Washington as he returned to Salt Lake City and assumed ownership of the *Salt Lake Tribune* which kept an unofficial alliance with the Roman Catholic Church. Kearns teamed with the American Party which split from the Republicans mainly on anti-Mormon grounds. Essentially the Liberal Party rose again, in 1905, as the American Party claimed elective offices in Salt Lake City and Ogden. Salt Lake City's newspapers virtually became official organs for either Kearns and the American Party or Smith and Smoot. Now, however, the split was complicated by the fact that both Mormons and non-Mormons were divided among political parties.⁵

Although the American Party controlled city government only until 1911, its presence convinced Joseph F. Smith and other Republican chiefs to resist their natural inclination to join the prohibition movement then sweeping the nation. The out-of-power Democrats, including most Mormons, supported banning alcohol; so did Republicans generally. But the American Party vehemently opposed prohibition.⁶

Smith's strategy reflected his concern for the Republican vote locally; what's more, the pyrotechnics around prohibition might damage Smoot and his emerging influence in Washington by exacerbating charges of LDS dominance. Accordingly, Smith instructed apostles to cease their speeches at prohibition meetings; he told stake presidents and bishops to keep rallies out of church buildings; he asked high church leaders to refrain from addressing prohibition at general conference a month before the municipal election. He insisted that LDS Republicans push a local option bill through the legislature rather than prohibition. So it was that, in Utah, each incorporated city and town decided the liquor question for itself.⁷

Salt Lake City and towns like Bingham revealed their non-Mormon majorities by remaining "wet" while most rural towns opted to become "dry." The reward for allowing liquor to flow near Temple Square came with the election. Smoot and his Federal Bunch, backed by the strict allegiance of LDS Republicans, wrested power

from the American Party which weakened and died. In 1917 Utah became the twenty-fourth state to pass prohibition and, by 1920, Salt Lake County was a two-party bastion again.⁸

Throughout, Salt Lake City offered a metaphor in stone and mortar for both the power split and the thrust toward modernity. Many venerable structures vanished in favor of new ones. The Deseret Store left its choice corner on Main and South Temple streets for the luxurious Hotel Utah. The Bishop's Building and the Deseret Gym, the latter a male recreation facility, rose on the same block. The *Deseret News* Building went up across South Temple Street from the distinguished, five-story granite LDS Church Office Building constructed just west of the Beehive and Lion houses. (Echoes of the proximity between church leaders and newspaper editors lingered decades after the newspaper moved to First South and Regent streets; the phrase "going across the street" remained newsroom parlance for seeking church approval on sensitive coverage.)

In 1902 the Young family sold Amelia's Palace to mining magnate Samuel Newhouse. Known as the Gardo House, the mansion continued to epitomize luxurious living. Newhouse, dubbed the "Father of Copper Mining in Utah," personified the self-made, non-Mormon aristocracy. His brisk business in Bingham properties turned over \$10 million within a decade. Beginning in 1899, huge quantities of both rich and low-grade ore poured from the Highland Boy Mine into Newhouse's Murray smelter. Only two weeks after the smelter was completed, company control shifted to the Rockefeller syndicate for \$12 million, making Newhouse a fortune.⁹

Newhouse raised at least thirty buildings on the Salt Lake City skyline, designing Exchange Place between Main and State and Third and Fourth South streets. He even donated sites for the Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce and the Mining and Stock Exchange, envisioning an equivalent to Wall Street in New York City. The twin Boston and Newhouse buildings rose on the corners of Exchange and Main streets, and work began on the Newhouse Hotel a block to the south.¹⁰

If, as some people claimed, the LDS church raced Newhouse to complete the first palatial hotel, it won handily, for the Hotel Utah welcomed guests in 1911. Soon afterward at general conference,



Mining magnate Samuel Newhouse shown here on the right in one of Salt Lake City's early automobiles, designed Exchange Place and built the Newhouse and Boston buildings, as well as the Newhouse Hotel. (Utah State Historical Society)

Smith defended the hotel's policy of serving liquor. By the time the Newhouse Hotel opened in 1915, its owner's finances had fallen victim to the Panic of 1907, his ambitious building program, and a penchant for luxury; nevertheless, the *Deseret News* gave his hotel's opening a lavish write-up.¹¹

The two hotels became the opposite terminals of the divided business district; major LDS concerns held sway at the north end, while non-Mormon enterprises dominated a few blocks south. The latter included the sixteen-story Walker Bank, the tallest structure between the Missouri River and the West Coast. Temple Square was offset by the federal building constructed on Fourth South and Main streets, a metaphor for the manner in which church influence had long been countered by federal power.¹²

At the top of State Street, the State Capitol Building rose at a cost of \$2.7 million, indirectly aided by the industrial surge through inheritance taxes paid by the heirs of E. H. Herriman, president of the Union Pacific Railroad, and business magnate David Eccles. Influenced in design by both the United States Capitol Building and the Maryland statehouse, the Capitol was constructed with a concrete frame covered with granite and featured an impressive marble rotunda.

Meanwhile, the Cathedral of the Madeleine rose on South Temple between Third and Fourth East streets, a monument to the efforts of Bishop Lawrence Scanlan whose body would be interred under the main altar. Mining funded this landmark through the generosity of wealthy Catholics including the Kearns family. The Gothic Revival style cathedral was dedicated in 1909, then remodeled and decorated in 1917 under the direction of Bishop Joseph S. Glass.

Within the same block and decade, the First Presbyterian church was built in English-Scottish Gothic Revival style. Constructed of red sandstone quarried from Red Butte Canyon east of the city, the church featured arched vaults, stained glass windows on three sides, and a pipe organ installed in 1911.

A second Jewish congregation, the Congregation Montefiore, purchased property for a synagogue at about Third South and Third East streets. The ceremony to lay the cornerstone featured Senator (and future governor) Simon Bamberger and Louis Cohn, both prominent members of the Congregation B'nai Israel, as well as Joseph F. Smith and John Henry Smith, the latter the president of the LDS Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Despite religious differences between the two Jewish congregations, they united socially and organizationally through groups such as B'nai B'rith, the Jewish

Community Center, Hadassah, and the National Council of Jewish Women.¹³

After thirty-nine years of freemasonry in the valley, the Masonic organizations purchased a plot at Second East and First South Streets and built a four-story temple. Erected at a cost of \$80,000, it housed meetings from 1906 until 1927 when a new temple replaced it at 650 East South Temple Street.

Ethnic neighborhoods developed near the railroad. Beck Street west of the Capitol became the center of Swedetown, with sturdy homes, flower gardens, and fruit orchards. The LDS meetinghouse hosted Swedish converts' weddings, funerals, and banquets. Most men worked for either the Utah Sand and Gravel Company excavating the foothills across the street or for the railroads. Some became merchants, shoemakers, or tailors.

Beginning in the late 1920s, Basque immigrants clustered around the Hogar Hotel on Second West Street owned by John and Claudia Landa who would be considered grandparents of this ethnic community. Urban living and employment attracted some Basques, while others followed ethnic tradition, spreading throughout the county and beyond as ranchers and shepherders.¹⁴

Japanese workers arrived in increasing numbers following the Chinese Exclusionary Act, numbering 2,110 by 1919 compared to four residents a decade earlier. Labor agent Yozo Hashimoto supplied workers for both the railroads and industry, providing workers with imported food and clothing and aiding them with credit and government forms. His nephew, Edward Daigoro, managed the payroll, mailing money to the workers' families in Japan.¹⁵

Japanese Town sprang up around Hashimoto's store and ran along First South between West Temple and Third West streets, featuring a noodle house, Oriental stores, fish markets, dry-cleaning establishments, restaurants, barbershops, rooming houses, and hotels. Shiro Iida published *The Rocky Mountain Times*, a tri-weekly newspaper.¹⁶ The Intermountain Buddhist Church was organized in 1912, and the Japanese Church of Christ six years later, both meeting in existing buildings until 1924.

As streams of Greek workers arrived by railroad, they disembarked near Greek Town, where more than sixty businesses lined



A Japanese community grew at the turn of the century, and Japanese Town ran along First South between West Temple and Third West streets. Here, members of the Japanese Church of Christ pose in front of the building dedicated in 1924. (Utah State Historical Society)

Second South between Fourth and Sixth West streets. In 1905 the Church of the Holy Trinity was dedicated, becoming a center for the Eastern Orthodox community for many years.

In the coffeehouses, agents of labor boss Leonidas Skliris signed up workers, collected a fee, and told the men where to do business. The workers quickly resented Skliris's demands on their finances, knowing he lived in a luxurious suite in Hotel Utah, but their need for jobs meant accepting "his extortion in America as they would have in Greece."¹⁷

A smaller Italian population also gathered near the railroads which employed many of them, while Little Syria and Lebanese Town nestled around Third South and Fifth West streets. Many Syrians and Lebanese became peddlers of notions and clothing in the mining and farming communities. Others found work at the Utah Fire Clay Company on First West Street.



Workmen pause amid two rows of “cribs” that in 1908 centralized Salt Lake City’s prostitutes in Greektown, between First and Second South streets. (Utah State Historical Society)

The altered business district and a suggestion from the police chief prompted American Party mayor John Bransford to move prostitution from the parlor houses on Commercial Street. He chose Greek Town since, he said, the “better element” had moved away. He hailed Dora B. Topham, known in Ogden’s red light district as Madame Belle London, who formed an investment company in 1908 and purchased land between First and Second South streets. Bransford happened to own property across the street and erected a two-story building, housing prostitutes above the Greek businesses at street level.¹⁸

Salt Lake City police chief Thomas Pitt then ordered prostitutes to work inside the stockade, leave town, or suffer arrest. They occupied one hundred cribs—small rooms with a door and window facing the street. The *Deseret News* reported: “At the windows, only two feet above the sidewalk, sits the painted denizen of the underworld

calling to the passers between puffs on her cigaret.”¹⁹ Guards at entries on First and Second South kept children from entering the block.

The link with law enforcement showed when police, pressured to clean up vice, inevitably served warrants on nights when the stockade lay vacant. The *Salt Lake Tribune* and *Salt Lake Telegram* supported the stockade as a practical solution to an age-old reality, while the *Deseret News*, *Salt Lake Herald*, and *Intermountain Republic* opposed it.

In 1911 the stockade abruptly closed, despite the misgivings of the police chief and the *News*'s complaint that the timing would loose three hundred prostitutes into the city during general conference.²⁰ Prostitutes continued to operate independently near West Second South Street and also returned to Commercial Street, but without the same type of city regulation.

Meanwhile other downtown areas transformed. Popperville or Butcherville, at the east end of South Temple, had been named for Charles Popper, a Jewish immigrant from Germany. In Dry Canyon, Popper had grazed a herd, provided beef to Fort Douglas, and operated a slaughter yard and butcher shop; downtown he opened a candle shop and a soap factory. Now land annexed from Fort Douglas became a prosperous subdivision called Federal Heights.²¹

Land was also carved from the Fort Douglas military reservation to accommodate the University of Utah. With Joseph Kingsbury as administrator, several buildings rose along the horseshoe-shaped President's Circle. The University of Deseret's secondary school programs had been replaced by college-level courses which dominated by the turn of the century. In 1922 the university affiliated with the Association of American Universities. Each of 2,805 undergraduate students paid \$13 per quarter in tuition, while top professors brought home \$3,850 per year.²²

Professional schools were added, including a two-year, basic science medical school which opened in 1905 as the only college of medicine between the West Coast and Denver. Despite small classes, a meager budget, and the need for students to complete their medical degrees elsewhere, the school ranked favorably in national ratings.²³ Later the medical school adopted two teaching hospitals at some distance from campus—the Salt Lake County General Hospital

on Twenty-First South and State streets and, to a lesser degree, the Veteran's Hospital on Twelfth Avenue.

Athletics quickly became important on the hillside campus. Football and track teams had competed since 1892, and the first paid coach came aboard in 1900. Soon both women and men competed in their own uniforms and sports, including baseball, tennis, and basketball. A gymnasium and the Cummings athletic field were built on the south end of campus. Not only did the football team claim a championship in the Rocky Mountain Conference, but in 1916 the basketball team won the national Amateur Athletic Union Championship in Madison Square Garden.

University faculty shared their talents when in September 1926, Sister Mary Madeleva came to Salt Lake City to open a new liberal arts college, St. Mary of the Wasatch. Not only did Madeleva develop an interchange with certain university faculty members, but also opened a museum of European art with the help of Bishop Joseph Glass and his successor, Bishop John J. Mitty. By 1933 the college ranked nationally among four-year colleges qualified to grant degrees in the arts, letters, and science.²⁴

Meanwhile Presbyterians struggled to begin Westminster College, reorganizing the Salt Lake Collegiate Institute as a preparatory school. The denomination deemed a college a necessity, feeling the LDS-dominated state colleges promoted a "form of heathenism [that] has fastened itself upon this country."²⁵ Once private donations raised Converse and Ferry Halls on the Seventeenth South campus, Westminster College opened its doors in 1913. Far smaller than the university on the hill, both institute and college united to form a baseball team, taking on all comers. A campus newspaper reported:

Each player grasped a bat, struck viciously at the ball three times, then walked with a slow, stately step to first base, and then sprinted gracefully around the diamond to the tune of 'Home Old Boy! Home!' Reaching home, the hero calmly smiled, brushed his hair, adjusted his cap at the most bewitching angle and prepared to do it all over again.²⁶

Along the east bench, a neighborhood called Westminster Heights appeared, featuring California-style bungalow. These brick

homes with wide porches and a varying arrangement of rooms sometimes featured dormers, leaded or stained glass windows, or exposed beams. Many such bungalows survived in this neighborhood and others throughout the century.

Despite growth in population and enterprise, the Salt Lake Valley shrank in terms of time and distance. In 1900 the Salt Lake City Railroad Company and the Salt Lake Rapid Transit Company merged to form the Utah Light and Railway Company, creating an LDS-owned monopoly in public transportation. One line, originally powered by steam but electrified in 1919, connected Salt Lake City to the Saltair resort. The trains hauled freight as well as revelers, including salt from the Crystal Salt Company, fresh water for Saltair, livestock, and supplies for a cement plant near the lake. Less known was the Emigration Canyon Railroad, bringing rock and sandstone into Salt Lake City. In 1909 the line also began transporting passengers to the lodges and resorts in the canyon.²⁷

The automobile became increasingly convenient as paved roads eased the wear on rubber tires. In 1916 the state began building its link to the transcontinental Lincoln Highway, and by 1925 Salt Lake City touted sixty-two automobile dealerships and 30,000 automobiles which sped along concrete highways. In 1928 Salt Lake City became first in the world to use railless trolley buses with pneumatic tires, and a few years later marked another world first by adopting rear-engine motor buses.²⁸

Nor were vehicles the only mobile miracles. Visitors to the State Fairgrounds in 1910 kinked their necks as French aviator Louis Paulhan buzzed the field. A year later a "cinder-covered landing strip in a marshy pasture" became an aviation field called Basque Flats after the area's shepherders.²⁹ On occasion the Great International Aviation Carnival and private companies thrilled earthbound audiences with the mid-air antics of daring pilots.

Experimental flights were undertaken in West Jordan during 1909 and 1910. L. R. Culver, a farmhand, built a glider in an equipment shed near Redwood Road and 9000 South, then later added a motor. His peak adventure as a pilot came with a twenty-minute flight about fifty feet above the ground.³⁰



The original Salt Palace, on Ninth South between Main and State streets, offered entertainments ranging from circuses and parties to bicycle racing on the outdoor track. The structure burned to the ground in 1910. (LDS Church Archives)

In 1920 airplanes were put to work carrying mail. The city purchased one hundred acres around the landing strip for \$40 per acre and built Woodward Field named for local pilot John P. Woodward. World heavyweight boxing champion Jack Dempsey helped christen the field, and Western Air Express went to work. By 1927 the company claimed delivery of five million pieces of mail without loss or damage. The first commercial flight occurred when two intrepid passengers hopped atop the mail sacks on the regular run to Los Angeles.

Modern conveniences allowed time for sports and other leisure attractions. Motion pictures quickly became the rage in theaters from Salt Lake City to Bingham Canyon. The elegant Salt Palace, inspired by the Chicago World's Fair and built at Ninth South between State and Main streets, offered a variety of entertainments. Bicycle racing there drew hundreds of fans until the Salt Palace's fiery demise in 1910. Skiing and hiking became increasingly popular in the nearby canyons, and the Wasatch Mountain Club was established in 1912 to sponsor outings.

Baseball prospered in 1915, when the Salt Lake Bees entered the Pacific Coast League. Formerly the Seals, the Bees delighted patrons with a decade of homeruns and strike-outs capped by league championships in both 1922 and 1923. Baseball leagues operated elsewhere as well. Both Murray and Fort Douglas sent teams into competition; then, when the Fort Douglas team withdrew from the league, an African-American team called the Occidentals joined. Meanwhile the Copper Ball Park in Copperton not only hosted the Smelter League but also the Eskimo Pie League, a progenitor of Little League.

The Salt Lake Valley twinkled at night now both above and below the horizon, and neon signs added color during the 1920s. Beams for airplanes were placed along the eastern mountains, and the foothills soon sprouted radio antennae. Electric power reached Murray and Holladay by 1905 and the West Jordan area by 1916, even as the capital city set a national record for the purchase of electric ranges.

The *Deseret News* pioneered radio broadcasting when “Flash” Wilson entered a tin and wood shack on top of the newspaper building and announced:

“Hello, hello, hello. This is KZN; KZN, the *Deseret News*, Salt Lake City, calling, KZN calling.

“Greetings! The *Deseret News* sends greetings to all of you far and wide.

“By means of this radio station the *Deseret News* proposes to serve you daily with news bulletins, music, weather reports, and other data of interest . . . ”¹¹

Although KZN (later KSL) and KDYL (later KTVX) were remembered as pioneering stations, others appeared almost as fast. The importance of media backing became apparent, however, when only the prominent two survived the 1920s.

Interestingly, the technology was led locally by young people. John N. Cope began broadcasting on KDYV from his parents’ home on Michigan Avenue; in fact, so many youngsters transmitted their voices and music over the air waves that the Radio Club of Salt Lake appeared by 1909. Ira J. Kaar obtained his first amateur radio license at fourteen years of age, and a few years later in 1919 came up with KFOO, the first radio station licensed to an educational institution—

the Latter-day Saints University. As other stations appeared in the valley, Kaar built KDYL and helped to solve technical problems at KZN. He erected KFUT (later KUTE) at the University of Utah even as he pursued an electrical engineering degree in preparation for a long career with General Electric.³²

With so much going on, Saltair no longer dominated leisure attractions, yet valley residents mourned its destruction in 1925. Fire began in the Ali Baba Cave concession beneath the Hippodrome grandstand seats. Employees and volunteers fought the blaze while fire engines sped from the city, including a Sugarhouse truck that could pump salt water, but shifting winds carried the flames to the pavilion. Salt Lakers could see the smoke from the city as fire devoured the resort—or they could duck into a movie theater to view the disaster on the evening newsreel.³³

LDS church leaders decided not to rebuild. By then the Garfield resort had burned, and the lake's ebb had left the Lake Park resort marooned in stinky mud. Simon Bamburger had purchased the latter resort's assets and opened Lagoon in nearby Davis County, attracting business away from the Great Salt Lake. Another factor was the ongoing dilemma around opening on Sunday and selling alcoholic beverages.³⁴

The church sold Saltair to the owners of the Salt Lake, Garfield, and Western Railroad: Ashby Snow, David P. Howells, and Willard T. Cannon. Soon an even more elaborate and fireproofed resort offered one thousand white-trellised changing rooms that flanked a vivid Mediterranean-style pavilion. The 25 cents for admission included a fun house, giant racer, and a shooting gallery. What's more, the new Saltair offered an added attraction: visitors could motor there in private cars and leave at their convenience rather than crushing into the last train back to the city.³⁵

Amid all the conspicuous progress, the valley's infrastructure improved. By 1920 hundreds of miles of sewer, gas, and water mains encouraged sanitation as well as convenience, and Salt Lake City boasted seventy-three miles of paved streets. A board of health oversaw an emergency hospital featuring dental, well-baby, and venereal disease clinics. Around 1915 the city began chlorinating drinking water. It also appropriated \$41,000 for rat bounties, enlisting the



The Parley's Canyon Reservoir, dedicated in 1907, improved the supply of clean water. During the next two decades, hundreds of miles of sewer, gas, and water mains improved sanitation in Salt Lake City but came later to the southern part of the valley. (Utah State Historical Society)

efforts of school children who were organized into Clean Town Clubs; nevertheless, as late as 1927, diphtheria brought the valley one of the world's worst mortality rates although dreaded cholera virtually disappeared with the pasteurization of milk.

Near the Capitol, the failed Deseret Hospital found a spiritual descendant through the generosity of a wealthy dentist suffering from heart disease. On 4 January 1905, Joseph F. Smith dedicated the Dr. W. H. Groves Latter-day Saint Hospital. The \$175,000, five-story, eighty-bed facility welcomed nearly one thousand patients during its first year. Later the Primary Children's Hospital would occupy that site, and the LDS Hospital would relocate to Eighth Avenue and C Street. The children's hospital had originated in 1922 in the Hyde House on North Temple Street, caring for more than two hundred children its first year. Children also found solace three years later when the Shriners' Hospital for Crippled Children opened as a ward of St. Mark's Hospital.

Salt Lake County acted to improve the wellbeing of its poorest citizens when, in May 1912, Reverend P. A. Simpkins of the Congregational church dedicated the County Infirmary Hospital on Twenty-First South and State streets to the benefit of the indigent poor. Until that time, the county had contracted for indigent care at St. Mark's Hospital. Originally the \$200,000 county infirmary could house twenty-five patients plus one hundred inmates. A nursing school opened under the direction of Dr. C. C. Snyder in 1913, and the first class of six nurses graduated three years later.³⁶

The county hospital pitched tents on the roof in 1914 to care for tubercular patients in this "Roof Sanitarium." When winter came, the tents were insulated with boards. Three years later, an isolation wing opened to accommodate as many as thirty-five infectious patients.³⁷

Medical facilities were expanding none to soon, for the Spanish Flu epidemic of 1918 cost the valley, the nation, and the world more lives than did World War I. Day after day, obituaries loaded the columns of the local newspapers, mourning citizens from the elite to the obscure, many in the prime of life. Except for the hospitals and impromptu clinics, the valley virtually closed down. Schools shut their doors, shops locked up early, church bells fell silent, and movie reels halted as the epidemic crested. Even streetcars limited the number of passengers who could climb aboard. The seriousness of the epidemic was dramatically illustrated when Joseph F. Smith succumbed to the flu in November and was laid to rest without a public funeral. One month earlier, as fate would have it, Thomas Kearns had died from injuries suffered when he was struck by an automobile near the Brigham Young Monument. Within a month, two of the valley's most prominent citizens were gone.

Perhaps the most influential individual in improving public health during this era was Amy Brown Lyman. Although Lyman taught at Brigham Young Academy and the University of Utah, her efforts chiefly reached the community through her roles as the LDS Relief Society's general secretary, counselor to the president, then president. In 1919 the year following the epidemic, she became the first director of the new LDS Social Services Department, launching tireless effort toward improving public health and social conditions.³⁸

Many women worked to this end, and the jagged rip torn

between women's groups by the polygamy issue began to mend in the effort. For instance, the annual benefit for the Orphans' Home and Day Nursery featured prominent women regardless of their religious affiliation. Yet the stitches that intentionally linked women could be ripped in an instant as shown when delegates from the National Council of Women and the International Council had visited Salt Lake City in 1909. Emmeline B. Wells had long participated with both councils and now chaired an event in their honor assisted by both LDS and non-Mormon women.³⁹

The well-laid plans were disrupted when Corinne M. Allen, chair of the welcoming committee, insisted that no "polygamist and violator of the laws of this country"⁴⁰ be seated on the stand at the official banquet. The accused was Joseph F. Smith, invited not as church president but as the husband of committee member Juliana L. Smith. Allen felt it essential that the national delegates see for themselves that "the Christian women of Salt Lake City do not condone nor approve of the social ulcer which exists here."⁴¹

At that accusations flew; the split became apparent, and the delegates' visit proved a fiasco. One anti-polygamist referred to the "craft and stealthy duplicity of the Mormons," while the *Deseret News* commented that Allen had not objected to polygamists sharing the platform when her husband ran for Congress. The incident left an atmosphere of regret for this setback to the women's clubs and groups "who have labored for years to reconcile matters of religion in Utah."⁴²

Although "The Great War" proved less deadly than the flu epidemic, World War I had a tremendous impact in the Salt Lake Valley economically, socially, and culturally between 1914 and 1918. The demand for metals increased the output of the valley's mines and smelters, guaranteeing prosperity. The chasm between warring nations simultaneously prompted a surge of patriotism and opened gaps between the valley's peoples.

Around 21,000 Utahns joined the armed services; about 10 percent of those answering the call had been born overseas or represented a racial or ethnic minority.⁴³ Among the Allied Powers joined by the United States were Great Britain, Italy, Russia, Japan, Romania,

Serbia, and Greece, all of whom claimed countrymen within the valley. So could the Central Powers, including Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria.

In mining towns and burroughs, the peoples from Europe lived in close proximity, and immigrants from the most involved nations reacted differently. The Greeks refused to join the rush to arms because they feared their homeland might again lose territory to war. If the Croats and Slovenes enlisted, they might well end up fighting their relatives in the Austrian or German armies. In contrast, the Serbs regarded the war as “as a veritable crusade and as the concluding episode in the five-hundred-year struggle for national liberation.”⁴⁴ Quickly more than two hundred young Serbian men from Bingham alone volunteered, serving in the Serbian and French armies. This approached 10 percent of the town’s population which reached 2,676 by 1920.

Fort Douglas grew in importance during these years; thousands of recruits trained there. Its prison housed nearly nine hundred dissidents and aliens whom the government considered dangerous if only for their pro-German opinions. In a separate portion, the prison confined an additional 686 prisoners of war whose ships had been seized by the American forces in the Pacific.⁴⁵

Since 1850 a German community had developed in the valley, peaking around the turn of the century and numbering 7,524 in 1910. The *Salt Lake Beobachter* fostered the German language from 1890 on, offering news of the old country. Two years before war erupted, Alexander Schreiner emigrated from Nuremberg and became the best known organist of the Salt Lake Tabernacle.⁴⁶

German loyalty soared when war came—until the United States entered the conflict. Then Salt Lakers of German descent demonstrated their American allegiance in ways ranging from parades and proclamations to registering for the draft and purchasing war bonds. Nevertheless their loyalty was sometimes suspect, and German clubs and LDS organizations suspended their activities. The *Beobachter* continued to publish, adding the masthead “American in everything but language.”⁴⁷

Jobs opened to women during World War I in areas never before available. For instance, Utah Power & Light reported in 1917 its hir-

ing of the first woman in its mechanical department. It apologized that "due to the large numbers of men who have entered the government service . . . , it was necessary to hire a woman."⁴⁸ Women supported the war in other ways. The Salt Lake Army Club provided a social outlet where chaperoned Comrade Girls entertained the troops.

After the armistice, Memory Grove was dedicated at the mouth of City Creek Canyon to honor the 665 people who died in military service, most succumbing to illness; another 864 had been wounded.

Despite illness, war, and struggle, the Salt Lake Valley exuded pride in its progress. In 1920 the Commercial Club and Chamber of Commerce produced a brochure describing Salt Lake City as containing the "Broadest and most beautifully laid out streets in the world. Known to be one of the most scientifically arranged cities in America."⁴⁹ The city's dozen banks, its ratio of only 4 percent bonded debt, and the presence of the Intermountain Stock Exchange were augmented in the 1920s by the addition of a branch of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco.

What's more, the brochure boasted "Electric light and power furnished by the roaring torrents of the mountains,"⁵⁰ dry and healthful air, low taxes, commission government in both the capital city and the county, and an absence of slums. Of course this haven was painted with selective strokes, for Salt Lake County also contained its share of grit amid the glitter.

A primary concern became air pollution in both "the city" and "the county." Fossil fuels heated residences, ran factories, and powered vehicles. The inexpensive bituminous coal mined locally claimed widespread use, but it produced heavy smoke. In fact, the pollution debate in the 1920s centered more on the efficient use of fossil fuel than on harm to health or the aesthetics of dirty air and blackened snow. Soon after settlement the valley had shown its susceptibility to stale air, for in 1867 it lay fogbound for more than two weeks. Now the addition of coal smoke roused various citizen groups to lobby the conservative city government for relief.

Finally, the Smoke Abatement League and other civic groups began to make headway as the American Party's rule gave way to government by city commission. In 1915 the commission required a

smoke inspector to measure the density of smoke clouds by holding up a grid colored in four shades of gray. By then one magazine described Salt Lake City as “a fit rival of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis as a smoke-plagued city.”⁵¹

During the war years, the growth in industry and railroad traffic boosted smoke pollution to almost unbearable levels. The smelters in Murray, Sandy, Midvale, and near Bingham were blamed as they boomed with wartime business. Finally, in 1919 the Boy Scouts (by then a program of the LDS church), the Kiwanis Club, the Salt Lake City Real Estate Board, and the Federation of Women’s Clubs convinced the city commission to try again. A city engineer arranged for a cooperative study involving the city, scientists at the University of Utah, and the United States Bureau of Mines.⁵²

Their study found that the smoke produced in Salt Lake City was actually less than in most major cities, but the topography intensified pollution. Almost as soon as experiments began, air clarity improved through education, demonstration, and supervision. Stringent laws created a Smoke Department and required permits for large plant furnaces and locomotives; existing plant furnaces were modified or rebuilt for smokeless operation.

On winter days “smoke inspectors roamed the city or watched from atop the Walker Bank Building, while at night a searchlight played upon the smokestacks” in order to spot violators.⁵³ The scientists proved that efficient combustion saved taxpayers twice the annual operating costs of the Smoke Department. As industrial pollution waned, residential coal stoves became the major culprit. Finally, after World War II, coal furnaces and stoves in homes were outlawed.

Meanwhile air pollution in the south and west valley raised even stronger concerns; sulphur was simply the odor of the air. Farmers’ fields adjacent to smelter smokestacks lay barren, and fallout containing lead, arsenic, and sulphur trioxide drifted far beyond its sources. Deaths due to lung problems, complications during pregnancy and birth, and other illnesses related to toxic fumes rose dramatically between 1890 and 1920.

Eventually lawsuits brought by local farmers closed the Utah Consolidated Smelter at Murray and the Bingham Consolidated

Smelter at Bingham Junction soon followed by the U.S.S.R. & M. Company, a copper smelter. Others, such as the powerful American Smelting and Refining Company, raised their smokestacks so the vapors would dissipate, altered production methods, and paid “easements” to the farmers in order to stay open.⁵⁴

Most incorporated towns in the county focused during the early twentieth century in cleaning up more than the dirty air. In free-wheeling Murray, with a population of 2,209 by 1920, a Sunday closing ordinance passed as well as other restrictions on saloons, dance halls, movie houses, and bowling alleys. Gambling and roulette wheels were outlawed while slot machines remained. Pool tables and nickelodeons required licensing, and Murray officials complained to county commissioners of numerous saloons operating just outside city limits. From 1903 on, commissioners could lobby by telephone, for in that year a Murray exchange opened with more than one hundred subscribers.

The atmosphere in Sandy followed the fortunes of the Emma Mine near ribald Alta in Little Cottonwood Canyon. A boom in 1904 boosted operations for a time, but the old townsite was never reoccupied. Silver ore production peaked in 1917, then steadily declined, and by 1930 Alta could claim only six registered voters.

Sandy City not only cleaned up saloons and brothels, but replaced its two-wheeled fire cart and bucket brigades with a modern Ford firetruck. Two fire alarm bells were installed—one on Main and Center streets and the other at the fire station.

Within these cities of increasingly diverse population, residents worried about youthful lawbreakers. The phenomenon was blamed on a lack of parental presence and control. In 1909 the legislature established a juvenile court system to emphasize correction rather than punishment for offenses such as truancy, violating bicycle ordinances, petty theft, smoking, and alcohol use. Most often county deputies sat down with offenders and their parents rather than prosecuting.⁵⁵

Meanwhile the Holladay-Cottonwood area saw growth of a different kind; between 1910 and 1930, the idea of country living became fashionable. Estates began to intersperse small farms, bridle paths wove through the cottonwoods, and swimming pools and ten-

nis courts graced commodious homes. The Walker and Bamberger families owned such estates, which offered the charms of bobsled riding and ice skating on frozen ponds in the winter without the hard labor of dry farming. Nearby, a business district prospered along Holladay Boulevard near 2300 East Street, providing shopping and many services.⁵⁶

Bingham Junction, so called for the tracks that met between Bingham and Alta, became an increasingly important center. Its roundhouse trembled with the thunder of trains headed west to Bingham, Lark, Magna, and Garfield, east to Alta and the granite quarry in Little Cottonwood Canyon, and locally between the Midvale smelter, steel and leaching mills, and the stone plant. This large circular building housed the locomotives, which were greased, oiled, repaired, sanded, and shined by roustabouts. To the south stood an old wooden water tank and sand house, which hobos adopted. They would gather around the big sand dryer stove or sprawl on the dried sand and boast about their travels and conquests. They knew where a handout could be had, where the vicious dogs and mean old ladies were, and stayed clear of “Blue Beard,” the tough cop with a black moustache and a big cowboy hat. “Don’t stir ‘im up. He’s quick on the draw and got a dead eye.”⁵⁷

The Bingham Junction Commercial Club organized in 1908 in Woodman Hall, yet confusion reigned over the town’s identity. “When I came here the town had three names. The post office was West Jordan, the town was East Jordan, and the railroad was Bingham Junction,” one resident explained. “So when you were away from home you mailed a letter to West Jordan; when you talked of the town it was East Jordan; and when you came home you bought a ticket to Bingham Junction.”⁵⁸ As the sense of township grew and the city incorporated in 1909, the name Midvale was selected from more than two hundred nominations, and a city council took charge. By 1920 the population reached 2,209.

Farming still dominated throughout much of the south valley. In August 1902, after three years of drought and insect infestations, massive pumps constructed at a cost of over \$40,000 on the Utah Lake went into action. They sent four hundred cubic feet of water per



Mining camps were often tagged by ethnic or other characteristics. Ragtown or Dinkytown referred to the poverty of new immigrants employed in the nearby mines or smelters. This town expanded into the respectable and still industrial Magna. (Utah State Historical Society)

second surging north through the Jordan River; dispersed through canals, the welcome waters nurtured thirsty farms.⁵⁹

Bennion, named for the prominent William Bennion family, separated from Taylorsville in 1905. In nearby Granger, farmers stopped at Joseph Fairbourne's weight station at 3535 South and 3200 West streets before traveling to Murray or Salt Lake City to sell their goods. In 1912 the Salt Lake County Commission improved the network of roads that linked the outlying towns. Between 1915 and 1919, county workers also dug drains to eliminate swampy sections. Finally, 3500 South Street became the first paved road in Granger and Hunter.⁶⁰

Farmers also depended on the railroads, particularly the Salt Lake & Utah interurban and the Orem Line which ran south. Coal was unloaded at 1950 West and 3500 South depot near the Granger Market, and peas, tomatoes, onions, apples, and celery shipped to market; sugar beets, still the main cash crop, went to the mill in West Jordan. Flag stops, bearing the names of residents, halted trains inter-

mittently, offering high school students a lift to Cyprus High School which opened in Magna in 1917.⁶¹

By then Magna had outgrown several names indicative of its purpose. First known as Mill Stone Point for its smooth stones suitable for grinding grain, stagecoach drivers then called it Point of West Mountain. Numerous springs and a proximity to Bingham Canyon brought a mining mill, powered by a steam electric generating plant. Then the clutter of shanties and tents for migrant workers prompted the nickname Ragtown or Dinkeyville. Its fortunes began to improve in 1923 when the Utah Copper Company built housing for Japanese and Korean trackmen.⁶²

Other towns appeared, specifically linked to industry. Garfield, built in 1905, housed the employees of the Utah Copper and American Smelting and Refining Companies. A year earlier, the Garfield resort and pier had been destroyed by fire. The thick Oquirrh forest was gone, and Saltair to the north drew the recreation business, so the pier and resort were never rebuilt. The town population peaked at more than two thousand.⁶³

In 1910 Utah Copper and Boston Consolidated Milling built another town and named it for United States president Chester A. Arthur. Bacchus replaced the pioneer town of Coonville in 1915 when the Hercules Powder Company built an explosives manufacturing plant. Bacchus featured a hotel, clubhouse, library, dance hall, schoolhouse, and a general store, as more than one hundred employees began turning out 800,000 pounds of high explosives annually.⁶⁴

Lark and other mining communities in Bingham Canyon became so crowded by 1926 that the Utah Copper Company built Copperton, a model town of freestanding brick and stucco homes to house supervisors, foremen, technical staff, and railroad engineers. Graced by a seven-acre park, well water, and modern sewers, Copperton became a living advertisement with copper plumbing and wiring and even “copper-clad shingles held in place with copper nails.”⁶⁵

The towns bore witness to the valley’s importance in the metals industry. By 1920 Utah claimed second place in the world in producing silver, third as a lead producer, fourth in copper, and also provided 38 percent of the nation’s zinc, 14 percent of its lead, and 4

percent of its gold. Other nonmetallic minerals mined locally included gypsum, potash, limestone, and salt.⁶⁰

While lead and silver markets peaked and vanished, copper mining took an innovative turn that bequeathed longevity. Rather than focus on processing ore with high concentrations of copper, Utah Copper Company began turning over huge amounts of ore in order to glean profitable amounts from low concentrations.

Daniel C. Jackling, dubbed “the Henry Ford of copper mining” for this approach, left “the idelible imprint of his personality on every facet of operations.”⁶⁷ In 1910 open pit mining began the steady task of turning a mountain into a giant circular pit. Six days every week, “the earth trembled and the canyon walls reverberated with the thunder of the dynamite charges. . . .”⁶⁸ Dust became as equivalent to air as sulphur was near the smelters. Open pit mining positioned Utah Copper for a long period of prosperity backed by the Guggenheims. They also owned the Alaskan Kennecott which would later swallow the Utah Copper Company in a merger.

During these decades, Bingham maintained its reputation as a sin capital, instituting soft drink parlors with liquor sold under the counter after prohibition became law. Brothels in Upper Bingham and near the Starless Mine drew young men from the scandalized neighboring communities which pressured the county sheriffs to raid and fine Bingham establishments. In 1917 the town council outlawed both bootlegging and gambling, hoping that would suffice to keep outside law enforcement away.

Even national mining journals expressed outrage at Bingham’s wild side, and company administrators leaned on local government. Drunken shootings regularly followed payday; Mondays brought heavy absenteeism, and mining accidents took a heavy toll. Bingham, nevertheless, proved resistant to outside pressure. “Until the 1930s town fathers ran their town as they wished and fought cleanup attempts. . . .”⁶⁹

Saloons offered far more than drinking: games from poker to roulette, music, vaudeville acts, and boxing matches that even drew Jack Dempsey, a sometime resident of Midvale. Wrestling matches pitted Greeks against Japanese or Southern Slavs, and folks wishing a breath of air could bet a quarter on a dog or cock fight in the alley.

Mining companies focused on improving living conditions, also in need of attention. Within the narrow, crowded canyon, heavy traffic endangered children who routinely played in the road. The creek carried debris, and outdoor toilets and cesspools built under houses threatened disease. In 1923 the United States Mining Company built boarding houses for one hundred fifty men; Copperfield gained a four-story dormitory for single white employees, and an emergency hospital was banked by housing for company doctors.⁷⁰

Meanwhile the Copper and Ritz hotels and the Bingham State Bank added class, but the town's real pride was the Bingham Garage and Storage. Not only did it house Bingham Stage Line buses, but the automotive garage and service center claimed to be the largest in the state, providing parking for fifty automobiles.

Occasionally it seemed that Bingham called down the wrath of God. Two fires between July and September 1918 wiped out the line of brothels and saloons in Copperfield, and burned enough dwellings to leave several hundred people homeless. In 1924 and 1925, fire swept through Bingham and Copperton again.

The next year, a three-day blizzard followed by a thaw caused an avalanche that roared two miles down the Sap Gulch, crushing a boarding house, burying homes, and sweeping away the Community church in Highland Boy. Stunned townspeople turned out to aid rescue workers in extracting the injured from the wreckage. Fire followed snow, and the death toll reached thirty-nine.⁷¹

Industrial workers shared on-the-job problems despite their ethnic diversity. Gradually American notions of individual rights grew within the polyglot labor force, and signs of discontent appeared. Mine operators, however, had sworn never to recognize a miners' union, and each camp routinely scrutinized new employees for a history of protest or union membership; nevertheless, strikes for higher wages began as early as 1906.

Then in 1912 a gaping crack opened in the fragile dam restraining workers' frustrations. Some five thousand workers struck at Bingham—a collection of Japanese, Italian, Cornish, and Greek workers. The latter particularly resented labor agent Leonidas Skliris, but also wanted a pay raise and the right to organize.

Immediately the Utah Copper Company imported hundreds of

Mexican strikebreakers experienced from mining in New Mexico and Arizona. Actually many were not Mexicans, but Spanish-speaking Americans from remote southwest communities. Governor William Spry sent in the National Guard to protect the strikebreakers even as mining profits plummeted and costs mounted.

The strike forced out Skliris, but many Greek workers lost their jobs also. The Hispanic workers settled in communities around Bingham and in Lake City, but the strike left a bitterness that made their adjustment difficult. They were resented both by the defeated miners who returned to work and by the townspeople. Further, they had no labor agents or patrons, and most had not intended to make Utah their final destination.

Ironically, considering the valley's status as Mexican territory at the time of settlement, the Mexicans, as they were all called, formed a fairly late community. Many of the original strikebreakers moved on, but thousands of other Spanish-speaking workers arrived by the end of the decade. The census reported 2,300 first- and second-generation Mexicans in Utah in 1920, comprising 5 percent of the population. By 1930 the number rose to over four thousand.⁷²

Mutual aid societies such as the *Union y Patria* (later a chapter of the *Comision Honorifica Mexicana*) served the community. Classes began in both Bingham and Salt Lake City teaching Spanish language and literature. Folk healing or *curanderismo* prevailed, especially due to the language barrier, expense, and condescension that Mexican-Americans experienced at clinics and hospitals. In 1920 one thousand celebrants honored *Cinco de Mayo* and Mexican Independence Day. *La Rama Mexicana*, the first Spanish-speaking Mexican branch of the LDS church organized, and *La Cruz Azul* or Blue Cross was founded to help the needy.

The Catholic Mission began focusing on its Spanish-speaking parishioners when in 1927 the Padre Perfecto Arellano from Mexico took charge. Three years later, Father James Collins and several nuns from Mexico's Order of Perpetual Adoration established Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish, a long-lived center featuring mass in Spanish, classes, sports, dances, and carnivals.⁷³

Heightened by both the strike and the war, racial tensions in Bingham fairly crackled. One strikebreaker, Raphael Lopez, ran spec-

tacularly afoul of the law and his case illustrated tensions far beyond the canyon. Single, handsome, and intelligent, Lopez had an accurate trigger finger matched in speed by his temper. By the time he arrived in Bingham, he had already served eighteen months in the Wyoming penitentiary for shooting a man who was drawing his own weapon.⁷⁴

Then deputy sheriff Julius Sorensen jailed Lopez for stabbing a companion during a quarrel and hauled him in again after he used his gun butt to defend two girls. Seething, Lopez left the jail a second time in mid-November only to encounter a young Mexican who had testified against him. He struck the youth across the face with his pistol and answered a critic with a deadly shot fired from a gun in his coat pocket.

Lopez avoided the inevitable reunion with Sorensen by collecting his army Winchester and cartridges, then literally heading for the hills. Tracked and cornered by deputies, he fatally shot three of them and escaped—now a prime public enemy. Fights in the canyon were too common to arouse public interest, but the killing of three law enforcers was another matter. The Lopez manhunt was vividly reported throughout the valley, and Lopez was described as a rabid dog that ought to be tracked down and destroyed.⁷⁵

Reprisals also began against the Mexican community. Bingham passed an ordinance to ban “foreigners” from carrying concealed weapons. Since one deputy that Lopez killed was Serbian, the Serbs wanted him lynched, and Mexicans gave wide berth to the Highland Boy Mine where Serbians worked. In Salt Lake City, a police inspector swept chili parlors, poolhalls, and saloons rounding up Spanish-speakers, who were searched, questioned, and sometimes booked as vagrants. Meanwhile to the Mexicans, Greeks, Croatians, and Slovenes, Lopez became a folk hero, and they cheered his escapes.⁷⁶

Week after wintry week, Salt Lake County deputies tracked Lopez through the mountains and mines. He was sighted with gaunt cheeks and bleeding feet, yet he continued to elude capture. Lawmen cornered him in the Minnie Mine and filled it with smoke, but Lopez took aim and picked off two more officers. Finally he was trapped inside the Apex Mine which was smudged and sealed, and left to starve.

As with Jean Baptiste, however, the Lopez saga did not end when

the mine reopened and workers roamed the tunnels. His remains were never found. Legend had it he escaped once again on battered feet and this time made it over the hills to freedom.

The overall repercussions of the 1912 strike rippled through the decade. The five-month delay in resuming production hurt the industry in profits even more than the cost of breaking the strike. The blow to labor lasted even longer; the movement fractured and significant union activity went underground until the 1940s. Yet employees of small businesses in Salt Lake City organized quietly and rather successfully between 1912 and 1914. Plumbers, electrical workers, typographers, and laundry workers all secured union shop agreements. The J.G. McDonald Chocolate Company offered its workers recreation facilities, dining and reading rooms, a roof garden, and even a small zoo.⁷⁷

The overall alienation, however, encouraged a few radical attempts at resistance. The roving Industrial Workers of the World struck in Park City and then against the Tucker-Utah Construction Company. Both strikes were quickly squelched. In 1919 persistent laborers organized the Workers', Soldiers', and Sailors' Council. Despite divided opinion, the Salt Lake Federation of Labor endorsed the Bolshevik revolution and chose as its president M. P. Bales, a barber, who would soon join the Communist Party.⁷⁸ The Federation also endorsed the Socialist Party in 1911, 1912, and 1913, and Socialist candidates won city offices in Salt Lake City, Bingham, and Murray during the early decades of the century.⁷⁹

Meanwhile labor uprisings were suppressed by the recently organized Utah Associated Industries which clamped down in 1920. Not only did workers fail to get raises, but by 1921 the Associated Industries managed to reduce wages and gain a partial open shop. Three years later, the struggle ended with labor's utter defeat.

During that cycle of strikes and strikebreaking, another worker seized the headlines. Joel Hagglund, better known as Joe Hill, organized for the Industrial Workers of the World and penned radical songs to aid the labor movement. One evening in January 1914, Hill asked a Socialist doctor in Murray to treat a bullet wound in his chest



Labor unrest marked the early twentieth century. Striking telegraphers march in this 1907 Labor Day parade, a peaceful contrast to the miners' strike of 1912 and the notorious murder trial and execution of labor organizer Joe Hill in 1915. (Utah State Historical Society)

that he said he received while defending a woman companion. A few days after treating Hill, the doctor called the police.⁸⁰

His call was prompted by reports of a double murder the evening he treated Hill. A Salt Lake City grocer by the name of John G. Morrison and his seventeen-year-old son, John Arling Morrison, had been shot to death in the store. One of two masked assailants had been wounded. (Although the incident was presumed a robbery, no money was taken. Merlin Morrison recalled hearing the men say, "We've got you now." The elder Morrison had been the target of an earlier shoot-out, during which he wounded a man.) The doctor's tip led to murder charges against Hill who maintained his innocence.⁸¹

The question of Hill's guilt became polarized by labor issues and muddled by trial irregularities. On one hand, it seemed unlikely he could have traveled through the cold night from the capital to

Murray with a chest wound; on the other, Hill refused to provide an alibi even to the judge during a private chat in chambers. Meanwhile his trial in the City-County Building within the labor-hostile valley sparked a national controversy as labor leaders insisted Hill was being framed by the copper bosses. His conviction prompted widespread national outrage and precisely the type of publicity the valley had tried so diligently to overcome.⁸²

While Hill languished in the Sugarhouse Prison, protests and telegrams flooded in, including one from the deaf and blind humanitarian Helen Keller. President Woodrow Wilson requested a stay of execution granted by the governor; but when the stay ran out, Hill died in a fury of bullets on 19 November 1915.

Since Hill had told the IWW's "Big Bill" Haywood (born in Utah in 1869) that he "didn't want to be caught dead in Utah," his ashes went to IWW groups in every other state. A huge funeral demonstration took place throughout the nation in answer to his admonition, "Don't mourn, organize!" and Hill became labor's martyr.⁸³ The Salt Lake Valley, meanwhile, was viewed as labor's nemesis.

Workers' rights, the imprisonment of draft dodgers, and the racial tensions known to valley dwellers were precisely the issues inspiring Roger Baldwin to found the American Civil Liberties Union in New York City in 1920. Slowly, both litigation and rhetoric would begin to establish civil rights in the courts and in the public's consciousness. Although the fledgling ACLU would not reach the valley officially for three more decades, local issues were well synchronized with the times.

The day of the New Immigration had passed, and federal immigration laws rapidly changed to bar all those not Anglo-Saxon. Similarly, Salt Lake Valley maintained a strong Anglo population which claimed majority rule. The racial and ethnic biases heightened by World War I were fed by a worsening economy that no longer welcomed imported labor. Despite growing consumerism, the national unemployment rate ran at 10 percent or higher, and half of all Americans lived in poverty.

In such a climate, the Ku Klux Klan, with its doctrine of an entitled white race, flourished and spread from the southern states. No longer did the Klan oppose only the liberation of African-Americans,

who represented only 0.3 percent of the valley's population employed mainly as domestics or in manufacturing and mining. Currently the Klan decried immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe and Orientals, as well as Catholics and Jews.

Late in 1921, national Klan organizer E.T. Cain paid Salt Lake City a visit, remaining through spring 1922. He turned over direction of local recruiting to Alexander W. Christensen, King Kleagle of Utah for the next two years, who had little visible success.⁸⁴

The first public glimpse of the Klan came on 19 April 1922 in the Sandy City cemetery at the funeral of a young Salt Lake County deputy, Gordon Stuart, who had died in the line of duty. Nearly five hundred mourners were shocked to see eight or nine Klansmen in full regalia appear during graveside services, form a human cross, and approach the casket. They placed on it a "cross of lilies, bedecked with a banner inscribed 'Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Salt Lake Chapter No. 1,'" then turned to the west, raised their left hands toward the sun and hurried silently toward idling automobiles chauffeured by their fellow Klansmen.⁸⁵

Several charitable donations by the Klan were then publicized, but enthusiasm remained low during the next few years. Then, in 1925, the Klan made a dramatic entry into the Salt Lake Valley, filing articles of incorporation in Salt Lake City and staging demonstrations there and in Magna and Bingham. Immigrants seen with American women were threatened, protests erupted, and parades of hooded and sheeted Klansmen wove through the streets.

Ensign Peak once again became a focal point. Here, where pioneer leaders had posted the Stars and Stripes and the Flag of Deseret, and where three powder magazines had exploded, the Klansmen raised a fiery cross and opened their first state convention. A hooded and robed cavalcade then paraded through downtown Salt Lake City.⁸⁶

Two months later, the Klan lit Ensign Peak once again, choosing 6 April 1925 as visitors swarmed to general conference on Temple Square. Several flaming crosses were visible valleywide. Below them, a Konklave gathered around altars, while sentries guarded the anonymity of the masked inductees and their parked automobiles. Residents and visitors flocked to the foothills to watch the spectacle,

and others observed from the valley. The Klan rated this event a tremendous success, noting its “pageantry, mysterious garb, mystical ritual, fiery crosses, billowing flag displays, and martial music” and not without cause. “For the next few days, Salt Lakers were talking and thinking Klan. . . .”⁸⁷

In Magna a group of Greek children “unmasked” Klansmen who paraded through the streets mocking those who were not Anglo-Saxon. As Klansmen headed into the park, the children “pulled off the white Klan masks and exposed a number of leading townspeople.”⁸⁸

Despite its theatricality, the Klan failed to establish a lasting stronghold. As early as 1922, Klan membership had been specifically opposed at LDS general conference and in the *Deseret News*. In June the Salt Lake City Commission unanimously passed an anti-mask ordinance aimed at curtailing Klan activity in the valley. When Christmas came, the law stung unexpected targets; Santa Clauses were forced to remove their beards—and the Klan received the blame!⁸⁹

In quiet and homey ways, the differences among peoples in the early twentieth century added color and interest to everyday living whether through the variety of businesses, restaurants, and shops, or the celebration of holidays. Christmas, for example, called forth Greek *baklava*, English yule logs, German Christmas trees, and a host of other traditions.

Salt Lake County’s Swedish residents began month-long festivities on 13 December, St. Lucia’s Day. The young girl chosen to represent the saint strolled from house to house, singing carols and serving coffee and cakes. Roast goose headed the menu for Christmas dinner complemented by boiled potatoes, vegetables, and raisin-studded rice pudding.

Danish families also feasted on roast goose or duck, unveiling the candle-lit Christmas tree to the children only on Christmas Eve. “The children would join hands and circle the tree singing, ‘*Nu har vi Jul igen*’ (Now we have Christmas again).”⁹⁰

Serbian went all out with a celebration peaking on 7 January; “any friend who came to the house on that day was greeted with the joyous expression, ‘*Nir Boze Kristos se Rodi*,’ or ‘God’s Peace, Christ is Born.’ This was accompanied by a kiss on both cheeks followed quickly by a glass of red wine.” The valley offered few traditional oak logs for the fireplace, but juniper made a satisfactory substitute.⁹¹

Outside a suckling pig roasted, and storage pits offered up smoked hams, sausage, salted fish, pickled cucumbers, fruits, and cheeses. The men were served first—red wine, soup, and cold meats joined by *sarna* made of ground pork folded into a cabbage leaf and baked. Then the pig surrounded by vegetables was brought in on a platter, and the host jovially beheaded it and began carving.

Holidays united many communities. Midvale residents were drawn to the social hall. First came the annual children's party where youngsters under fourteen waited breathlessly for their numbered tickets to be called. The party was enlivened by a tree lit with candles, bags of candy and nuts, and Santa's visit. As numbers were called into a suspenseful hush, each child came forward to receive a gift from huge baskets beside the tree. Once the children were tucked into bed, the town's adults went off to a grand ball whose final notes faded only at four in the morning.⁹²

Taken overall, the early twentieth century engendered in the valley a gusto for innovation, an appetite for prosperity, a determination to solve social and environmental problems, and an unslaked thirst to participate in the American mainstream. While the population remained homogeneous, pockets of diverse communities would survive, thrive, and invigorate social, business, and cultural patterns from then on.

Sometimes welcomed and sometimes not, a hardworking and opinionated world had multiplied its numbers within Salt Lake County. Relative newcomers all, whether arriving in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, Salt Lakers strove in increasingly united ways to improve and enhance their valley home.

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SOUPLINES AND SURVIVAL, 1930–1950

The alignment Salt Lake County found with national concerns and trends during the first decades of the twentieth century only strengthened with the cataclysmic events of the 1930s and 1940s. The Great Depression and World War II each solidified the county's identity as a center for both public programs and private enterprise; each also mobilized county residents on a large scale to survive—and help others survive—hard economic times and to promote the war effort.

On a deeper level, each challenge rallied Salt Lakers not only as a county but as Americans with Washington, D.C., acting as both nurturing parent and commander-at-arms. The differences in employment and lifestyle long proscribed by gender and by racial and ethnic background also shifted with the national fortunes, and the opportunities and expectations of each group altered as well.

The Depression struck few states harder than Utah, which staggered under the blow. Quickly, hardhit Salt Lake County became the focus for aid throughout the state and region as various government programs developed or moved in. In the process, the valley's peoples leaned on the generous, if fallible, arm of the federal government

more heavily than Salt Lakers in the late nineteenth century ever could have predicted.

As before, Salt Lake County responded with patriotism and commercial vigor to the nation's second great war. Just as fast, deployment and the emergence of war industries turned Depression conditions topsy turvy. Jobs abounded and housing became scarce; people again had cash in their pockets, but everyday goods were rationed. Now the reliance on federal programs developed during the Depression became a dependence on military-related contracts, for defense industry became a staple long after the war's end. In fact, the valley's link with the military-industrial complex tightened until Salt Lake County truly could not afford a secure and lasting peace.

During both decades then, the Salt Lake Valley remained a significant crossroads and a center of activity, society, and culture; as such, it magnetized most racial, ethnic, and religious communities within the state. Also, by 1930, the LDS proportion of 194,102 county residents increased to 48 percent, and the valley's importance as a religious center radiated through what was commonly called Mormon country. It included 800,000 people spread over 185,000 square miles throughout Utah and in southern Idaho, eastern Nevada, and southwestern Wyoming.

The contrasts between metropolitan and rural living persisted. Salt Lake City boasted seventy-five hotels amid its office buildings, department stores, recreational facilities, and halls of worship. Terminals spewed trains, trucks, and buses carrying freight and passengers in every direction. Outside the capital city's limits, the population considered itself more rural than suburban although city governments served the citizens of Murray, Sandy, Draper, Riverton, and Bingham. Unincorporated areas such as Millcreek, Cottonwood, Granger, Bennion, and Taylorsville depended upon county services which expanded and diversified after World War II to suit the needs of the scattered population.

The shifts in workforce and lifestyle during these dramatic decades brought lasting effects to various groups. Valley dwellers of German and especially Japanese descent suffered the stigma of association with America's enemies. During the Depression, white males, recognized as "heads of families," were favored in the job market over

women and non-Anglo men. Then with war, women went to work in increasing numbers, and people of color found opportunities in both civil and military life—opportunities that had been unavailable before.

Great challenges brought great changes, and the valley's citizens rallied to both. In doing so, they forged new links between the valley and the world beyond; more subtle, perhaps, were the new dynamics emerging at home between peoples and genders.

The signs that hard times approached had increased during the last half of the Roaring Twenties even as prohibition, motion pictures, and social reform kept things lively. As early as 1925, an estimated three thousand people sought work unsuccessfully in Salt Lake City, most of them married men with families. The city set up a Free City Employment Bureau, but job opportunities continued to decline. People left the county seeking work, and the population dropped by five thousand in the 1930 census. One example of the impact on individuals appeared in a list of delinquent taxpayers published in the *Deseret News* in 1927—the list filled forty-three pages.¹

Twenty-five banks failed in Utah between 1929 and 1933, including Salt Lake County's Sugar Banking Company in Sugarhouse, the Jordan Valley Bank in Riverton, the Midvale State Bank, and the Deseret Savings Bank in Salt Lake City.² "No matter the size . . ." one local history commented wryly, "many still remember how much was in their account when the bank failed."³

The Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce began coordinating relief efforts by government and various churches. The Chamber was ably led by Gus P. Backman who resigned as a ZCMI executive in 1930. A year later, Sylvester Q. Cannon, presiding bishop of the LDS church, was named vice-chair of the city's advisory committee on unemployment. In 1931 the chamber sponsored a massive benefit performance the evening before Thanksgiving in six Salt Lake City theaters. The proceeds went to the needy.⁴

Between 1931 and 1932, the Salt Lake City and Salt Lake County commissions met jointly to discuss aiding citizens, promising to provide some \$340,000 in wages for public works. A major storm sewer project was proposed, to be financed by a \$600,000 bond election



Since settlement, women joined Salt Lake County's workforce—their numbers increasing dramatically during World War II. Here seamstresses measure and cut cloth at the Utah Woolen Mills. (Utah State Historical Society)

that carried by a large majority. Meanwhile, the LDS church began handing out foodstuffs from a warehouse on West Temple Street. In the winter of 1932–33, Murray City distributed sixty-seven carloads of coal to 1,300 families.

Despite aid and civic leaders' optimistic statements, the situation worsened. By 1932 only three other states could lament higher unemployment than Utah where nearly 36 percent of the work force sought jobs. Many who were still employed felt the pinch when the wage level decreased by one-third and the work week shrank by a day as major employers, including the railroads and the Utah Copper Company, struggled to hold the line.

That proved impossible. The Arthur plant closed in 1930 while the Magna mill and mine operated at a reduced output, staggering work shifts in order to retain as many employees as possible. Production continued to decline as the demand for copper sank. By 1933 operations were only one-fifth of normal capacity. Gradually the Kennecott Copper Corporation, a holding company for the

Guggenheim-affiliated copper properties worldwide, increased its holdings in the Utah Copper Company. In 1936 it assumed ownership of all the Utah Copper Company's property and assets.⁵

As copper mining lagged, the railroads and certain industries diminished also. Despite the closure of several smelters due to smoke pollution, the smelting industry still dominated the Murray economy. When the major American Smelting and Refining Company closed temporarily in 1931, the impact was tremendous. Virtually every business and service in the valley shrank as these giants languished.

By July 1933, the county recognized 24,239 unemployed people, 11,500 of whom were on relief. Many unemployed workers sought help at the newly organized Unemployed Council of Salt Lake, the Workers' League, and Working Women's League.⁶

Women's efforts to find paid work increased as family incomes plummeted. White women who had been born in the valley moved increasingly into "pink collar" clerical, teaching, or health sectors. Foreign-born women most often worked in manufacturing. African-American women worked outside the home at a higher proportion than other women, most often in domestic service. Not only were women commonly paid less than men, but their need to earn income was less recognized than that of a husband and father.

Meanwhile women's organizations in Salt Lake City took an increasingly aggressive role in providing aid to the needy and in interacting with local government. The LDS Relief Society and other churches' auxiliaries aided families, while the Women's Safety Council, the Salt Lake Council of Women, and representatives of the Federation of Women's Clubs frequently lobbied commission meetings around such issues as installing semaphores at dangerous cross streets.

The Neighborhood House, founded in 1894 and relocated in 1928 to 727 West First South Street, played an important part. It enjoyed support from both the board of education and the legislature, raising money for charitable causes and providing day care, a kindergarten, a library, and a program for shut-ins. In 1935 a dental clinic opened, offering free or inexpensive dental care according to income.

For those who kept their jobs amid declining prices, the Depression existed as a general pall of hardship and hopelessness. Many of the employed lent a hand to those less fortunate. Salt Lake City mayor Louis Marcus donated 10 percent of his salary to the Community Chest. When state employees in the Capitol decided to donate 4 percent of their salaries to the needy, the Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce challenged city, county, and school employees to do the same. The private sector followed suit with workers at the Utah Gas and Coke Company, Pike Manufacturing Company, Utah Oil Refining Company, and the Continental Oil Company all voting for a 2 percent cut in their pay. In addition, many teachers volunteered their time to help the jobless increase their vocational skills.⁷

In addition, make-work projects flourished, ranging from small tasks to giant enterprises aimed at public improvement, including work on the University of Utah campus, the state fair grounds, the Capitol grounds, the Bonneville golf course, and the Hogle Gardens Zoo.

Still, the economic situation deteriorated; neither local governments, churches, nor citizens could reverse the inertia that encompassed the nation and much of the world. In 1929 the per capita income had been \$537 in Utah, only 80 percent of the national average. In 1933 it plummeted to \$275 annually. By 1935 more than one in five Salt Lakers were on relief, and one in three of the rest lived below the poverty level.⁸

When mortgages collapsed or the rent came due, families were turned out of their homes, and their belongings went to auction to satisfy their debtors. Attitudes changed as the Depression spread like a relentless virus; shame gave way to outrage. Sheriff's auctions increasingly drew crowds who came not to buy but to obstruct. In February 1933, for instance, a crowd held up a sheriff's sale so long that tear gas and fire hoses were used to disperse the protesters. Around 1,500 people rallied at the City and County Building then marched up the hill to the State Capitol. There they demanded that the legislature pass laws to establish unemployment insurance and free employment bureaus, and to give full time pay for thirty hours work.⁹

Living patterns changed as people coped with the downward



As the Great Depression tightened its grip, private shame and despair galvanized into public protest. Several times crowds demanding government aid were forcibly dispersed, as happened at this 1933 demonstration at the City and County Building.

shift in fortune. Children scampered along railroad tracks gathering coal that fell from the trains, sometimes liberating a few chunks still on the cars. Students and unemployed workers found seasonal work picking fruit and vegetables in orchards and fields. During these years, agriculture regained a part of the Murray economy lost to mining and smelting. Whole families moved with the crops as the depression deepened, and transience and homelessness became a way of life.

Everywhere—in downtown Salt Lake City, in small cities, and along farms—peddling blossomed. Mothers bought vegetables wholesale or picked them from the garden, then sent their children door to door to sell them retail. Everything from Bibles to mouse-traps to neckties could be purchased on doorstep or street corner. Families doubled up on farms as jobs in mines and smelters vanished; for some, beans and biscuits became a staple diet.

An abandoned train-stop housing project called Chesterfield was resettled as part of Salt Lake County's attempt to aid the poor. Welfare Department officials decided that rather than provide rent for existing homes, they should purchase small lots for \$10 each, then assist impoverished families in building homes. The resulting housing was admittedly meager, but 110 families moved into Chesterfield during the Depression, most between 1936 and 1939. Nearly one-third of the families headed by males drew their primary income from welfare.¹⁰

Twenty-three of these families lived in dugouts, tents, old chicken coops, or huts made from packing boxes. Another thirty-six families lived in two-room homes, most of which had been expanded from a single room. Most had electricity, but few had central heating or bathtubs with running water. The well water was unfit to drink, and the families shared open privies since the high water table made the use of septic tanks or cesspools impractical. Medical care was scarce, school absenteeism and juvenile absenteeism common; yet Chesterfield residents proved themselves a plucky lot. One school-teacher noted:

Not only are the residents desirous of remaining in the community, but they intend to fight for the right to live there . . . An attitude of defiance, mingled with some resentment, is apparent in their demands for services and in their tendency toward community isolation. A remark of one father is typical: "Not any of us would be living in this place if we weren't forced out here; but now that we are here, we'll show them."¹¹

Most Chesterfield residents were Mormon, and the LDS church held Sunday school in a tin shed. In addition, the church helped to develop a poultry farm at 2100 South and Eighth West streets. The church's various ad hoc efforts mounted into a comprehensive relief program, highlighted in a central Salt Lake City stake under the guidance of Harold B. Lee, a future church president. In 1936 the church officially announced its Church Security Plan later known as the Welfare Plan.

Transients hitched rides on trains and roamed the valley, knocking at back doors to offer work in exchange for a meal. Along the

Jordan River, caves that had once sheltered dispossessed Indians now provided temporary homes for a new group of wanderers.

“During the Depression, we used to go down to the tracks by the river and talk to the hoboes,” Charles L. Lyon recalled. “Even the girls would go down and talk to them. You never worried about it.” While the travelers mixed up a stew over an open fire, the young people played games in the fields. For impromptu baseball diamonds, the resident recalled, “we made the bases out of cows’ pancakes. When we hollered ‘slide,’ you really could, when you hit one of those bases.”¹²

During this decade, certain residential and social patterns developed. In Salt Lake City, the Avenues and central neighborhoods south of the business district comprised a mixed community of families with moderate incomes. More affluent families lived toward the east benches, and country estates continued to offer gracious living to wealthy families in Cottonwood and Holladay. Meanwhile, families working in the mills, smelters, and other heavy industry tended to gather toward the west and southwest.

Although the public schools were never segregated, they drew from neighborhoods that effectively were. Socioeconomics provided certain strata while both custom and law did the rest. The Salt Lake Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wrestled with segregation in public facilities, particularly at the municipal bath house and on buses and trolleys. African-Americans were routinely banned from hotels, beauty salons, and most restaurants. The nature of the battle had changed little since 1910 when one intrepid soul sued Saltair after being ejected from the resort solely due to race. He was awarded damages—the 25 cents he had paid for admission.¹³

In 1939 realtor Sheldon Brewster brought the Salt Lake City Commission a petition with one thousand signatures asking that black residents be restricted to living in one area of the city. This ghetto should be located away from the City and County Building, he suggested, so that visitors to the city would not come in contact with African-Americans.¹⁴

Many of Salt Lake City’s black citizens lived in the central city

area where Brewster was an LDS bishop and later served in a stake presidency. A motel owner and realtor, Brewster later became speaker of the State House of Representatives, where he resisted early civil rights legislation to integrate public accommodations.¹⁵

When the ghetto petition became known, the African-American community rose in protest, marching through town to the Capitol. The petition was denied by the Salt Lake City Commission; however, a restrictive covenant policy was inserted into real estate contracts to prohibit African-Americans from purchasing homes and other property. Although this was ruled unconstitutional a decade later, similar provisions persisted in many deeds and contracts.¹⁶

Ethnic communities no longer centered entirely around churches, boarding houses, or coffee houses. Italian fraternal organizations, for instance, included *La Societa' Cristoforo Columbo*, the *Figlia D'Italia*, and the Italian Mothers Club. Interestingly, mainly non-Mormon clubs and groups such as the Knights of Columbus, the Elks, Moose, and Eagles helped to bridge the gap between majority and minority communities.

Not surprisingly, when hard times pressured the masses, the citizens already disadvantaged hurt most, including the valley's most recent immigrants. Mexicans and Mexican-Americans lost railroad and mining jobs and found Anglos eager and favored when it came time to pick crops. Half of the newcomers left the state, some through deportation. Those who stayed struggled to survive, and a few longlived Mexican restaurants made their start. In 1930, however, more than 2,300 Utah residents had listed Mexico as their birthplace; by the 1940 census, that number would be less than half.¹⁷

The Hispanic community was served then and in the decades to come primarily by the Catholic church. In 1930 the Salt Lake City mission gained separate status as the Mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe which became the heart of the westside community. Father James Earl Collins led the mission for nearly three decades, sharing his salary with his parishioners. Collins patched his suits and glued composition soles to his shoes, suffering in outraged silence the charity of richer members whose good intentions were tainted, in his mind, by their condescension "toward the poor Spanish-speaking women with their ever-present babies and small children."¹⁸

In the larger Catholic community, Bishop James E. Kearney led a drive to pay off the long-term debt on the Cathedral of the Madeline on South Temple Street so that the lofty edifice could be consecrated. One evening the Tabernacle opened its doors to six thousand people for a fundraiser featuring Father Bernard Hubbard, a renowned explorer and geologist. Despite the times, the fundraising effort finally saw success.

In October 1936, a delegation of dignitaries visited Salt Lake City, including Archbishop Francis J. Spellman (later Cardinal) and Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli (later Pope Pius XII). Soon Kearney announced the consecration ceremony for which twelve crosses were mounted on the inner walls fitted with twelve tapers, anointed, and sanctified. Shortly thereafter, Kearney was rewarded with an appointment in the East and replaced by Bishop Duane G. Hunt, a convert from Methodism who had taught public speaking and debate at the University of Utah before entering the seminary. Hunt received the first ordination to be given in the Cathedral of the Madeleine and was consecrated a bishop in 1937.¹⁹

As the Depression tightened its cold grip, Salt Lake County changed its electoral mind along with the rest of the state, which had supported Republican presidents Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover. In 1932 Utahns embraced Democratic candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt, giving him 56 percent of the vote. In fact, the Democratic sweep that year showed its strength when it elected Elbert Thomas, a little-known University of Utah professor over the long untouchable senator, Reed Smoot. As the votes mounted, Smoot “suspected that someone was playing a ghastly joke on him.”²⁰

Non-Mormon Louis Marcus became mayor of Salt Lake City over opposition led by an LDS stake president, Hugh B. Brown (who would later serve in the First Presidency). Soon after assuming office, Marcus traveled to Washington, D.C., and met with Public Works Administration director Harold Ickes, then returned with the welcome announcement that Ickes had committed \$2.5 million for relief in Salt Lake City. The acquisition and application of federal dollars by city and county governments proved problematic as “alphabet programs” proliferated under the more vigorous leadership of Harry Hopkins; nevertheless, those dollars and the work that earned them

built a crucial lifeline to Salt Lake County. In 1938, for instance, when the Surplus Commodities Commission gave Salt Lake City the eighth food stamp distribution center in the nation, 20,000 residents had incomes low enough to qualify them for the program.²¹

Between 1935 and 1942, the federal Works Progress Administration employed an average of 11,000 Utahns. In the capital city alone, the WPA employed three thousand full-time workers and as many part-time. County-wide, these programs covered a wide variety of projects. Workers began designing and constructing parks, playgrounds, highways, swimming pools, storm sewers, and airport runways. They erected numerous public buildings for cities, the university, and for school districts, even painting murals in high schools.

Water, always a crucial issue for valley residents, became a priority as the programs developed. Federal partnership made possible a system of aqueducts that provided Salt Lake City with a long-term, well-designed water supply. Deer Creek dam on the Provo River in Wasatch County was begun in 1938 and finished in 1941 with the Salt Lake Aqueduct reaching completion a few years later. In addition, Murray's new million-gallon reservoir built throughout 1936 by the WPA was modern enough to become a model for other western states. In Sandy the WPA hired large crews of local men to line First and Second East streets with irrigation ditches. Originating in the East Jordan Canal and Little Cottonwood Creek, water stretched through a network of canals, lining streets and nourishing gardens.

Sanitation projects became a priority also. Bingham, long disgraced by the polluted creek that bisected the town, received a first-rate sewer line. Murray was the beneficiary of another new sewer system completed in 1940. Over 45,000 feet of sewer lines replaced individual cesspools and outhouses.

As federal dollars poured into the valley and the benefits became evident, the valley's residents experienced a mental turnaround probably as profound as the one experienced by many of their progenitors. In the late nineteenth century, the marital status revered by the majority of residents had reversed from polygamy to monogamy despite social norms and religious belief. Now residents' engrained independence and inherited resentment of anything federal were

kicked aside. In both situations, survival was at stake, and, in both instances, the change of mind did not necessarily saturate the deeper layers of emotion.

If the acceptance of federal aid was grudging—and Salt Lakers would both decry and depend on it for decades to come—it was nevertheless widespread. Only eight states received more aid per capita from the federal government than did Utah. As a result the private preserves of government, business, and family opened to new partnerships. By the decade's end, for every tax dollar Utahns sent to Washington, seven returned to their outstretched hands.

Other attitudes changed, too. If mothers could find jobs, they worked outside the home; otherwise, many entered training programs. In either case, numerous children needed care. Both Salt Lake City and the University of Utah opened child care programs to meet the demand. In Bingham, the Women's Work Center paid women \$1.25 per day to sew and quilt. Some programs offered both help with children and with education or job training; for instance, one school lunch program offered mothers an education in nutrition.

One vigorous woman who turned heads in the valley and, to a lesser degree, in the nation was Democratic lawyer Reva Beck Bosone. Elected in 1932 to the legislature, she pushed through a bill to protect women and children in industry. She helped convince the governor to sign the Minimum Wage and Hour Law for Women and Children and create the Women's Division of the Utah State Industrial Commission. At the time, such a bill led the way among women's concerns nationally.

After two legislative terms, Bosone ran for city commission and lost, then in 1936 she was elected city judge. She unleashed her reform strategies in the traffic court, raising fines from \$5 to \$10, then to \$25, and sometimes jailing repeat offenders. The *National Public Safety Magazine* reported that Bosone possessed "a severity that has stricken roadhogs and signal light crashers with terror. . . ."²²

Bosone was also known for her humanity in dealing with offenders, and she allied with Alcoholics Anonymous. She balanced the penalties imposed by the court with a traffic school, allowing reduced fines for those who could pass the exam. Her efforts showed when the valley's traffic toll fell from near the top of the national record

almost to the bottom, and car insurance rates followed. In 1948 Bosone was elected to the United States House of Representatives where she served two terms.

Not surprisingly during a literally depressing time, entertainment acquired a special sheen. Hours spent viewing *The Wizard of Oz* or *Gone With the Wind*, wondering at exotic birds, or offering bits of bread to deer allowed escape from the grim side of reality. For a quarter or 35 cents, movies offered increasingly glamorous stars and storylines. Some events were free. In 1936 25,000 people attended the Twenty-Fourth of July pageant and another 100,000 watched the parade. Three years later, 12,000 enjoyed the rodeo at the fairgrounds.

The number of parks and playgrounds increased during the Depression years, totaling sixteen parks and three golf courses by 1940. A zoo had grown in Liberty Park, beginning in 1911 with a few ducks and a deer. Now Mr. and Mrs. James A. Hogle donated property at the mouth of Emigration Canyon to the Salt Lake Zoological Society, the city donated the animals in the park's zoo, and private donations, including \$2,000 from the LDS church, aided construction.

Liberty Park's elephantine matriarch, Princess Alice, refused to relocate, and not even a do-or-die mandate could persuade her. Only a citizens' protest prevented the stubborn mammoth's destruction. Finally Princess Alice was transported to her new home near the mountains.

No sooner was the zoo relocated than banker Russell Lord Tracy, in 1938, presented the children of Salt Lake City with his exotic bird collection, and Tracy Aviary opened where the zoo had been. A quartet of seals and, later, monkeys and deer joined hundreds of species of birds. By the end of its first year, the aviary drew an estimated 60,000 visitors. Tracy advanced the money to build a winter shelter; between 1939 and 1945, the facility added a lake with an island, walkways, additional trees, and a rock shelter for barbary sheep.²³

The Tracy Aviary was not the first in the valley. Dr. George Allen founded his own, in 1931, on Allen Park Drive near Westminster College. Allen supported both Tracy Aviary and the Hogle Zoo, but also offered an eight-acre retreat to the public. Its cabins hosted such

noted guests as Herbert Hoover and Paul Robeson. More than seven hundred birds from every continent except Antarctica were bred and studied amid the rustic setting and the gurgle of Emigration Creek.²⁴

Black Rock and Sunset Beach resorts opened on the shores of Great Salt Lake, even as Saltair struggled for its share of the entertainment market. Unfortunately, the lake receded, leaving smelly mud in its wake; local residents tended to leave bobbing in salty waves primarily to curious tourists.

Valley residents were more attracted by the big bands and ballroom dancing popular during the Depression, and some of the best played along the shores of the Great Salt Lake. Harry Erickson and later Jerry Beesley led the Greater Saltair Orchestra, sometimes joined by the KSL orchestra. Imported entertainment included singer Tony Martin, bands such as Harry Owens and the Royal Hawaiians, and dance orchestras led by Jimmy Walsh, Carol Lofner, Xavier Cugat, Eddy Duchin, and Bar Woodyard. A decade later, war-weary crowds would dance to the rhythms of bandleaders such as Glen Miller, Ozzie Nelson, Bob Crosby, Gene Krupa, Les Brown, and Sammy Kay.²⁵

In fact, dance halls sprang up around the valley including the Old Mill, the Hotel Utah Starlight Gardens, the Bluebird, the Coconut Grove, the Silver Slipper, and Pinecrest up Emigration Canyon. Ironically, while many African-American artists entertained huge audiences made up of white faces, local black residents “faced the ignominy of having to sit in the balcony sections of theatres and stand outside the ballrooms. . . .”²⁶

Fine arts in the valley were blessed both by government support and by the people’s need to be edified. Under the Roosevelt’s New Deal, artists, photographers, and writers could earn around \$80 per month for painting murals—most significantly in the Capitol dome—teaching classes, writing local histories, and organizing archives.

Most notable was the development of the Utah Symphony, the spiritual descendant of the Salt Lake Symphony and the Salt Lake Philharmonic. Reginald Beales was selected by the WPA to employ indigent musicians registered on public relief rolls. As a result, the Utah State Sifonietta began in 1935 with a core of five musicians. In

less than five years, the growing orchestra had performed more than one thousand concerts for over 348,000 listeners as it traveled statewide. In 1940 the first meeting of the Utah State Symphony Orchestra Association elected Fred E. Smith as president and planned a concert less than one month in the future. Hans Heniot, whose guest baton guided this success, accepted an invitation to serve as the orchestra's conductor.²⁷

Accidents and disasters were no respecters of hard times, and those occurring in the 1930s struck people at their most vulnerable. Bingham, for instance, was not only slammed by layoffs and shut-downs, but in 1932 it was devastated by a fire in Highland Boy. The blaze destroyed the surface buildings of the Utah Delaware Mine, the St. Bernard Hotel, the Miners Pool Hall, the Princess Theater, the Serbian and Croatian lodges, and seventy-five homes. Three hundred people were left homeless.²⁸

Since many families were already on relief and county funds insufficient to meet yet another crisis, Bingham appealed to the American Red Cross and other agencies. The Red Cross, the American Legion Auxiliary, the Bingham Relief Committee, and the LDS Relief Society came to the rescue with truckloads of furniture and clothing, even as the Utah-Delaware Mining Company offered vacant houses to the homeless. The South Slav community, nevertheless, had been decimated as thoroughly by fire and unemployment as the Mexican community was by unemployment and deportation. Many left the canyon to search for jobs elsewhere.²⁹

Then, on 2 December 1938, the nation's worst school bus accident to date occurred at 10200 South and Fourth West in Sandy. The deaths of the bus driver and twenty-three students from South Jordan, Riverton, Crescent, and Bluffdale devastated the southwest area.³⁰ The *New York Times* deplored the tragedy, and *Life* magazine sent a reporter and photographer to capture the valley's trauma.

The Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad's Flying Ute almost literally flew toward Salt Lake City early that morning, nearly two hours late in bringing its crew home. Fog and snow whirled outside the freight train's half-mile of cars as it passed the Point of the

Mountain and rushed through Riverton at speeds estimated between fifty and seventy miles per hour.

Simultaneously a Jordan District school bus wound its way through parts of Riverton, South Jordan, Crescent, and Bluffdale, gathering thirty-eight Jordan High School students by the time it headed north along Fourth West parallel to the railroad tracks. At 10200 South, the road turned directly east across the tracks before continuing north again. The bus pulled up to the crossing and stopped, then—as several witnesses watched unbelieving—it pulled onto the tracks.³¹

With a half-mile of visibility, the fireman of the Flying Ute saw the bus stop at the crossing. He yelled as the bus started across; only the length of the engine and two freight cars lay between it and tragedy. The screeching of train brakes was almost instantly joined by the splintering crash of metal and glass, as the engine carried the crumpled bus frame nearly two blocks before it ground to a stop. Worst of all were the screams of injured students flung along the tracks. Gradually some of the screams faded and stopped.

Deseret News staffer Wilby Durham reported: “On our way to the accident we passed the first two ambulance loads of injured, dead, and dying. It was snowing, the road was icy, and one ambulance narrowly missed hitting us. . . .”³² The ambulances rushed at seventy miles an hour toward the expanded Salt Lake County General Hospital, an eternity away on Twenty-First South and State Street.

On the scene, Durham continued: “All around us were hysterical parents, sheriffs, officers, police, doctors, and milling spectators. Bodies were strewn for two blocks along the railroad tracks.”³³ surrounded by school books, band instruments, purses, briefcases, and shoes—some with feet still in them.

“I watched deputy sheriffs as they loaded fourteen bodies into a truck, a make-shift ambulance,” Durham continued. “Grief-stricken parents looked into each bundle as it was placed on the truck. . . . Identification for the most part was an impossible task.”³⁴ With a temporary morgue set up a hospital ward, county and city school nurses worked with parents to identify the bodies.

When word of the accident reached Jordan High School, classes dismissed and did not reconvene until after the victims were memo-

rialized and buried. Mass funeral services were held for most of the victims in the Riverton Junior High School auditorium attended by dignitaries such as Governor Henry H. Blood, LDS apostle Joseph Fielding Smith, and state school superintendent Samuel O. Bennion. In addition, nine hundred students attended a memorial service in the Jordan High School auditorium and several weeks later, LDS church leader David O. McKay conducted a special service in the West Jordan Stake Center.

The valley responded to the tragedy with a fundraising campaign to help defray funeral expenses and rehabilitation costs. Administered by the Red Cross, the committee included representatives of churches, businesses, veterans groups, school officials, and the media. Both Salt Lake County and the LDS church made sizable contributions. In Draper, Sandy, Midvale, and Riverton, movie theaters offered benefit shows to aid the effort. Governor Blood and various agencies investigated the crash. The Interstate Commerce Commission faulted the bus driver who had failed to see the train approaching from the side of the bus opposite his seat. The commission recommended that school bus drivers be required to open the front door when stopping at railroad crossings. Lawsuits brought by the parents of some of the victims led to an \$80,000 out-of-court settlement by the railroad.³⁵

During that decade, two airline crashes also drew attention to the hazards of modern transportation. As had the railroad, aviators took a direct route across the Great Salt Lake. First a plane owned by the Standard Oil Company of California crashed into the lake on 6 October 1935. Three men died, and the plane was not located for four months. Two years later, an army plane wrecked on the heavy waves.

One flier made the long swim to the highway west of Black Rock, frightening motorists with the specter of “a naked maniac” waving his arms at them, but his companion, after electing to stay with the ship in stormy seas, swam for it too late. Search parties found the body two days later.³⁶

During the next decade, a B-25 bomber and a P-47 ship also sank into the lake’s depths, claiming the lives of six men in addition to a

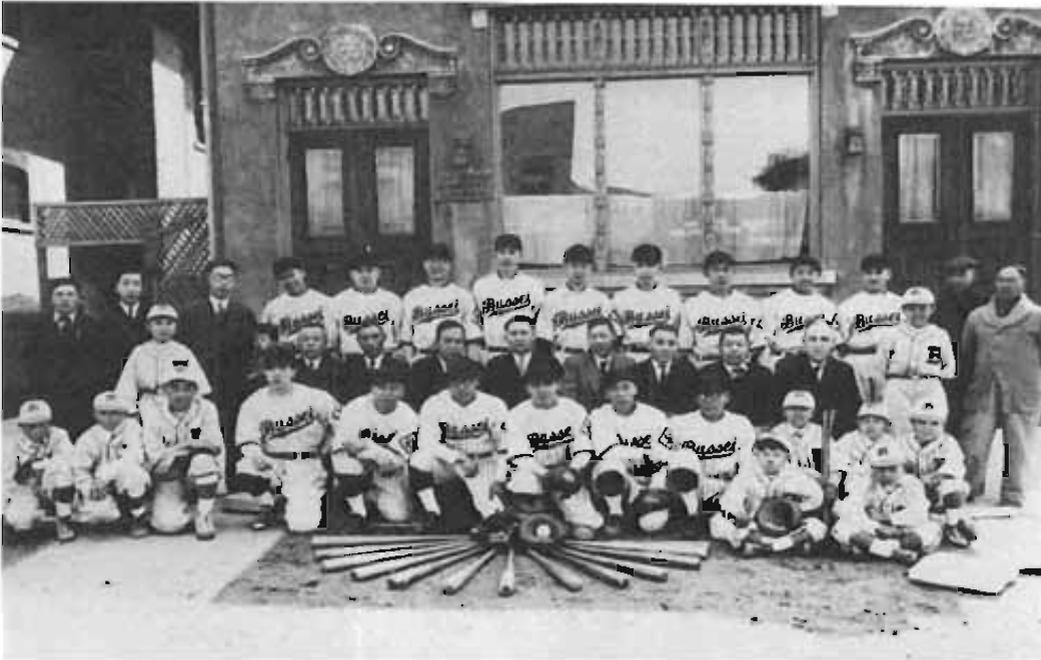
student pilot, who dipped a wing too low while “stunting just off Black Rock.”³⁷

Despite the Great Salt Lake’s appetite for modern vehicles, the aviation industry grew near its shores even during the Depression. In 1930 Woodward Field was renamed the Salt Lake City Municipal Airport. Its four hundred acres included eleven aircraft hangars and two gravel runways. Although virtually all private building stopped during the Depression, Salt Lake City managed to make the airport an exception, gaining presidential approval to expand. The WPA provided funds for labor, and the city invested \$52,000 in an airport administration building that housed a passenger waiting room, a mail room, a manager’s office, lunch room, weather observatory, and a radio control room. Airlines could lease office space there, and new runways and a drainage system increased the system’s efficiency. By 1938 the Salt Lake Airport was considered one of the nation’s finest.³⁸

Actually this reputation came just in time. By 1943 the airport became a training base and replacement depot for the United States Air Force during World War II. In addition, the Salt Lake Municipal Airport II was built in West Jordan to accommodate the number of trainees. War was coming, and the steady decline of the Depression was about to be replaced by the zooming roller coaster ride of World War II.

Newsreels and newspapers informed valley residents of the spreading war in Europe, even as they continued to struggle financially through the waning years of the depression. One nation after another fell to the German forces while England and Russia implored the United States for help. Ironically, only the war America was reluctant to enter would end its depression. Although fought in foreign lands and seas, World War II brought many changes to the United States, changes that were immediately and lastingly visible in the Salt Lake Valley.

Following a Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor Naval Base in Hawaii on 7 December 1941, more than 30,000 valley residents entered the military—more than 16,000 were inducted and over 13,000 enlisted. Both crime and university enrollment declined as the young went to war; the marriage rate rose, soon followed by the birth rate. Additionally the war came to the valley with the local deploy-



Salt Lake City's Japanese-American baseball team posed for a team picture in front of the Salt Lake Buddhist Church. (Utah State Historical Society)

ment of troops, the rise of defense industry, the location of agencies, and the development of housing and services necessary to sustain the war effort.

Within Salt Lake City, the Chamber of Commerce named twenty-six standing committees in the service of civil defense. In November 1941 the Salt Lake City and Salt Lake County Civil Defense councils met together in an effort to stimulate public interest. Gus Backman, representing Governor Herbert B. Maw, suggested that the committee use existing organizations—the LDS “block teachers” program, for instance—in arranging for civil defense. Training programs opened and hospitality centers for the troops were designated. In January 1942, the city council nearly came to blows over the question of administering loyalty oaths to city employees. That October Salt Lake City became one of few cities to receive direct assistance from the National Resources Planning Board in coordinating post-war planning.³⁹

The war dominated virtually every aspect of everyday life from the stars hung in living room windows announcing a soldier in the

In order to save gasoline, Salt Lake City eliminated unnecessary trolley stops and traffic signals. More people than usual climbed aboard trolleys and buses as the shortages of steel, gasoline, and rubber made driving an automobile impractical. Children scavenged lard, newspapers, and metal both at home and door to door, bringing their offerings to school for recycling on trucks provided by the city. High schools offered a special defense curriculum that divided the school day between academics and vocational training for the war effort.

In fact, the war had affected patterns within the valley even before the Pearl Harbor attack. The Nazi occupation of Belgium had an immediate impact in Murray because Belgium's smelters were lost to world production and the spreading conflagration raised the demand for processed metals. Murray smelters that had been closing for as long as six months each year during the Depression now extended their seasons, and the county economy responded.

During the war years, both the American Refining and Smelting Company and the International Refining and Smelting Company expanded greatly, providing jobs and pumping money into the economy. Yet even with the war-inspired shift toward defense and mining, farms continued to prosper throughout the south end of the valley. Statewide, cash farm income leaped from \$44 million in 1938 to \$81 million in 1942.⁴⁰

Alta, in Little Cottonwood Canyon, also was affected. The mountain town had gained a second life in the 1930s when businessmen and skiers organized the Salt Lake City Winter Sports Association and negotiated with the United States Forest Service to construct a ski lift. The lift was operational by January 1939, international downhill and slalom races began in March 1940, and the Alta Lodge and Alta Ski School appeared late that year.⁴¹

With war Fort Douglas trucked in paratroopers fresh from jump school at Fort Benning, Georgia. Ski instructors taught soldiers the snowplow position with instructions to fall to the rear if their speed became excessive; however, the grab-your-knees-and-roll-forward position had been so engrained in jump school that it carried over on the ski slopes.

Recalled one instructor, Dick Nebeker: "It was horrifying to



Skiing became a winter sport in Salt Lake County prior to World War II. The Alta Lodge and Alta Ski School opened in 1940. Heavy snowfall made the Wasatch Mountains ideal for skiing but getting to the ski slopes was often difficult. (Utah State Historical Society)

watch them pick up too much speed . . . and revert to their jump training. . . . They'd roll ass over applecart, and all their buddies would laugh and dare them to try it again."⁹² The troops persevered, nevertheless, as their wool olive-drab overcoats collected several pounds of melted snow in the tumbles down the slopes. On the other hand, skiers interested in enlisting could volunteer for the ski troops and be assigned to Camp Hale in nearby Leadville, Colorado, another former mining town.

More than 50,000 military personnel would be stationed in Utah. Following the Pearl Harbor attack, the Ninth Service Command, which directed military operations west of the Rockies, moved its headquarters from the Presidio, San Francisco, to Fort Douglas. The fort also served as a finance center and directed the repair of military vehicles.⁹³

When the Ninth Service Command came in January 1942, Salt Lake City scrambled to place one hundred and fifty families in tem-

porary quarters and to make permanent arrangements to house incoming troops. The housing shortage was such that finally sixty trailers were parked near the University of Utah stadium for army employees until facilities at the fort could be completed.

Meanwhile, city and county officials worried about 3,500 war workers due to arrive and found a site on Salt Lake City's west side. Homes in the Glendale Gardens housing project went up quickly and cheaply, designed to meet the needs of the incoming families. Additional housing units were undertaken by the private sector.⁴⁴

The army also opened a small arms plant north of Chesterfield between 1941 and 1944. As a result, by 1947 Chesterfield could boast two thousand new residents, natural gas lines, and plans for water and sewer systems.⁴⁵

The Kearns Army Base opened one-half mile west of Taylorsville and two miles southwest of Granger, offering basic training to more than 90,000 airmen by 1943. Streets, water mains, electricity, and a sewage system appeared rapidly during April and May 1942 as the temporary base took shape. Its more than nine hundred tarpaper-covered buildings included two gymnasiums, three theaters, three fire stations, two service clubs, sixteen mess halls, and a ten-wing hospital capable of serving one thousand patients. A railroad station, bank, post office, library, four chapels, shops, and a telegraph office served personnel. Later lawn, trees, and shrubs completed the base.⁴⁶

Named for Senator Thomas Kearns, the base served primarily to train Air Corps personnel. The Second Air Force conducted specialty schools for gunners and ground crews, including some from the 509th Composite Group who became involved at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The base also became a release point for personnel who were needed in defense industries on the West Coast.

Kearns evolved, in fact, as the state's third largest city, and it claimed the state's second largest hospital. Even with Salt Lake City thirty-five minutes away by bus, airmen complained about "a lack of entertainment, limited U.S.O facilities, and an archaic Sunday closing ordinance."⁴⁷ Meanwhile their wives despaired of too few apartments in the area and inadequate public transportation.

The Kearns Army Base, nevertheless, was a boon for the local economy. When, in 1947, the government declared it post-war sur-

plus, prominent citizens objected to the base's demise. "Here in the suburbs of Salt Lake City, they argued, the Army had laid out a model city" at a cost of more than \$1.8 million. In response, the War Assets Administration opened the "fenced-in ghost town" to public bidding, and the townsite became a fast-growing community especially as military-related industries increased in the southwest valley.⁴⁸

Within the first year after America went to war, 13,000 new jobs opened in Salt Lake City alone as defense industries proliferated. Two-thirds of the new jobs were filled by county residents. The new Remington Small Arms Plant on Redwood Road at Seventeenth South employed as many as 10,000 people until 1943. The Utah Oil Refinery expanded to increase production of gasoline and, in 1945, set a world production record of forty gallons of 100-octane gasoline from one hundred gallons of crude oil. In addition, Kennecott Copper Corporation expanded. The copper mills at Magna and Arthur which had been compromised and closed during the Depression now operated at 125 percent of their previous capacity.

Women went to war as well as men, with a quarter of a million serving in the armed forces and millions working in war-production plants. As volunteers, they worked through clubs, the American Red Cross, and the USO to promote the war effort.

In Utah in 1940 one woman in six earned an income, the second lowest proportion in the nation. During the war, however, 24,000 women entered the workforce and in areas that had previously been unavailable. On a far greater scale than during World War I, women drove taxis, buses, and trucks, loaded ammunition, and shouldered other non-traditional tasks. Many hired on as permanent employees; by 1950, as a result, one woman in four worked outside the home.⁴⁹

Despite new opportunities, women's wages lagged behind men's. Working amid the clamor and danger of the Remington Small Arms Plant, Dorothy Lemmon reported earning 51 cents per hour to start, raised to 84 cents with experience. "The men were paid more. At that time it didn't bother me. I was just thankful that I could work and make a little bit."⁵⁰

Once again, child care became a priority, and the WPA opened sixteen child care centers in 1942. The Granite School District helped

meet the demand, opening its War-Time Child Care facilities between 1943 and 1945.

The effects of the influx of troops and commerce were measurably dramatic. For decades Utah had lagged behind the national average in personal income. In 1940 even as federal programs loosened the Depression's stranglehold, personal income remained at 81.8 percent of the national average; however, by 1943 it rose to slightly *above* the national average.⁵¹

Meanwhile the valley's population increased rapidly with nearly 40,000 new residents moving in by 1943. The influx threw employment and housing patterns into chaos. Now people could meet their mortgages and pay their rent, but there were not enough homes for the population. Young couples signed waiting lists, meanwhile moving in with parents and relatives. Salt Lake City set up a Home Registration Bureau to help incoming workers find housing.

In rural areas of the valley, recreation programs provided by civic groups such as the Kiwanis and Lion's Club found it difficult to cope with post-war growth. On 22 May 1945, the Granite Recreation Association addressed the problem at a meeting of the Granite School District. A committee formed to contact the Jordan School District first then, thus strengthened, to approach the Salt Lake County Commission with the idea of providing an all-year recreational program throughout the county, available to both youth and adults.

Not quite a year later, on 1 May 1946, Salt Lake County Recreation was born and its first park, East Millcreek, dedicated ten days later. Thirty additional parks would follow during the next forty years, along with recreation centers and satellite sites. Eventually county recreation would offer basketball, baseball, golf, soccer, volleyball, and numerous other sports and activities to county residents valley-wide.⁵²

In various ways, the war changed the fortunes of minority racial and ethnic groups within the valley. For instance, the small African-American population in Salt Lake increased nearly fourfold during the war years, rising from about seven hundred to 2,500 by the war's end. When defense-related jobs declined, the black community shrank, dropping to about 1,130.

Even given the honor inherent in a military uniform during war years, African-American troops were entertained by a separate USO in Salt Lake City. There was a natural tendency for groups to cling together; for instance, Jewish troops found solace in Saturday night dances and dinners provided by the city's Jewish community. Racial segregation, however, was another matter.

One volunteer, a Jewish upper-class immigrant from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, became a USO short-order cook with the black USO. "This was the only place they could get meals," Emma Helwing related. "They often told me their woe about not being admitted to any restaurant in town. I felt ashamed and bewildered that such things happen in a democracy. . . ."⁵³

She was not alone. Myron Q. Hale, then a young clerk at the Hotel Utah, retained a painful memory from the war years. He was forced by hotel policy to ignore rooms sitting vacant and offer a decorated officer who had lost an arm in the war a seat in the lobby throughout one long night. Ordinarily, the clerks referred black patrons to the Newhouse Hotel which had integrated, but that particular night it was full.⁵⁴

Anti-German sentiment rose nationwide during both world wars, but Japanese-Americans felt the brunt of prejudice during World War II. Salt Lake County was no exception. Signs proclaiming, "No Japs Wanted Here" appeared in the windows of hotels and restaurants, some people of Japanese descent lost their jobs, and their children were heckled by playmates. When the Chamber of Commerce asked the city council to prohibit business licenses from Japanese Americans, the Salt Lake City Federation of Labor backed it up.⁵⁵ Already these citizens had been prohibited by the legislature from buying or leasing land.

Seventy Japanese-Americans employed by the railroads and living in Copperfield were so dismayed and fearful after the attack on Pearl Harbor that they "passively invited deputy sheriffs into their homes and handed over whatever firearms they had."⁵⁶ They continued to work although their wages were withheld. Several Salt Lakers of Japanese ancestry were even less fortunate; they were forced to join eight thousand others, primarily from the West Coast, in Topaz, an internment camp in Central Utah's desert.

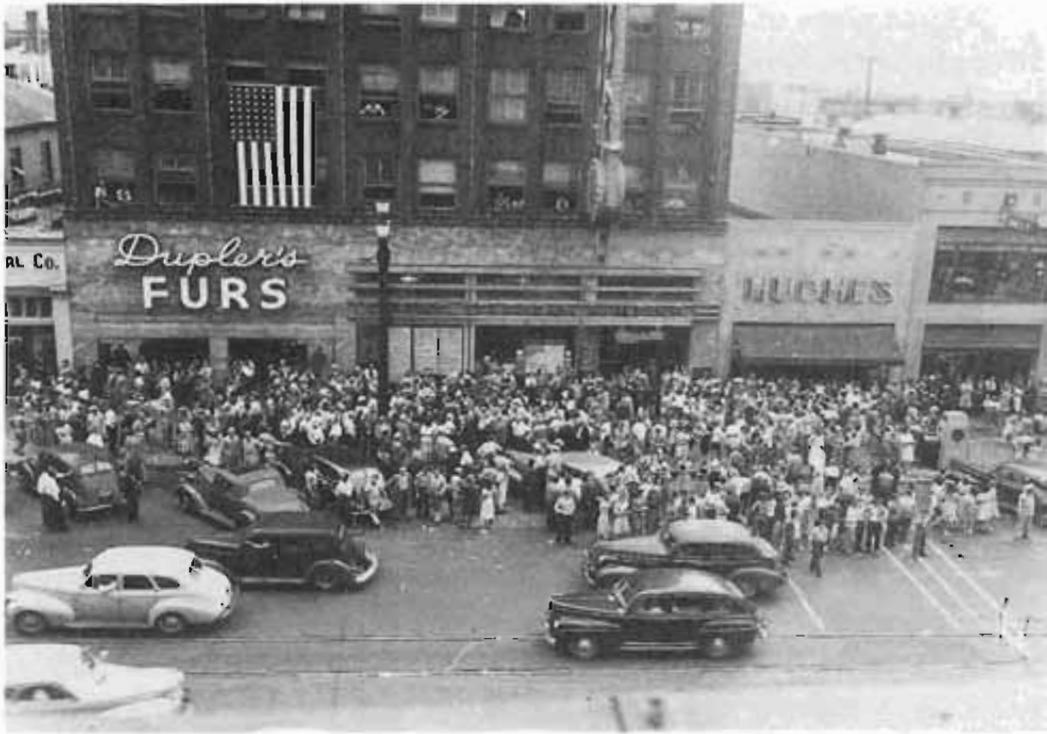
Grace notes of compassion occasionally lightened the bitterness brought by the war's emotionalism. When the national headquarters of the Japanese American Citizens League and the American Buddhist Church temporarily moved to Salt Lake City from San Francisco, Mayor Ab Jenkins (a former race car driver) met them at the state line and welcomed them to the city.⁵⁷ Also, Unitarian minister J. Raymond Cope encouraged the young people in his congregation to correspond with young residents of the Topaz camp. Some children stayed in touch long after the armistice allowed the citizens detained in the camp to return home.⁵⁸

In contrast, World War II revitalized and altered the valley's Hispanic community. The United States government established the Emergency Labor Program, drawing Mexican *braceros* to agricultural regions in the nation and around five hundred Puerto Ricans to the copper mines. In Salt Lake County, however, most Spanish-speaking workers came from Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, working in mining, agriculture, defense, and on the railroads. This influx of Mexican-Americans somewhat diminished the influence of traditional Mexican culture within the valley's Spanish-speaking community.

Between 1944 and 1952 several Spanish-speaking organizations formed to help protect civil rights and prolong cultural heritage, including the *Centro Civico Mexicano* in Salt Lake City. During the coming decades, the community further diversified with immigrants from South and Central America bringing new perspectives, customs, and talents.⁵⁹

Victory in Europe and Victory in Japan days brought crowds of celebrants into the streets, special church services, and days off work. Peace also brought concomitant adjustments. Military personnel returned to the valley, crowding housing, the job market, and university enrollment. They brought with them broadened experience and new attitudes.

The impact upon minority communities was immediate. Hispanic and African-American soldiers, in particular, had become accustomed to a new level of respect. They now envisioned greater opportunities for education and employment. Attitudes changed slowly within the valley. In 1948 the Salt Lake Chapter of the NAACP



Bells rang, sirens blew, newspapers printed extra editions, and people crowded the streets in every community in the county with the announcement of Victory in Europe and Victory over Japan, the latter seen here in Salt Lake City. (Utah State Historical Society)

protested the refusal of management at the City-County Building lunch counter to serve African-Americans. The city commission agreed to meet their demands. Meanwhile many first- and second-generation Mexican-Americans, eager to escape the culture and language of their parents concentrated on entering the mainstream.

Valley-wide, post-war housing was at a premium. In January 1946, the Utah chapter of the National Association of Home Builders announced plans to build one thousand low-cost homes. That same year, however, the Federal Housing Administration estimated that Salt Lake faced a shortage of six thousand housing units.

Jobs were scarce also. Swiftly the notion of women working in factories, driving buses, or otherwise filling positions men wanted changed from patriotic to undesirable and unattractive. Meanwhile the reuniting of families boosted consumerism around cottage life to



The postwar period brought a new emphasis on domesticity and youth, nuclear families and station wagons. Urban people sought the suburbs and commuted to their jobs. Farm families found sprouting subdivisions an irresistible cash crop. (Utah State Historical Society)

new heights, and people focused on tightening and expanding domestic bonds. The LDS birthrate in the valley hit a post-war high of 38 per 1,000, 11 points above the national average.⁶⁰ Yet women continued to hold their numbers in the work force.⁶¹

Even during the war, and despite a drop in university enrollment, the war effort had allowed the University of Utah to expand its medical school to four years. The planning, which began in 1941, was encouraged by both the United States Army and the American Medical Association since no four-year medical schools existed in the region.⁶² The university still lacked adequate research facilities and a nearby teaching hospital; however, its pioneering spirit drew medical talent which then attracted research grants. By 1952 the largest portion of the medical school's budget would be drawn from research, and some projects would claim world attention decades later.

Following the war, enrollment at the University of Utah skyrocketed, passing five thousand, bolstered by federal aid to soldiers seek-

ing an education. The new university president, A. Ray Olpin, began a major program of expansion and improvements. Everywhere, it seemed, public schools struggled to find room for the waves of children entering classrooms each year.

In a valley weary of hardship and peril, lifeways eagerly transformed to fit the new national vision of peace and prosperity. Yet the valley's unique mix of powers continued, unabated by change. One lighthearted venture, in fact, spawned a controversy that illustrated the way local politics worked in the late 1940s, and it forecast the ambience of the coming decades.

Professional football had a fling, beginning one windy Sunday in September 1946. Organized by fifteen businessmen in the Chamber of Commerce Building, the Salt Lake Seagulls joined the nine-team Pacific Coast Football League, a western counterpart to the National Football League in the East. More than six thousand spectators gathered on bleachers at the Utah State Fairgrounds on North Temple and Tenth West streets to witness the first game.⁶³

Team president Frank L. Christensen, a former University of Utah All-American, stepped onto the field to inaugurate the team. He booted an oversized football, which split to release a flock of live seagulls. The dazed birds failed to fly, prompting quarterback Dee Chipman to later observe that their lassitude might well have been a portent.

Indeed, the Seagulls's brief history was plagued by financial troubles and a lack of professional management. During its second and last season, the team attempted to draw fans by staging games at Derks Field (named posthumously for *Tribune* sports editor John Derks) on Thirteenth South and West Temple, and at Fairmont Park on Ninth East in Sugarhouse. The team's demise that year preceded the league's failure in 1948.⁶⁴

The controversy during the Seagulls's brief stay in the valley swirled around Salt Lake City parks commissioner Fred Tedesco, a former college football star who coached and managed the team. Anticipating the first season, Tedesco enlisted city personnel and resources to sod the fairgrounds' field and improve the bleachers.

This use of city resources was not unprecedented; in June, for

instance, his department had transported and erected bleachers for the LDS church's annual dance festival. Tedesco had also pushed the improvements on the bleachers ahead of schedule, so they would be ready in time for the Days of '47 Rodeo in July.

Once city employees set about installing a sprinkling system and sodding the field for the football season, certain workers became uncomfortable because the improvements would benefit a private concern. Rather than taking their conflict to Tedesco, the mayor, the city attorney, or the city commission, they made an appointment with David O. McKay, second counselor in the LDS First Presidency. McKay then met with the mayor, the commissioners, and the city attorney. The resulting furor raged around Tedesco on the pages of the *Deseret News* and became a scandal.⁶⁵

Immediately Tedesco made a public statement, presented a detailed report, and gave the city a check to cover the improvements; however, talk spread of empaneling a grand jury to indict, and the assumption grew that Tedesco and possibly his assistants would go to prison.

Klea Tedesco, the commissioner's wife and president of the ladies' auxiliary of the Utah Municipal League, cannily went to the same source enjoined by the parks employees. She met with McKay alone, then she and her husband sat down with him again. The controversy ended as abruptly as it had begun. Even the *Deseret News* broadened the discussion to include the appropriate use of city resources which evidently had not been at issue before.⁶⁶ Apparently in 1946 no one questioned why city employees had sought the intervention of a top Mormon leader rather than following a grievance procedure within city government—or why a counselor in the First Presidency felt comfortable convening city officials to report a conflict. Clearly the city officials, the media, and the legal system responded to McKay's concern with vigor, and the resulting tumult was quelled just as quickly.

The aplomb surrounding this small scandal illustrated the valley's power structure then and in future decades. It signaled the immediate future, for the genial McKay would continue a hands-on influence in secular affairs. Like a few before him, he personified his time and place. As the first non-polygamist president in 1951, he

stood firmly within the social and cultural mainstream; and as the first LDS president to hold a college diploma, he emphasized education, a strong post-war trend.

Family life, education, and prosperity in a peaceful neighborhood were the ideals increasingly evident within Salt Lake County, even as they grew nationwide. Hard-earned by decades of deprivation and war, these goals seemed as worthy as deserved. During the tumultuous 1930s–40s, the Salt Lake Valley had proven its worth as an inextricable part of America, as well a capital county. Meanwhile both depression and war had forged links between Salt Lake County and federal programs, policies, and related industries. These bonds tethered any instinct to reclaim an autonomous posture toward the world beyond the valley.

Growth itself had not only accompanied but perpetuated change. In 1930 Salt Lake County had embraced 194,102 people. By 1950, 274,895 residents lived in a more crowded, aware, and experienced populace. Hard times were not forgotten, making prosperity all the sweeter. Military industry had bloomed as the economy's darling; meanwhile the federal government had become a constant if criticized partner in numerous regards.

Significant, though less visible than the prevailing social, political, and economic trends, was the reality that numerous individuals had risen to the overall challenges, only to be thanked and essentially dismissed. People of color found their status reduced when the war ended; working women were encouraged to go home. Yet their achievements and heightened expectations would pend, then awaken again, as valley life stabilized.

The events that had spanned and shaken the world during these decades had inflicted and compelled Salt Lake County's wholehearted participation. In the meantime, newsreels, travel, and military service inexorably linked its peoples in myriad new ways to the once-distant world.

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CLAIMING THE CROSSROADS, 1950–1970

One century after settlement, the Salt Lake Valley claimed its identity as a crossroads with a new sense of entitlement. Both the availability of television and increased air travel brought the world closer, resulting in a new sense of sophistication. The arts, fertilized during the years of depression and war, now blossomed abundantly. In the 1950s, education became a priority both for veterans and the children of the post-war “baby boom.” In fact, when the Vietnam War escalated in the next decade, college enrollment ironically allowed many young men to evade the military draft.

So persuasive was the 1950s’ national vision of family life, underwritten by a careening birth rate in Salt Lake County, that the ideal of a happy nuclear family predominated in the valley long after the decade ended. In certain respects, the model family that reigned in television’s situation comedies, in magazine advertisements, and in the movies was the logical descendant of the agricultural family, a staple of western settlement. The agricultural family (and often the industrial family), however, had depended upon a flexible clan of rel-

atives and neighbors, while the nuclear family claimed a self-sustaining home.

The LDS proportion of the Salt Lake City population dropped as large families moved into subdivisions appearing in the south and east valley, featuring ranch-style homes, yards, garages, and swings. As if the valley suddenly tipped southward, the population slid increasingly into Murray, Sandy, Draper, Millcreek, and Holladay, and later toward Granger, Hunter, Taylorsville, Riverton, and West and South Jordan.

Despite the wholesome emphasis of the 1950s, political and social conflicts ran deep. The war-weary nation dwelled on prospective enemies within and without, and Salt Lake County reflected both concerns. The rhetoric of anti-communism echoed in valley politics as McCarthyism seized Congress. Also, military industry welded the county to national policy, dominating the economy even more than during World War II. With the advent of the Korean conflict, the spreading chill of the Cold War, and the escalating Vietnam War, Salt Lake County consistently assumed a militaristic stance. Between 1950 and 1953, more than 7,564 Utahns served in Korea and, between 1963 and 1975, more than 47,000 in Vietnam. As the latter war became increasingly controversial, debate and dissent within the state centered in the Salt Lake Valley.

The dramatic civil rights movement, rising in southern states during the late 1950s and 1960s, existed mainly on television for Salt Lakers. Yet issues of fairness arose, unrestricted to race, and spread valley-wide around housing and community services even as legislators resisted, debated, then finally passed basic civil rights law on Capitol Hill. Minority groups took heart and organized, neighborhood councils blossomed, and Salt Lake County government developed new resources to provide services to underserved constituents.

All in all, despite conflicts and challenges, the Salt Lake Valley basked in its growth and relative prosperity and invited the world to participate. In 1966 a Salt Lake City delegation bid in Rome for the 1972 Olympic Winter Games. The bid failed and the games went to Sapporo, Japan; however, the idea of bringing the Olympics to the Salt Lake Valley germinated. Linked inexorably to the nation and

leading the state, Salt Lake County now flourished within its own ideal as the Crossroads of the West.

Tuesday breakfasts epitomized decision-making during this era. These convened at the Hotel Utah, attended by LDS church president David O. McKay, Gus Backman, executive director of the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce, and *Salt Lake Tribune* publisher John F. Fitzpatrick. Backman headed the chamber for over thirty years, and Fitzpatrick published the *Tribune* for more than four decades. With his sudden death in 1960, his son-in-law John W. Gallivan assumed his seat, not only as publisher but at the Tuesday breakfast table. Over nineteen years, McKay became known as “the prophet” rather than “the president” (as all but Joseph Smith had been called), commanding a new devotion.

Between them, these men linked the interests and resources of religion, the capital city, and the media in a locus of power fused entirely outside democratic channels. The importance of this triad in affecting development and policy in the valley cannot be overstated though their decisions were informal and largely undocumented. After McKay’s infirmity and death ended the weekly conclaves, an LDS general authority, a Salt Lake City commissioner, and a state senator individually bemoaned the end of the breakfasts as the loss of a single group that could “consistently get anything done.”¹

In retrospect, the triumvirate symbolized the benevolent paternalism of the 1950s even amid the broadening issues of the 1960s. Unrepresented at the power breakfasts were “the county” as opposed to “the city,” particularly the southwest sector, labor, ethnic, and racial minorities, and women. Together these groups comprised a majority of valley residents; entirely separate in the 1950s, they gasped in the 1960s at a wandering breeze of entitlement.

Overall, the post-war shift in the valley’s living patterns came rapidly and dramatically. In 1950 Salt Lake City represented a strong residential center as well a center for culture, education, finance, medical care, and shopping. Seven out of ten county residents lived in the capital city with farmers and industrial workers served secondarily by outlying cities and towns. Only a decade later, five of those proverbial ten residents had left the capital city, and by 1970 only



Traffic became a major concern in communities such as Sandy, which grew by 36 percent in the 1950s, continued to swell in the 1960s, then doubled its new size in 1969. (Utah State Historical Society)

three (and a fraction) remained. Families with young children were the most likely to seek suburban life, while the poor and minorities were more likely to remain in Salt Lake City.²

Most of those who moved from “the city” to “the county” remained urban people, now seeking a suburban lifestyle and willing to commute to work. The impact was great: Salt Lake City suddenly became a place to work or play, not necessarily to live. Unincorporated Salt Lake County felt the weight of residents needing services no longer provided by the capital city. Meanwhile, certain small cities coped with populations that doubled and tripled seemingly overnight. By 1960 Salt Lake City’s population had declined by 7 percent even as Salt Lake County’s had increased by 20 percent.³ The baby boom, which augmented the growth of new neighborhoods, soared not only through the 1950s but also through the 1960s when the national rate began to fall.

Murray, for instance, transformed from a smelter town interspersed by truck farms into a suburban city that prided itself for effi-

cient services and low taxes. As its neighborhoods multiplied, the population increased from 5,740 to 16,802 between 1940 and 1960. Meanwhile nearby unincorporated communities such as Millcreek, Holladay, and Cottonwood gained new and often upscale neighborhoods. Homes clustered around the base of Mount Olympus and even began to climb.

In 1961 ground was broken for a new phenomenon in Salt Lake County. Once it was roofed, the Cottonwood Mall allowed shoppers to browse shops and department stores without braving the weather. Contractor and developer Sidney Horman overcame zoning, drainage, and financing problems to erect the nine-hundred-foot consumers' mecca. "With ZCMI, Utah's oldest department store as the keystone of the center," the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported, "the shopper can select from a wide variety of apparel shops, shoe stores, hardware, jewelry, drugs, music, novelty, gift, sporting goods and specialty foods and furniture."⁴ Mall-wandering became a pastime for young and old alike, one that surpassed shopping. Art shows, high school concerts, auto shows, and a variety of exhibitions were scheduled in the popular facility.

The population influx in the south and southeast valley bolstered county tax rolls as voters consistently resisted incorporation for fear of increased taxes under city government. Meanwhile, especially with the advent of the mall, Salt Lake County was more than willing to retain most of the southeast valley on the county tax rolls.

Two-car garages beside many new homes sheltered an important component of the new American dream, but automobiles and daily commuting posed an immediate problem. State Street thickened with long lines of vehicles, relieved somewhat by the construction of the Seventh East-Cottonwood Diagonal freeway. The construction of interstates 15 and 80 was federally approved in 1956, and concrete girders and asphalt surfaces slowly appeared throughout these decades. Interstate 15 rose parallel to Sixth West Street, linking Salt Lake City to cities north and south, and Interstate 80 swooped east and west, crossing the city at Twenty-First South. Meanwhile, traffic mushroomed faster and farther south than even the new freeway system could support.

The post-war housing shortage erupted into a building boom to

match the baby boom; both college graduates and young married couples abounded. As Kennecott operated at “full tilt and other industries were booming . . . there was a lot of inexpensive ground around,” recalled Sandy resident Grant Hurst. “Suddenly Sandy was sprouting. And from then on it was just kind of exponentially growing, I mean it was just one on top of another, like shingles coming down a roof.”⁵

Gradually Sandy annexed subdivisions north and east of the city, so the city grew both in area and numbers. Sandy’s population expanded by 36 percent between 1950 and 1960 reaching 3,322 residents. It continued to swell throughout the 1960s, then doubled its new size in 1969. As fast as developers could carve neighborhoods in the eastern hills, the city offered water, services, and annexation. Its cul de sacs sprouting new grass and dotted with short shrubbery featured block after block of suburban family life. The neighborhoods were almost entirely white, and most mothers stayed out of the workforce. Sandy differed visibly from the model families on television comedies such as *The Donna Reed Show* and *Father Knows Best* only in that most families were LDS.⁶

The population shift southward inexorably changed life for farmers, as new subdivisions grew on farmland like an unparalleled cash crop. From the Wasatch to the Oquirrh ranges, farmers found they could no longer afford to plant sugar beets or alfalfa in fields so newly valuable. Some sold top soil then the property itself. Many who wanted to continue farming moved elsewhere; some held on to their land; still others found urban jobs.

The availability of water proved as key to development as it had to settlement. In 1952, as Deer Creek’s water flowed into Salt Lake City with the completion of the aqueduct, the Metropolitan Water District offered to sell water to other markets. Cottonwood and Union voiced an interest, so did Granger, Hunter, Taylorsville, and Magna to the west.

Only with difficulty had the Granger-Hunter Improvement District gotten its start in 1949, installing water and sewerage lines between 3100 and 4100 South streets and between the Jordan River and 7200 West. In 1951 the Salt Lake County Water Conservancy

District came into being, aiding the effort to bring a reliable water supply to southwest residents.

Investors in the project were hard to find, however, and civic leader Estel Wright drove prospective investors to view dairies, truck gardens, and farms as he described their inevitable future as subdivisions. Finally American Savings and Loan took the risk, and residents voted in 1953 to support a bond that would install water lines that hooked into a main line extending into Kearns. There developers were erecting subdivisions around the skeletal remains of the army air base.⁷

Improved roads in the late 1950s accelerated growth in the west valley; 3500 and 4800 South streets became major east-west arteries. Meanwhile the state bought property for the western segment of the Interstate 215 belt route which would cross Granger and eventually extend Redwood Road north into Davis County. As neighborhood development peaked on the southeast side of the valley, developers looked increasingly toward the southwest. The growth rates were far from equal, however; between 1950 and 1955, one hundred to 150 subdivisions were developed each year in the southeast valley while six to twelve were built each year west of the Jordan River.

Like certain eastside communities, southwest towns such as Granger, Kearns, Bennion, Hunter, and Magna were loathe to incorporate. The urbanization taking place on the west side of the valley differed, however, for some citizens proffered stiff resistance shown by the fact that zoning was not formally instituted in Granger and Hunter until 1965.

The residents' reluctance to citify was complicated by an insidious notion in Salt Lake City that investments were unsound west of the Jordan River. Meanwhile urban and rural lots mixed, and blight plagued areas of the westside. Truth told, the area tended to be a dumping ground for the rest of the valley. Only in 1962 did Utah Power and Light install street lights in Granger even as ground was broken for a Salt Lake County fire station and a modern post office. Two years later, the Valley West Hospital opened with forty beds.⁸

The Chesterfield and Redwood areas showed these stresses as clutter of junked cars and trucks mixed with small plots containing a few cows or horses. When Salt Lake County opened the Redwood

Multipurpose Center at 3100 South on Redwood Road, it brought considerable relief, offering badly needed recreational facilities, youth employment and training, day care, emergency food and clothing, English-as-a-second-language classes, medical services, and senior citizen programs.⁹

Throughout, clubs and councils led out in providing various programs and civic improvements. The Granger Lions Club, for instance, in 1951 bought land at 3700 West and 3500 South streets and created Granger Park. In 1955 the Hunter Park Committee raised money for a park at 2700 South and 6000 West streets. In response, the Hunter Lions Club set about furnishing a sprinkling system, a bowery complete with picnic tables, a baseball diamond, and tennis courts.

In 1964 the Eagles, Lions, and Rotary clubs formed the Granger-Hunter Community Council, soon the impetus in seeking reform. Committees oversaw planning and zoning, safety and welfare. The council raised money to replace dangerous irrigation ditches with pipe, improve street lighting and traffic control systems, and enhance flood control. In 1968, as a council-sponsored swimming pool opened, Salt Lake County began work on the Hunter, Hilsdale, and David Gourley parks.¹⁰

The southwest communities increasingly drew their subsistence from military industry which became the largest manufacturing sector, employing 20 percent of the state population. It largely supported Granger, Kearns, Hunter, and Magna. By 1963 Utah's economy was the third most oriented toward defense in the nation, and the west-side communities depicted that commitment.

The Hercules Powder Company, for instance, became an important contractor of Minuteman missiles and modernized its Bacchus Works to improve nitroglycerin production. Later Hercules teamed with Thiokol in working on the Trident and Poseidon submarine missiles. In addition, the United States Air Force's commitment to guided missiles reached the valley in 1956, when the Sperry Rand Corporation began producing Sergeant missiles and later anti-aircraft weapons systems and radar systems.

Kennecott's Utah Copper Division remained a major employer, boasting the valley's tallest structure with a new smokestack erected



The open pit of Kennecott's Utah Copper Division was deep enough to swallow the Empire State Building and more than two miles wide by the late 1950s. Shown here in 1980, the pit attracted about 30,000 tourists per month to the overlook. (O. Wallace Kasteler—Deseret News)

to ease residents' concerns over air pollution. Bingham, Garfield, Arthur, and Lark had grown up around the mountain that open-pit copper mining had turned into an amphitheater. Now the pit gaped more than two miles in diameter and deep enough to gulp the Empire State Building. A spiral of roads wound the sloping sides, and power shovels, trains, and trucks moved like toys as viewed by the 20,000 to 30,000 tourists per month who stood at the overlook. Few visitors stopped to spend their dollars in Bingham, however, despite a public relations program to provide better parking and to advertise the town's colorful past.

"It was 1957, and the Lark Elementary School was the largest building in town,"¹¹ wrote Michael N. Martinez of his childhood. The school hosted the Salt Lake County summer recreation program, where children learned rope jumping, ping pong, and baseball. Martinez remembered the constant dust from blasting and how homes and buildings trembled with every charge. Like many fami-

lies, the Martinez family left New Mexico after World War II for railroad, mining, or defense jobs. Employers around Bingham not only recruited there but encouraged employees to hail additional family members to the canyon.

“The mine whistle controlled our lives,” Martinez recalled. “It blew and we got up to go to school. It blew and we went home to have lunch. It blew and our dads came home from work, and we knew we better get home to eat.” Most families lived in apartment units built into barracks. “Each morning and every afternoon, as the shifts changed, there were hundreds of cars rolling past our house. . . . On the other end of the town was the store, the post office, and the mine bosses’ houses.”¹²

The copper giant dramatically changed employees’ lifestyle as, late in the 1950s, it expanded and began swallowing the towns it had created. Residents found their most determined resistance futile as the land beneath their homes and business districts was purchased by Kennecott. Garfield was dismantled in 1955, and the old Slav enclave of Highland Boy vanished into the roar of steam shovels. In 1960 the wrecking ball raised dust in Bingham despite the efforts of civic leaders and merchants to unite. Two years later, Kennecott acquired rights to the land under Lark from the United States Smelting, Refining, and Mining Company. One by one, the colorful towns that countless residents had called home vanished into legend.

Meanwhile labor disputes and strikes made Kennecott’s importance to the economy alarmingly apparent. In 1955 the legislature had passed a “right-to-work” law that held organized labor’s claim on the workforce to 19 percent by 1960. Most of Utah’s unionized workers worked along the Wasatch Front in mining, manufacturing, utilities, or construction, including a significant number at Kennecott. In the fall of 1967, a major strike closed mines in Bingham Canyon as well as in neighboring states. When no solution developed, Governor Calvin Rampton traveled to Washington, D.C., to facilitate negotiations which finally required the intervention of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

As its population shrank, Salt Lake City struggled to define and master its new role as a significant urban center with a declining res-

idential tax base. A crescent-shaped ring of homes along the eastern and northern foothills continued to house the valley's most affluent residents despite posh developments and new schools rising near Mount Olympus. The inner city, however, suffered from the migration to the suburbs and the neighborhoods aged quickly. The Salt Lake City School District shrank from 44,872 students in 1958 to 27,600 in 1974. One by one elementary and junior high schools closed.

The city's northwest quadrant was strengthened by the new Rose Park subdivision created between the Jordan River and the Capitol Hill area. Developer Alan E. Brockbank was the son of a gardener at England's Buckingham Palace and designed the streets between Eighth North and Twelfth West streets to form a rose when viewed from the air. Homes, parks, a golf course, and shops appeared along streets named American Beauty Drive, Capistrano, and names of other varieties of roses.

Salt Lake County opened the Northwest Multi-Purpose Center at Thirteenth West and Third North streets and the Central City Multi-Purpose Center on Fourth East Street at about Seventh South. Clinics and a variety of recreation and social service programs were welcomed by each area's residents.

Of necessity, the capital city paid close attention to its infrastructure and resources during that period. A heavy snowmelt following the 1951–52 winter brought flooding. Streams filled the Mountain Dell Reservoir and swelled Emigration and City creeks, then rushed into the city. Streets in the eastern part of town were deluged; storm sewers flooded as waters poured down Thirteenth South Street to the Jordan River where obstructions sent floodwaters surging into west-side neighborhoods. Altogether the city spent more than a million dollars on damages, although without the city crews' efficient response, the sum could have been far higher.

The floodwaters eventually reached the Great Salt Lake which also demanded attention. Valley officials had long assumed that the Great Salt Lake's salinity would neutralize or sterilize any pollutants from industries or residents along the rivers that fed it. By 1950 the error in that assumption became obvious. As the lake rose in the mid-1950s, raw sewage seeped from the north bays to the resorts on

the south shores. News of the pollution chased swimmers from the buoyant waves.

High waters contributed to the demise of Saltair in another respect. The freshwater swimming pool the resort built to increase attendance washed out as the lake's level rose. In addition, fires in 1955 and 1956 were followed in 1957 by a freakish wind that toppled the giant racer. Not even ballroom dancing could keep the resort alive, although local musician Ardean Watts and his orchestra and nationally-known groups such as the Mills Brothers and Bill Haley and His Comets drew crowds. In 1959 Saltair's owners gave the resort to the state, and it closed. Eleven years later, Saltair burned to the ground as firefighters watched, unable to drive their trucks over the rotting boardwalks to put out the flames.¹³

Transportation became increasingly important as more residents commuted farther to their jobs. Even though valley residents were as addicted to car travel as any Americans, public transportation got a boost in 1953 when private bus companies united as the Utah Transit Authority. Mass transit use, nevertheless, declined as increasing numbers of automobiles claimed the roads and interstates.

By 1960 bus ridership plummeted to 12 million passengers with the average rider just fourteen years old—too young to drive. This was a significant decrease from the 33 million riders during World War II, when most valley residents lived in Salt Lake City and automobile use proved impractical and even unpatriotic. Bus ridership rose to over 19 million by 1980 as the service improved valley-wide, but automobiles remained the transportation of choice.

Throughout these decades the facilities of the Salt Lake City Municipal Airport expanded and modernized, and it attained new status as the Salt Lake City International Airport in 1968. The extended runways and expanded terminals, however, could not prevent a tragedy.

In 1965 a United Airlines 727 jet crashed when its landing gear failed to engage. The plane swerved, belly-to-concrete, caught fire, and skidded to a halt, flinging one engine one hundred feet north of the main wreckage. Forty people died, thirty-six were hospitalized, and another dozen came through without serious injury. The crew and passengers hailed from throughout the United States and

included several Utahns, as well as two Federal Aviation Agency inspectors who survived.¹⁴

Salt Lake City politics told much about the times, as vividly illustrated when former Governor J. Bracken Lee was elected mayor in 1962. An avid McCarthyite during the 1950s, Lee considered President Dwight D. Eisenhower a communist and won both the governorship and the mayor's seat by promising fiscal conservatism. Once mayor, Lee resisted urban renewal in the aging capital city and leaned heavily on city department budgets. In the process, he balanced the city budget and improved capital investments. Meanwhile Lee's fiscal conservatism contrasted with a feisty liberality when it came to personal habits. He enjoyed both liquor and gambling over a game of cards.¹⁵

Salt Lakers split in their opinions of Lee as a conservative. As mayor in the 1930s, Lee had reportedly run Price in Central Utah as a wide open town before politics brought him north. He claimed that only the sponsorship of J. Rueben Clark, a politically active member of the LDS First Presidency, had won him the governorship. In any case, Lee drew the church's support when, as mayor, he ran into such immediate controversy with a Mormon stalwart that a cross was burned on his lawn with the note, "Lee, you are a fool."¹⁶

Since the days of the American Party and the stockade, the relationship between city government, the police department, and vice had intermittently raised tensions within the city. In 1955 an outside study described the police department as plagued by low morale and manpower, inadequate equipment, and a lack of public confidence. In response the city hired a chief who represented the moral and political values of many residents.

W. Cleon Skousen was a vocal anti-communist and a former FBI agent who, in the 1940s, had aided director J. Edgar Hoover in investigating suspected subversives. He then taught at Brigham Young University and would be linked with the archconservative John Birch Society in both Utah and Salt Lake counties. An author and popular speaker at LDS firesides and church meetings, Skousen blended LDS teachings and conservative, even reactionary, propaganda. As police

chief, he ran a tight department, one that the *Deseret News* praised and many Salt Lakers viewed with pride.

Before his election as mayor, Lee had hedged his support of Skousen and the department of public safety. No sooner did Lee sit down with the city commission in January 1963, than he moved ineffectually to eliminate the public safety commissioner's post as a cost-saving measure. Instead, commissioners voted Lee into the slot where he immediately set about reducing the police budget. He and Skousen disagreed about where to cut, and, in March, Lee fired Skousen without notice.

There was more to Lee's action than commission meetings, however. Skousen's department enforced the letter of city law, reportedly even arresting people who smoked on the streets. Vice raids netted slot machines, and officers broke up poker games including those at the Alta Club where Lee and his friends relaxed. When Lee complained about this vigilance, Skousen said his department was duty-bound to enforce the law as written.

Skousen heard of his firing from a *Tribune* reporter whom he met by chance on the street. The public outcry resulted in Lee and Skousen debating on radio and television, but the firing stuck. In fact, when *Deseret News* editors prepared a scathing editorial blasting Lee and praising Skousen, the piece was killed by Henry D. Moyle, first counselor in the LDS First Presidency. Lee also described a telephone conversation in which McKay assured him of the church's support. Skousen received a copy of the killed editorial from a sympathetic *News* staffer and concluded the church had been reluctant to attack a "friendly gentile."

Later both Lee and Skousen shrugged off a telling incident. The previous autumn, as Lee won the election and Skousen basked in the police department's heyday, Moyle had been involved in a minor traffic accident downtown. While he and a taxi driver exchanged license numbers, a woman parked beside the curb asked Moyle to move his car so that she could enter traffic. He obliged, then called police from a parking lot. Later Moyle complained to Skousen about the attitude of the responding officer, so Skousen reviewed the incident.

Skousen ended up citing Moyle for moving his car before police arrived considering it tantamount to leaving the scene of an accident;

Moyle paid a \$100 fine. More importantly, perhaps, Skousen soon used the incident to publicly counter Lee's charges that he had covered up an incident involving an LDS apostle. In airing the Moyle story, Skousen defended his own impartiality regardless of any embarrassment to the church official.¹⁷

Also Skousen's ultra-conservative politics did not represent the LDS hierarchy as a whole although the church was vocally anti-communist. Skousen's groups were visibly supported by Apostle Ezra Taft Benson, but sometimes the church officially disavowed sympathy. Skousen's books, including *The Naked Capitalist*, would identify such national leaders as Eisenhower and Richard Nixon as pawns of the super-rich who schemed to take over the planet "through socialistic legislation where possible, but having no reluctance to use Communist revolution where necessary."¹⁸

While Lee prevailed in city government, Skousen founded the multi-state Freemen Institute which became an invisible force in electoral politics capable of packing school boards and the legislature. The Freemen's most conspicuous victory would come with the 1976 Senate election of a former Pittsburgh attorney, Orrin Hatch, unknown locally, who defeated the tenured Democrat Frank E. Moss.

Lee and the LDS church took opposite positions when it came to legalizing the sale of liquor by the drink in restaurants and other public gathering places. In 1968 the question reached the ballot, and the Salt Lake City newspapers split as dramatically as they had during the 1880s. The *Deseret News* quoted President McKay: "Let no one be misled concerning the real intent. The true purpose is to make liquor more easily available."¹⁹ Not true, the *Salt Lake Tribune* countered; the central issue was not sale by the drink but "LEGAL sale by drink . . . The present law simply cannot be enforced. . . ." The issue raged over pulpits as well as public podiums, and the referendum failed by a two-to-one margin.²⁰

Lee believed that upgrading a deteriorating downtown area and business district was a luxury the city could not afford; others disagreed—especially given the slippage of the tax base to suburban cities and the county. A Main Street beautification project began with change appearing first on the block between Fourth and Fifth South and Main and Second East streets. A new public library opened in

1964, and across an inner-block plaza, the Metropolitan Hall of Justice opened a year later, housing the district court and clerks' office. Soon a circuit court flanked one side of the hall and a new police department and jail the other. Unfortunately, Salt Lake County was accruing urban problems so rapidly that both the buildings and the legal system became burdened very quickly.

Lee vigorously opposed building a civic auditorium, but the desire for such a structure had topped the city boosters' wish list for decades. A 1958 plan proposed a multi-purpose auditorium or coliseum on the Utah State Fairgrounds. Murray immediately lobbied to have the center built on 3300 South Street, nearer the current center of population. In 1961 a joint city-county committee studied the matter, recommending the construction of a 14,000-seat arena to meet the convention and entertainment needs of the county for the next twenty-five years.

In 1963 the Salt Lake County Commission appointed a Civic Auditorium Advisory Board which voted to locate the facility in downtown Salt Lake City rather than at the fairgrounds or in Murray. Accordingly, the commission approved a site owned by the LDS church between South Temple and Second South and West Temple and First West streets. A fifty-year lease charged the county \$1 per year and provided the church exclusive use of the facility for as many as twenty-four days per year.²¹

The placement of the new Salt Palace effectively eliminated the old Japanese Town and various shops and businesses. In March 1967 city, county, and church officials broke ground for the \$19.2 million edifice. In July 1969 band leader Eugene Jelesnik and the Salt Lake Philharmonic Orchestra struck a lively tune at the grand opening. The next day, singer Glen Campbell entertained a sell-out crowd of more than 13,000 fans. He was followed by singers Simon and Garfunkel and Elvis Presley, as well as comedian Bill Cosby, all of whom commanded large audiences.²²

With the coming of the Salt Palace, sports claimed a new sophistication in the valley. Until then, baseball had proven the game of choice. In 1958 the Salt Lake Bees returned Pacific Coast League baseball to the valley after a thirty-year hiatus. Their first game at Derks Field opened with considerable fanfare, despite remodeling. City



1959 SALT LAKE BEES

In 1958, the Salt Lake Bees returned Pacific Coast League baseball to the valley. In 1959, the popular team came from dead last to win the pennant. (Utah State Historical Society)

employees with tickets were given time off to attend the game, city courts closed that afternoon, and Governor George D. Clyde proclaimed “Back the Bees Week.” Nearly five thousand fans cheered the Bees to triumph over the Vancouver Mounties. Although the Bees finished fifth in the league that year, they brought in 218,000 ticketholders and made a \$15,000 profit. **In 1959 the Bees** thrilled Salt Lakers by coming from dead last to win the pennant.²³

True to its increasingly suburban nature, Murray emphasized youth baseball. The city and county governments joined with the American Legion, the National Guard, and the Murray School District in organizing leagues and tournaments. In 1960 the Ken Price Ballpark—named for a retired police officer and youth baseball booster—opened, drawing 50,000 ticket-holders per year to its partially-roofed, lighted park.

In addition, college sports remained popular. In 1953, for instance, the University of Utah-Brigham Young University football game was broadcast on Thanksgiving Day, one of the first local events to be televised and the first sports event. Basketball and ski



The Golden Eagles hockey team brought tens of thousands of cheering fans to the Salt Palace. (O. Wallace Kasteler- Deseret News)

teams at the university consistently ranked All-Americans in national contention, as well.

The Salt Palace offered new sport options. No sooner were plans

for the Salt Palace in place, in fact, than the Western Hockey League awarded the city a team. The first game of the Salt Lake Golden Eagles filled the Salt Palace with six thousand cheering fans as the Eagles triumphed over San Diego. In May 1975 and again five years later, the Golden Eagles won the league championship before more than 11,000 fans on each occasion.

Nor were the Eagles the only team drawing sports fans to the block just west and south of Temple Square. Six months after the Eagles debuted, Salt Lakers learned that the Los Angeles Stars would be moving to Salt Lake City. The Utah Stars brought fans a triumphant first year in 1970–71, capturing the American Basketball Association championship in the Salt Palace as they beat Kentucky before more than 13,000 screaming fans.²⁴

Children and youth ranked high in Salt Lakers' considerations during this era; the high birthrate, the emphasis on family, and unrest around social issues all commanded attention. Education proved a challenging priority given the numbers of children in public classrooms and institutions of higher education.

This generation was not only numerous but infused with the ambition of parents who had survived the Great Depression and World War II. Born into a quite different world, many children of the 1950s and 1960s considered post-high school education their due rather than an entitlement of privilege. From the Utah Technical College to the University of Utah Medical School, educational programs that had long struggled for economic survival now soared on an influx of tuition, as well as federal and state dollars newly committed to education.

Although Utah spent a greater proportion of tax dollars for education than most states, the number of students made the per capita ratio nearly the lowest in the nation. The stresses became vividly apparent in May 1964 when public school teachers declared a two-day "recess" to protest crowded classrooms and low salaries. The strike sparked a boycott against Utah by the National Education Association, and several local strikes followed.

Nor were numbers the only challenge. As the concept of equality spread into many sectors of society, educators defined a mission to

fill the needs of children with physical and mental disabilities. In 1969 the legislature removed handicapped children from the purview of the Department of Welfare and required the education system to adjust its services to the children's capabilities. Diagnostic services were assigned to the Division of Health.

The Granite School District, for instance, quickly assumed operation of the Granite Training Center, then set about building the Hartvigsen School for multiply challenged children. Valley-wide, educable children were "mainstreamed" within regular public school buildings. Some self-contained classrooms continued while "resource rooms" focused the one-to-one teaching of specific skills and concepts.

Technical education came into its own during this era, as well, boosted by the emphasis on military industry within the valley. In 1948 the Salt Lake Area Vocational School responded to a serious shortage of trained industrial and crafts workers. After some debate over location, the school rented the Troy Laundry building at about Fourth South and Sixth East streets. Remodeling and classes began almost simultaneously as more than one thousand students poured into day or night programs. The school struggled during its first years; the roof leaked and the boilers provided too much or too little heat. In addition, Governor Lee fought a running battle over state funding.²⁵

Enrollment continued to rise at the renamed Salt Lake Trade Technical Institute, and talk of a junior college spread. The University of Utah lobbied against the idea, which was postponed. In 1960 the Utah Technical College planned a move to Redwood Road at about 4500 South. The new campus would provide an initial six buildings at a cost of \$3.2 million and house business, nursing, architectural, printing, metal, electronic, and auto mechanic programs. Construction began early in the decade, and classes were first offered on the new campus in 1967.²⁶

In 1973 Governor Calvin Rampton presided over a triumphant dedication of the technology building. Following an embarrassing moment when an electric "Technology Moves On" sign failed to light, college president Jay L. Nelson, who had overseen the challenges of growth and relocation, announced that the building would be named

for Rampton, a strong supporter of technical education and education in general.²⁷

Westminster College in Sugarhouse also expanded during this period. The college had gained accreditation as a four-year institution in 1949; it benefited from the GI Bill as its student body rose to over three hundred. In 1955 a summer school was added, joined by a science curriculum two years later, and by a registered nurses' program in 1966. Masters' degrees in business and education were offered by 1982.

These were exciting decades, also, at the University of Utah, where enrollment soared. The student body surpassed 10,000 in 1958 and 20,000 a decade later. Meanwhile the legislature passed the first state bonding bill for campus construction, which was promptly vetoed by Governor George D. Clyde. The public was having none of that, however, and a special session of the legislature passed the bill again, fueling the university's thirty-year plan for growth.

Research gained an increasing emphasis within the medical school. In the early 1950s, cancer research absorbed many faculty members, and the university received more American Cancer Society research grants than any other facility its size. Also, the medical school became one in four nationally to join battle with an epidemic of infantile paralysis, or polio, which struck more than five thousand Americans each year, killing some and crippling others. Once a vaccine was developed by Dr. Jonas Salk, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis began a mass immunization program.

First, second, and third graders in selected schools throughout the county were dubbed "polio pioneers," as they lined up to receive a series of three injections. Half received the new vaccine, and half a placebo. When no negative reactions were reported, the children receiving the placebo went back for the real thing, and immunization clinics mushroomed in civic clubs, businesses, and LDS wards. Later Dr. Albert B. Sabin developed an oral vaccine.

Even during the 1950s and increasingly by 1960, the university struggled to house the medical research programs, a rising number of medical students, and hospital patients. The Salt Lake County General Hospital had served patients for more than eighty years. Its services included research laboratories and an emergency room, as



The University of Utah Medical School was one of four research facilities to tackle the epidemic of infantile paralysis. Schoolchildren (dubbed Polio Pioneers) tested a new serum, which was then used for mass immunization.

well as wards for general patient care. With time, however, the hospital buildings had become dilapidated, in addition to being inconveniently located for university doctors. A plan to erect a new hospital on the university campus gained state support, and a fund drive tapped federal grants and private donations, including \$25,000 from the LDS church and \$15,000 from the Utah Division of Kennecott Copper.

Some resisted the idea of moving the hospital near the university campus because at Twenty-First South and State streets, it offered a central location to many valley residents; however, Max McBeth, hospital administrator, said most people entering the emergency room actually came for patient care and the majority of them lived north

of 4200 South Street. Well-known retailer Maurice Warshaw, who headed the hospital's Citizens Advisory Board, released a statement saying that the old buildings at Twenty-First South were "no longer suitable for hospital use."²⁸

And so change came. In 1965 an E-shaped University of Utah Medical Center welcomed ninety-three patients driven by ambulance from the Salt Lake County Hospital. The 500,000 square foot structure provided wings for two hundred beds, clinical departments, and the medical school. Almost as fast as the new facility opened, however, it was outgrown. The hospital soon resembled an obstacle course due to constant remodeling. Meanwhile, over the years, other buildings were added including colleges of nursing and pharmacy, and a medical library.

Throughout, research steadily gained clinical use. Kidney transplants became increasingly common as new tests allowed greater precision in the selection of compatible donors. In 1967 Dr. Willem J. Kolff was recruited to head the Division of Artificial Organs. Kolff's research team would receive worldwide notice for various prostheses, even as it worked toward the creation of an artificial heart. In 1968 the Newborn Intensive Care Center opened in a single room with a pediatrician and four or five newborns. During its first year, the center treated two hundred infants.²⁹

Salt Lake County residents closely watched the escalating war in Southeast Asia, and both support and protest tended to focus within the valley, where military industry played a major role. The state sent "more than its share of young men to Vietnam,"³⁰ placing fifth in military participation despite the deferments available for LDS missions, college attendance, or starting families, all of which were more common among Utah's young men than among other Americans. The media gave the war considerable coverage, and community projects such as "Operation Friendship" in 1966 and "Operation Schoolhouse" a year later offered support to the South Vietnamese people.

The University of Utah sponsored a marathon volleyball game for the latter cause, yet the campus also echoed the growing dissent voiced at universities and colleges nationwide. History professor James Clayton gained national attention with his argument that war-



Protest against the Vietnam War in Utah centered in Salt Lake County. A large rally and counter-rally took place at the City and County Building in 1965. In this photograph protesters prepare for a peace march in 1967.

related costs would eventually triple the \$330 billion cost of the war, in addition to the human suffering that any war inflicted. Between 1959 and 1969, he noted, more had been spent on the Vietnam War than during the nation's history for police protection or higher education in public institutions.³¹

As television brought the war into the nation's living rooms with an immediacy never before known, many students voiced outrage. Styles on campuses changed as long straight hair, bell-bottom trousers, bare feet and midriffs, peace signs, large dogs, and clouds of cigarette smoke visually identified passive or active dissenters.

In 1965 a protest march in Salt Lake City drew forty demonstrators; by 1969 more than four thousand joined a daylong moratorium beginning with speeches at the University of Utah Union Building followed by a march down South Temple Street to the Federal Building on First South and State streets. Speakers demanded the United States' withdrawal from Vietnam, and Reverend G. Edward

Howlett of St. Mark's Episcopal Cathedral read the names of Utahns who had died in the war. Westminster College students also gathered to debate the efficacy of the war.

That same day, more than two hundred counter-demonstrators gathered at the City and County Building for a pro-war rally. Salt Lake City commissioner Jake Garn told the crowd that "if the moratorium were successful, the United States would be communist and 40,000 American lives would have been sacrificed in vain." In fact, he "blamed protestors for prolonging the war and aiding the enemy."³² All in all, the *Salt Lake Tribune* declared the moratorium on 15 October 1969 the largest peace demonstration in the state's history.

Most protests at the University of Utah and in the valley were peaceful, and generally the administration granted students a forum; however, a bomb was set in the Naval Science Building and an old barracks in use as a bookstore was burned. Several arrests were made following one protest, and administrators sided with the prosecution while the Utah chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union supported the students. The ACLU also represented Henry L. Huey in a successful national effort to prevent the military from reclassifying the draft status of protestors.³³

Governor Calvin Rampton refused to become ruffled by protestors despite the defiant rhetoric that upset some officials on campus and civic leaders downtown. When a group turned up one evening on the governor's doorstep, the students were welcomed by First Lady Lucybeth Rampton, given soft drinks, and seated for a chat with the governor while Highway Patrol officers listened nearby. After taking a few photographs for *The Chronicle*, the students dispersed.³⁴

Rampton also recalled Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara's attempt to seek solace on Alta's ski slopes during the especially snowy winter of 1964–65. Rampton received a telephone call from President Lyndon Johnson who wanted to know if Alta was, in fact, snow-bound. When Rampton confirmed, Johnson snapped, "Goddamn it, get him out of there!" Rampton recruited a helicopter from the Utah Air National Guard (whose volunteers spent active time in Vietnam) to route the secretary back to the war room.³⁵

During these decades both communications and the arts received significant boosts from the fast-growing university. In the mid-1950s, the university instigated educational radio and television stations KUER and KUED, respectively. In 1958 KUED broadcast from the basement of the old Student Union Building, but both facilities were relocated on President's Circle with KUER in the basement of Kingsbury Hall and KUED in the basement of the Music Building. Communications professor Boyer Jarvis initiated the program *Civic Dialogue* to discuss public issues, and in 1965 KUED began broadcasting *The Governor's Press Conference*. Both shows would be long-lived.

Similarly the performing arts took flight. In 1947 Maurice Abravanel became director of the Utah Symphony, and he proved a powerful force in shaping the valley's cultural life. Abravanel led the orchestra to performances in Carnegie Hall and Europe, gaining national and international acclaim, but he also conducted concerts for the state's rural communities. The maestro opened Saturday morning rehearsals in the Tabernacle to thousands of schoolchildren. He explained each selection with the reminder that, in a domed hall where a falling pin could be clearly heard, any whispers would certainly assault his sensitive ears.

In 1951 Utah native Willam F. Christensen left his directorship of the San Francisco Ballet to found the nation's first university ballet department at the University of Utah. The University Theatre Ballet gave its first performance two years later, which included "Swan Lake Act II." In 1955 Christensen's version of *The Nutcracker* premiered in Kingsbury Hall. When the university also provided space for the Utah Symphony, a rich relationship ensued between the ballet, the orchestra, and the university.

In 1963 Christensen and arts patron Glenn Walker Wallace gained a \$175,000 Ford Foundation grant and founded the Utah Civic Ballet. The professional company, renamed Ballet West, toured nationally and internationally in the decades to come. In addition, Joan Jones Woodbury and Shirley Russon Ririe formed the Ririe-Woodbury Dance Company in 1964 which became a full-time modern dance company in 1970 and toured widely. A grant in 1966 by the Rockefeller Foundation gave rise to the Children's Dance Theater,

formed by teacher and lecturer Virginia Tanner, a leader in the area of creative dance.³⁶

The University of Utah also set about easing an ache that had existed in the artistic community since the destruction of the Salt Lake Theatre. In 1962 a modern replacement, Pioneer Memorial Theatre, was dedicated on the west side of the campus. Proposed by C. Lowell Lees who headed the theater department, the project gained crucial support from the university, David O. McKay, and Kennecott. Lees became artistic director, followed by Keith Engar. Welcoming more than 100,000 patrons each year, the Pioneer Theatre Company became an independent associate of the university, bringing professional talent and internship programs to the valley.

Inevitably, then, Salt Lake County became increasingly sophisticated as education and culture blossomed. The LDS proportion of the population neared 70 percent, higher than any period since statehood although the percentage in Salt Lake City proper fell with the exodus to the suburbs. Other religious denominations flourished despite their obvious minority status. By 1965 more than 18,000 Roman Catholics lived in Salt Lake County and more than three thousand Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists. Episcopalians tallied over two thousand, and Lutheran, Congregationalist, and Greek Orthodox parishioners numbered at around one thousand each.³⁷

In addition, numbering in the hundreds were members of the Jehovah's Witnesses, Assembly of God, Disciples of Christ, Church of Christ, Christian Scientists, Seventh Day Adventists, Unitarians, Buddhists, Nazarenes, Jews, Christian Missionary Alliance, Christian Reformed, and Evangelical Free congregations.³⁸ In the 1970s, a small group of Salt Lake Friends revived the Quaker group organized after World War II.

In significant and proportionate ways, these congregations played a meaningful role within society's framework. In July 1966, for instance, the Methodists opened Crossroads Urban Center on Fourth East between Third and Fourth South streets. The center would become a force within the city's inner community, providing emergency food, clothing, and social programs.³⁹ Agencies such as Utah

Issues, first sheltered by the St. Mark's Episcopal Cathedral, and Utahns Against Hunger lobbied to the benefit of the poor.

The Unitarians' Elliott Hall on Thirteenth East and Sixth South streets succored diverse groups during their fledgling stages, including protestors of the Vietnam War. Under Reverend Michael Cunningham, Planned Parenthood got its start there in 1969, as did the Salt Lake Acting Company which would become infamous for its irreverent spoof of LDS culture, *Saturday's Voyeur*.⁴⁰

Thus the 1950s and 1960s would be remembered nationwide for the civil rights movement, civic unrest, and issues of fairness. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, civil rights bills met with fierce resistance on Capitol Hill, but in the mid-1960s, under the Rampton administration, fair housing, employment, and public accommodation bills became law. Effecting real change in any arena, however, required time and at least as much effort as patience.

"Of course, back in the '60s—in the early 60s, people like me had a hard time," African-American Billy W. Mason recalled in an oral history for Salt Lake County's Neighborhood House.

Here and just about everywhere else. In those days, black people didn't have any place to go bowling, you know. We didn't have a place to go roller skating. Oh, there was a Normandy Skating Rink on Sixth South and Main. The only time we could go roller skating there was from 12 o'clock at night until 1:00. One hour. Yeah. We couldn't eat at certain restaurants, or get into certain social clubs. . . .

. . . That's why we got to keep talking about those early days—so no one forgets those times. And we have to talk about how the civil rights movement—the human rights bill—brought about changes.

I remember the day we picketed Rancho Lanes. With members of the NAACP, we went there to bowl. The guy says, "You can't bowl here." So, we picketed. We had about 50 or 60 people with us. Blacks and whites. Boy, it's rough when you have to think about picketing a bowling alley to achieve equality. Well, finally, after some time, we got to bowl, just like everybody else. Then, as the movement continued, more changes came about. Segregation in housing changed and jobs got a little better.⁴¹

Alberta Henry moved to Salt Lake City in 1949 after “falling in love” with the surrounding mountains. Before long, Henry learned that few African-American students attended the University of Utah, and fewer still graduated. She made it her business to investigate the financial aid and scholarships available. Even when potential grants were discovered, however, the director in charge refused to discuss them with her.⁴²

Gradually Henry gained allies within the university administration even as the privately-supported Alberta Henry Education Foundation aided students from every ethnic group. Henry herself enrolled for classes in an effort to identify biased instructors. She enjoyed her classwork so much that she earned a bachelor of science degree in elementary education. Even before she received her diplomas, however, in 1971 the university awarded Henry an honorary doctorate to salute her service to the community and the university.

The Chicano movement inspired in 1967 the Spanish Speaking Organization for Community Integrity and Opportunity organized by Jorge Arce-Laretta, Ricardo Barbero, and Father Jerald Merrill. Within the first five years, SOCIO’s membership expanded from five hundred to over 17,000. SOCIO encouraged cultural programs, including the Chicano Studies Program at the University of Utah and the Utah Ballet Folklorico. The latter performed widely and taught folkloric dance both to children and university students. In addition, singers and instrumentalists were popular in a variety of settings from the singing of mass at St. Francis Xavier in Kearns to performing at numerous weddings and receptions. The LDS Lucero Branch also provided an ethnic center and provided entertainment to a variety of groups valley-wide.⁴³

In Salt Lake County, then, issues of fairness and social activism took root in the 1950s and 1960s as the valley responded to the issues of the time. Great changes swept the nation and influenced the capital county and its peoples. The controversial and momentous civil rights movement was only the beginning of a “rights revolution”⁴⁴ that would reshape many facets of society. The Vietnam War raised increasing debate as warfare spread into other Southeast Asian countries and seemed ever less likely to bring the victory Americans had come to expect.

Locally, issues of growth, prosperity, equality, and accountability jostled for expression amid the national questions. The valley was no longer divided into city and countryside due to the migration from Salt Lake City south into new neighborhoods and burgeoning cities. The southwest valley boasted a small but vigorous crop of civic leaders determined to give those communities a stronger voice in the public forum. Educators were expected to welcome and challenge ever-increasing numbers of students from kindergarten to graduate school, from the multiply disabled to the intellectually gifted. And once the dreaded polio virus was vanquished, medical researchers looked increasingly toward keeping underdeveloped infants alive and replacing damaged body parts with transplants or prostheses.

Despite the challenges, optimism held sway⁴⁵ as leisure time allowed enjoyment of sports and recreation, fine arts, and community activities. Both dominant ideals of the era persisted—the happy and secure nuclear family and a community of individuals equally entitled to the good life. These overlapping visions expressed between 1950–70 promised to unsettle and enliven the decades to come.

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45. The increase in financial security nationally and locally is shown in the rise of per capita income. According to the U.S. Census, in 1950 the national per capita income stood at \$1,498 and, in Utah, at \$1,332. By 1970, the national per capita income rose to \$4,047, while Utah’s per capita income stood at \$3,291.

COMING OF AGE, 1970–1980

Although the 1960s retained a reputation for both idealism and social unrest, in Salt Lake County the 1970s more vividly illustrated the stresses of societal change and political activism. Social maturity became apparent, as well, as new leadership and development visibly altered business and commercial patterns and beautiful showcases enhanced the enjoyment of the performing arts. Below the surface of the changing metropolis, the Salt Lake Valley reacted to significant shifts in racial relations, to the demand for equal rights for women, to changing family patterns, and to a spate of unusual and violent crimes.

Although Salt Lake County had remained relatively aloof from the civil rights movement, both laws and attitudes now enabled individuals and groups with minority status to expand their roles and rights within the valley. A change in LDS priesthood policy late in 1978 acknowledged and perpetuated the changing mindset. Yet allowing African-American men equal opportunity within the lay priesthood also prompted a rash of ugly episodes with the re-emergence of the Ku Klux Klan in Salt Lake County. Toward the decade's

end, Southeast Asians dislocated by war began to arrive in Salt Lake County in large numbers, beginning the formation of a significant community.

Meanwhile the valley's strongest response to any social movement since the labor conflicts between 1912 and 1925 had hailed the National Guard to quash union activity now came in response to the women's movement. As the Equal Rights Amendment neared ratification in the required three-fourths of state legislatures, a giant reaction centered in Salt Lake County. The mobilization of thousands of women, most opposing the amendment, would influence local politics henceforth. Additionally, this mobilization became a prototype for influencing women's issues and the fate of the Equal Rights Amendment in numerous other states. Since settlement, Salt Lake County arguably had absorbed the impact of federal policy more than any other county in the state; now this entry into movement politics represented the valley's first and greatest impact on law and policy affecting other Americans. In the process, local women's groups found themselves juggling enmities that had been buried for a century.

Simultaneously county residents like other urban Americans became increasingly concerned about violent crime. Homicide, including new phenomena such as multiple and serial murder, skyrocketed nationally after 1960, and during the 1970s the trend reached the valley. National debate over the death penalty found a local focus as capital punishment caught its second wind in Salt Lake County. Additionally, one siege of violence rose like a dark ghost from the past as certain polygamous offshoots made the LDS term "blood atonement" not only a household word but a community fear, one that spread through the West and Southwest. Although often viewed as a breathing space between the tumultuous 1960s and the materialistic 1980s, the 1970s in Salt Lake County proved eventful, as great issues of the past and present clashed publicly amid the ongoing effort toward commercial and cultural growth.

This was an era when various groups who felt overlooked rose to the fore. While the county's high birthrate contributed to its statistically youthful population, residents over sixty years of age repre-

sented roughly 10 percent of all residents. Nationally and locally, senior citizens began to assert their rights and make their needs known. As early as 1966, Salt Lake City instituted a Meals on Wheels program, the first in the state to serve hot meals at home to senior citizens and one of the first in the nation. Sponsored by Metropolitan Services for the Aging, a private, non-profit corporation, Meals on Wheels moved into space donated by the county in the Psychiatric Building at the old county hospital.

In 1971 Salt Lake County created a Council on Aging, which encompassed an advisory body, a staff, and the Senior Citizens Development Department later known as the Sewing Project. The Community Services Council's Adult Nutrition Activity Program was brought aboard, along with its Independent Living Model Project. From this core would grow sixteen senior citizen centers scattered throughout the valley, and programs to provide transportation, chore assistance, and other services to senior citizens. Then in 1972 the Foster Grandparent Program was absorbed from the Salt Lake Community Action Program, matchmaking senior volunteers with children participating in public programs.¹

Overall, Salt Lake County grew more metropolitan and yet more suburban. Salt Lake City's population decreased by another 8 percent while the county population grew 18 percent. Although farms and stables were still in evidence in the south valley, they continued to vanish in what some called the "hay to houses" phenomenon. For instance, farmland made up 94 percent of Riverton in 1960 but decreased by the decade's end to 40 percent.

Developers quickly realized the Cottonwood Mall's magnetism in attracting shoppers and their dollars. In July 1970 the \$14 million Valley Fair Mall opened at 3600 South and 2700 West Streets with LDS church president Joseph Fielding Smith snipping the official ribbon. Anchored by ZCMI and J.C. Penney department stores, the mall's popularity caused such traffic congestion **that** a road was built from 2200 West Street into the east parking lot.² **Not to be outdone,** Murray trembled a few months later with a blast that signaled **exca-**vation for the Fashion Place Mall at 6400 South and State Streets. **The** major tenants included Sears, Roebuck and Company and Auerbach's



Shopping malls kept consumers in the suburbs and offered centers for community events. Holladay's Cottonwood Mall, shown here, opened in 1963, followed by Granger's Valley Fair Mall in 1970 and Murray's Fashion Place Mall in 1972. (O. Wallace Kasteler -Deseret News)

department store when the mall opened its doors to customers in November 1972.³

A \$6 million indoor sports mall added vigor and convenience to the south valley's recreational offerings, rising in the mid-1970s at Ninth East and 5400 South streets. The Sports Mall Athletic Club sold individual and family memberships entitling the use of a gymnasium, tennis and squash courts, a cardiovascular laboratory, as well as a restaurant and a variety of shops.⁴

In addition, the south valley gained cultural sophistication as its youthful population moved through the crowded educational system. By 1974 so many students wanted to join the Granite Youth Symphony Orchestra, for instance, that the West Valley Youth Symphony Orchestra was established. Eventually the expanding group separated into the Granite East and Granite West Youth



While skiers had enjoyed the Alta and Brighton resorts for years, in 1971 Snowbird's newly opened facilities and terrain brought even greater national and international recognition for Utah skiing.

Symphony orchestras. On the southeast side, the Holladay Pops Symphony Orchestra and Chorale was organized in 1975 by James Hill who served as president and conductor.

Canyons too beckoned traffic southward as skiing became not only a popular sport but a significant industry. The Alta and Brighton resorts were joined in 1971 by Snowbird built in Little Cottonwood Canyon. Snowbird offered vertical advanced terrain and facilities that challenged resorts in Aspen, Colorado, and Sun Valley, Idaho.⁵ Tourism increased with national advertising of Utah's "Greatest Snow on Earth" until the tourist industry claimed a new prominence in the county. Salt Lake City's proximity to an international airport on one side and the ski slopes on the other was worked to every advantage; skiers stayed longer than most tourists, spent more money, and were less affected by gasoline shortages.

The capital city benefited from tourism and now countered the south valley's economic competition with an upsurge in both com-

mercial and cultural development. In 1971 former city commissioner Jake Garn, J. Bracken Lee's hand-picked successor, was elected mayor. Garn advocated consolidating city and county services to avoid duplication and save tax dollars. He met stiff opposition and settled for working to combine the city and county health departments and smaller services where possible. Garn also encouraged the lagging Main Street beautification project and involved the city in the Council of Governments of Salt Lake County to coordinate plans and improve conditions valley-wide.

In 1973 the city established the Salt Lake Redevelopment Agency with a five-member board that included the mayor and exercised considerable power in zoning and other decisions. The agency secured federal funding through the Department of Housing and Urban Development and also coordinated with a committee that oversaw projects aligned with the nation's upcoming bicentennial year. After three years, Garn resigned to run successfully for the United States Senate, and Commissioner Jennings Phillips served as interim mayor.⁶

Democrat Ted Wilson, elected in the fall of 1975, also favored consolidation but met the same staunch resistance. A referendum on the ballot that elected him defeated the question, mainly at the hands of voters in the county's unincorporated areas. Wilson succeeded, however, in convincing Salt Lake City voters to replace the city commission with the strong mayor-council form of government.

Zoning became a major issue during the latter half of the decade as homeowners formed neighborhood councils and asserted their sense of homeowners' rights. Historic preservation had emerged as a national interest in the 1960s; now young professionals, particularly, hoped to renovate well-built homes within the capital city rather than join the ongoing migration to the suburbs. The Greater Avenues Community Council led out, promoting the single-home lifestyle and opposing developers who wanted to replace old neighborhoods with condominiums and shopping centers. Zoning comprised the battleground, and hearings frequently exploded with controversy. The group succeeded in creating the Avenues Historic District, making First to Sixth avenues from A to Virginia streets an island within a sea of new condominiums. High rise condominiums also rose

prominently in Emigration Canyon and along Thirteenth East Street.⁷

Meanwhile, mansions and large homes along South Temple met dates with the wrecking ball from the 1960s into the 1980s, even as a few saw the graceful structures' value and began their restoration as offices or homes.⁸ Most prominently, the Thomas Kearns mansion, home of the Utah Historical Society, became the official governor's mansion under the direction of Governor Scott M. Matheson and First Lady Norma W. Matheson. The Historical Society eventually moved into the renovated Denver and Rio Grande depot at the foot of Third South Street.

The Cathedral of the Madeline was declared an official historical site in 1970 by the Utah State Historical Society and registered a year later as a National Historic Monument; however, the structure was deteriorating. In 1975 restoration became mandatory after a sixty pound chunk of sandstone plunged from the rafters. Work proceeded through the rest of the decade and into the next. In the meantime, the St. Jude Mission opened in Murray to serve Catholics of the Maronite Rite who were primarily of Lebanese origin. The mission was later upgraded to a parish.⁹

As the spirit of renovation and preservation spread, developer Wallace A. Wright, Jr., backed by businessman I.J. Wagner decided to develop the dilapidated streetcar barns on Seventh East Street. Sandblasting the mission-style garages uncovered red brick beneath layers of yellow paint. Wright rescued wrought-iron lighting fixtures from downtown streets and artifacts from a number of old buildings scheduled for demolition. A wide variety of shops joined theaters, restaurants, and a food court in the multi-level, cobblestoned Trolley Square Mall which opened in the summer of 1972 as both a commercial anchor and a tourist attraction.¹⁰

Downtown, the LDS church launched its own building program through Zions Security Corporation. In 1973 workers completed a twenty-eight story Church Office Building on North Temple and State streets. The tower lay across an inner-block plaza from the Church Administration Building on South Temple. It dwarfed other structures, symbolizing not only the religion's worldwide status as



Interior of Salt Lake City's beautiful Cathedral of the Madeleine—constructed in 1909 and restored in the early 1990s. (O. Wallace Kasteler—Deseret News)

depicted by the hemispheres carved on the front, but also the bureaucratic complexity and power of the corporate church.

Even as the new office building rose, the church created the Health Services Corporation to centralize management of fourteen church-owned hospitals in the intermountain area, eventually including within Salt Lake County the LDS, Primary Children's, Cottonwood, Wasatch Canyons, and Alta View hospitals.

The LDS church also revitalized and altered the business district through building the ZCMI Center between South Temple and First South and State and Main streets. The mall unbalanced the traditional Mormon/non-Mormon sectors, but developers were looking more toward competition in the south valley. Zion Security redesigned the tenured department store into a four-story showpiece, preserving the Eagle Emporium edifice as one entry. In the process, however, a number of older buildings were demolished, as was true with the construction in the block immediately west.¹¹

Directly across Main Street, Mormon developers Sidney Foulger



Salt Lake City's new malls hoped to draw consumers into the downtown area. The ZCMI Mall soon faced the Crossroads Plaza (shown here) across Main Street between South Temple and First South streets.

and Jack Okland gained church approval to build the Crossroads Plaza on church-owned land. Interestingly, Crossroads reshaped the traditional split in as much as it was perceived as a "gentile mall" offsetting the LDS mall. The church, however, ensured that no private clubs or X-rated movies would be included in this block directly south of Temple Square.¹²

The non-Mormon image of Crossroads Mall was enhanced when Ogden banker Richard Hemingway agreed to finance the Crossroads Mall Tower. Hemingway's statewide Commercial Security Bank had recently moved its headquarters from Ogden to Salt Lake City. Hemingway preserved the edifice of the Amussen jewelry store, one of the first shops on Main Street. The Crossroads Mall opened in 1980, doubling the draw for shoppers who could now browse one mall and then cross Main Street and enjoy another.¹³

Although Mayor Wilson, like most civic leaders, consulted from time to time with LDS church authorities on budget and other issues, he joined preservationist groups in opposing Zion Security's plan to demolish the Eagle Gate Apartments at South Temple and Main streets. Eventually they were razed, and new ones with a similar facade were built as homes for high church leaders and connected to major church buildings by underground tunnels.¹⁴

By 1978 the LDS church's visible expansion of its corporate holdings had drawn the attention of the media. Associated Press reporters Bill Beecham and David Briscoe, for instance, placed on the national wire from the Salt Lake City Bureau an extensive, award-winning article on church finances that ran in many newspapers nationwide though not in any Utah papers. An expanded version later appeared in a new monthly magazine, *Utah Holiday*.

The reporters interviewed Nathan Eldon Tanner, first counselor in the First Presidency and overseer of the church's financial interests, then summarized that church holdings

would rank the church among the nation's top 50 corporations in total assets—those with \$2 billion or more. Church property includes more than 5,000 mostly-religious buildings throughout the world, a 36-story apartment house in New York City, a 260,000 acre ranch near Disney World in Florida, a village in Hawaii and an estimated 65 acres of business and religious property in downtown Salt Lake City, including a \$33 million headquarters building.¹⁵

Church-owned commercial buildings in the valley at that point included the Kennecott, J.C. Penney's, Union Pacific, Utah Power & Light, Medical Arts, Constitution, and Beneficial Life buildings.¹⁶



With Salt Lake City as headquarters for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, this aerial photograph shows historic Temple Square to the west and the twenty-eight-story Church Office Building in the foreground on the right. (Utah State Historical Society)

The Salt Lake Valley lacked both an arts center and a symphonic hall. Arts patrons had hoped that a concert hall and an art center might be built along with the Salt Palace, but cost overruns squelched their plans; however, as funds for the national bicentennial became available, Governor Calvin L. Rampton and businessman-philanthropist Obert C. Tanner met to discuss the possibility of gaining the Salt Lake County Commission's support for a bond issue to build those facilities. The commission agreed, and Jack Gallivan and Wendell Ashton, publishers of the *Salt Lake Tribune* and the *Deseret News*, were recruited to lead the drive. The bond issue passed in November 1975, and plans began taking shape.

Not only did Symphony Hall and the Arts Center rise north of the Salt Palace, but the old Capitol Theatre on Second South Street was renovated in grand style. Quickly a variety of art shows, dance companies, and the Utah Opera Company directed by Glade

Peterson benefited from the new accommodations, attracting a full complement of enthusiastic audiences. Although the maestro retired in 1979 before the structure was completed, Symphony Hall would be renamed in 1993 for Maurice Abravanel, honoring his contribution to the state's cultural life. He was succeeded for three years by Varujan Kohjian, and then beginning in 1983 by Joseph Silverstein.

The humanities also came of age in 1974 with the establishment of the Utah Endowment for the Humanities in Salt Lake City. The council funded exhibits, films, radio productions, conferences, lecture series, public roundtables, and book discussions, offering a forum for social and cultural topics within an open and congenial setting.

The Salt Lake Valley's Jews made a momentous decision to combine congregations and move worship and ritual services from the aging synagogues downtown to the southeast valley. Thus the Congregation B'nai Israel and the Congregation Motefiore became the parents of the new Congregation Kol Ami, meaning "All of My People" or "Voice of My People." The merger resulted partly due to the practical problems of maintaining two rabbis in the valley for any length of time. Four acres were purchased at 2400 East and 1760 South, and a new synagogue dedicated at the end of 1976. The new location and the presence of the Jewish Community Center across the gully in East Millcreek brought facilities close to the majority of the community.¹⁷

Amid these new developments in civic and cultural life, the Salt Lake County media interspersed ongoing reports of crimes that seemed stranger and certainly more chilling than fiction. Violence in the 1970s was not only more common but also more mysterious and less manageable. Simultaneously, the "rights revolution" brought numerous civil liberties issues before the courts; defendants' and prisoners' rights became more vigorously defended and emerged as a new canon of law. If understanding the criminal mind and punishing criminals lay at odds in the minds of citizens who, in Salt Lake County were more concerned with the latter, law enforcement balanced both. Forensic analysts in the Federal Bureau of Investigation began concentrating on the first in order to enable the second and

offered their growing expertise to local law enforcers who found psychological and behavioral information increasingly important.¹⁸

Once, the “criminally insane” had been isolated at the territorial mental hospital on Salt Lake City’s north bench; by the 1930s, the Salt Lake County General Hospital expanded to cope with an “increased number of psychopathic patients.”¹⁹ By the 1970s, mental illness was recognized as a separate condition from the psychopathic or sociopathic personality which essentially deformed as it developed. That deformity—lacking conscience and facile with personality masks—seemed linked to various types of childhood abuse, something virtually all violent criminals had suffered. This new knowledge became controversial, however, in that defendants’ childhood experiences were used increasingly in court as a mitigating factor in determining punishment.

Confronted by these factors in both society and the law, police and prosecutors in Salt Lake County employed new strategies, sometimes working in concert and with investigators in other states. In one notorious case, Salt Lake County apprehended and convicted one of the nation’s most deadly killers with the help of a young woman who narrowly escaped a fate that dozens of others did not.

When Theodore Robert Bundy found an apartment in Salt Lake City’s Avenues in September 1974, he was just another University of Utah law student. He settled in, attended classes, and socialized over liquor or marijuana despite joining the LDS church. Meanwhile, in Washington state, detectives investigated the disappearances of seven young women; their bodies began turning up in remote areas about the time women began to vanish in northern Utah.²⁰

Nancy Wilcox, a sixteen-year-old cheerleader in Salt Lake County, was likely Bundy’s first Utah victim, disappearing on 2 October. At the time, police chalked her up as a runaway, an assumption her family did not accept. High school senior Melissa Smith disappeared next. On October 18, she met her father, Midvale police chief Louis Smith, at a restaurant, coaxing two dollars for pizza and permission to stay that Friday night with a girlfriend. Nine days later, deer hunters found her bludgeoned body.

Laura Aime’s mother reminded her daughter of Smith’s fate when she set off hitchhiking on Halloween night in Utah County. But

Aime's body too was found in the wilderness. Then on November 8, Debra Kent disappeared from a Davis County high school parking lot during a school play. Though her body was never found, her fate became known due to a frustrated attack earlier that evening in Salt Lake County.

Eighteen-year-old Carol DaRonch was window shopping at the new Fashion Place Mall when an undercover police officer told her they had apprehended a man breaking into her car in the mall parking lot. Though her car seemed fine, he convinced her to ride with him to police headquarters. Once in his unkempt Volkswagen, DaRonch smelled alcohol on the "officer's" breath and noted that he did not drive toward the police station; when he stopped the car, she tried to jump out.

Immediately, the man slapped a handcuff on one wrist. She struggled desperately, and the second handcuff clicked on to the same right wrist. Threatened by a gun and then a swinging crowbar, she screamed, scratched, and squirmed, finally erupting out the door. Hysterical and minus a shoe, she ran into the path of another car which stopped as the Volkswagen drove away. Her shaken account of a police officer and an attempted kidnapping gained sinister weight when Debra Kent's disappearance was reported later that evening. The next morning, investigators found a handcuff key in the high school parking lot.

As the number of missing or murdered women mounted, Salt Lake County investigators combined efforts. The victims' photographs bore a resemblance as maddening as the lack of clues and suspects. Intriguingly, after DaRonch survived an attack, young women stopped disappearing in northern Utah but began vanishing in Colorado.

Almost a year after the fearful autumn when one Friday night after another had brought tragedy, Utah Highway Patrol sergeant Bob Hayward abandoned his pursuit of drunk juveniles in Granger during the wee hours of an August morning and pulled over a Volkswagen whose driver seemed edgy. He turned out to be an articulate law student with a trunkful of odd items—rope, gloves, panty hose with holes cut for eyes, nose, and mouth, a pair of handcuffs, a

flashlight, a box of garbage bags, and pieces of torn sheet. Ted Bundy was arrested for evading an officer and freed on \$500 bond.

Bundy defended himself to local reporters amid wide coverage of women's disappearances and deaths in western states. When no murder case could be brought against him, Salt Lake County prosecutor David Yocom tried Bundy for aggravated kidnapping, and DaRonch testified against him. Although Bundy exuded confidence on the witness stand, and the shy teenager's memory of the event was uneven, Third District judge Stewart Hanson believed her. From the Utah State Penitentiary, Bundy continued to protest his innocence through the media.

In January 1977, Colorado claimed Bundy on murder charges. He escaped custody twice and fled to Florida. He was apprehended only after his savage attack on the Florida State University campus left two women dead and three others grievously injured, followed by a brutal sex murder of a twelve-year-old girl in Lake City.

Five years after surviving Bundy's attack, Carol DaRonch Swenson appeared in a Florida courtroom in the penalty phase of Bundy's first murder trial. The prosecution deemed her presence important to the jury although her written testimony was stipulated into the record. Before his eventual execution, Bundy told investigators where he had left Debra Kent's body, but her remains were never found.

Ironically, Bundy left the Utah State Penitentiary just before it hosted the nation's first execution in decades. After the United States Supreme Court ruled the death penalty unconstitutional as practiced, some death sentences were commuted to life imprisonment while state statutes were revised. Thus the diabolical Myron Lance and Walter Kelbach who had terrorized Salt Lake County during December 1966 escaped execution. In two instances they abducted a young employee from a service station in the south valley then mutilated and murdered him. They were caught after shooting up a downtown Salt Lake City bar, killing three other people.

Even as Bundy checked into a Colorado jail, convicted killer Gary Gilmore faced the firing squad as a nation watched. Gilmore, the sociopathic graduate of virtually every social program from foster homes to prison parole, had fatally shot two young businessmen dur-

ing robberies in Utah County. Opinion favoring the death penalty remained strong, and many local residents and law enforcers saw his execution as simple justice.²¹

Civil libertarians had no reason to support Gilmore personally, but found in his execution the revival of a barbaric custom in which the state deliberately took human life as punishment for the same. The court battle they waged—which Gilmore ironically opposed—drew a crowd of reporters, authors, filmmakers, and civil libertarians to the valley. So fierce did the contest for Gilmore's story become, it established state laws and journalistic ethics regarding the ability of a felon to profit from crime.²²

The conflict highlighted the small but feisty Utah affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union founded by University of Utah law professors in the mid-1950s. The struggling group had just gained its first full time executive director, Shirley Pedler, and an office in the Judge Building, now filled with reporters and an ever-ringing telephone.

The execution took on all the aspects of a literary cliffhanger as stays were granted and vacated, but Gilmore was executed before first light on 17 January 1977. His death set the precedent civil libertarians had feared; not only did executions continue in Salt Lake County, but rose nationally from two in 1979 to more than one hundred in 1988.²³

Such violent and notorious incidents drew the eyes of Americans to Salt Lake County, and they marked changes in law enforcement and journalism nationwide; however, when a few dozen feminists arranged to use the Salt Palace for the state's International Women's Year convention in June 1977, no one suspected the event would make or reflect history. The circular arena still wore a newish sheen, and the first arts fair attracted crowds just down West Temple Street, barricaded to accommodate stalls for artists and vendors. Yet the event in the Salt Palace dropped like a bomb into the social consciousness, and the rings spreading from the epicenter galvanized, polarized, and politicized not only valley residents but influenced the outcome of the national equal rights movement.

At first the Salt Lake Valley seemed influenced little more by the movement for equal rights under the law than it had been by the civil

rights movement. More than 50 percent of Utah's women over fifteen years of age worked outside the home, and the Utah Anti-Discrimination Act of 1965 prohibited discrimination solely on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, age, or religion.

Women made significant financial contributions, with more than half of middle-class families in the state claiming two earning parents.²⁴ Increasingly, women supported children on their own; but the median income of women fifteen years of age and older represented only 31 percent that of men.²⁵ Viewed another way, Utah's women in the workforce earned 53 cents for every dollar earned by men as compared to 59 cents nationally.

The reasons were several. Women's jobs remained within low paying areas including clerical and service positions, as well as in teaching and nursing. Professional and administrative positions were overwhelmingly filled by males. Additionally, women tended to gain less education than men, and married women worked intermittently. Women with graduate degrees did not earn equal pay, but at 70.3 percent of the salaries paid to similarly educated men, they represented the only area in which Utah led the national average of 65.4 percent.²⁶

Significantly too, despite the numbers of women working, the birth rate in 1975 led the nation (23.5 versus an average 15.6 births per 1,000 population).²⁷ The state boasted comparatively low rates of abortion, out-of-wedlock births, and teenage pregnancy. These comparisons, however, were misleading; when the homogeneous local population was compared to white populations nationally, as occurred in a 1976 Department of Health study, the proportion of Utah teens giving birth led the nation except for teens in West Virginia and Wyoming.²⁸

Typically, teen mothers married, gave birth, had another child or two, then divorced. Ultimately the pattern impacted virtually every social system from wages to welfare rolls, from education to child neglect and abuse. Additionally, teen mothers and their children risked complications during pregnancy and birth. The University of Utah Medical Center opened a clinic specifically to aid teenagers and other high risk mothers. The specialty of neonatology—the study of infants in their first month of life—was created in 1975, and the sur-



The International Women's Year meeting at the Salt Palace in 1977 was rerouted after the LDS Church mobilized nearly 14,000 women. At this workshop on the Equal Rights Amendment, participants gave anti-ERA speakers standing ovations.

vival rate for infants weighing two pounds or more at birth rose to over 90 percent.²⁹

Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, seen mainly as a working women's issue, seemed likely when the 1975 legislature met on Capitol Hill. The amendment had cleared Congress in 1972, but a ratification effort in Utah in 1973 had been ambushed by the John Birch Society.³⁰ By September 1974, twenty-four current and former female legislators publicly praised the amendment, including twenty-one Mormons and eighteen Democrats. Most Utahns agreed, including 63.1 percent of Mormons as shown by a survey published in the *Deseret News* in November 1974.³¹

A few weeks after the poll appeared, however, the LDS church organized the Special Affairs Committee to oppose ratification. With the counsel of apostles Gordon B. Hinckley and James E. Faust, and general authority Neal A. Maxwell, Relief Society president Barbara Smith spoke out in December. Church president Spencer W. Kimball declined comment as the legislature convened, but Apostle Mark E.

Petersen anonymously editorialized against ratification in the LDS *Church News*. The expected vote turned inside out as ratification failed fifty-four votes to twenty-one.³² In 1976 Kimball redefined the Equal Rights Amendment as a “moral issue” that the church opposed, fearing it would remove beneficial laws and “stifle many God-given feminine instincts.”³³

Under the pro-ERA administration of President Jimmy Carter, the International Women’s Year committee found support for promoting women’s rights worldwide. By the time Utah’s state conference was booked at the Salt Palace on 24 June 1977, however, the Equal Rights Amendment had become as controversial as the right to abortion legalized during pregnancy’s first trimester by the United States Supreme Court in *Roe v. Wade*.

While these controversies fueled emotion and debate, the convention actually was designed to give women the opportunity to discuss a wide variety of issues and to vote on resolutions ranging from support for victims of domestic violence to funding for the arts. Since the nation’s most populous and politically aware states had gleaned the participation of a few thousand women, Utah organizers expected a smaller turnout.³⁴

They, however, were not the only people making plans. Salt Lakers operating under the direction of the Special Affairs Committee and coordinating with Barbara Smith included Oscar W. McConkie, Jr., senior partner in the LDS church’s law firm; Wendell Ashton, then director of church public communications and a committee member (and later publisher of the *Deseret News*); Moana B. Bennett, member of the LDS Young Woman’s General Board and a speechwriter for Smith; and Georgia B. Peterson, a Republican legislator who would organize a group called “Let’s Govern Ourselves.”³⁵ Gradually they dropped the idea of asking LDS women to boycott the IWY meeting in favor of rerouting the conference to the “traditional family values” of the church’s liking.³⁶ As a result, presiding apostle Ezra Taft Benson, well known for his rightist politics, called priesthood leaders and sent a letter to Relief Society presidents statewide requesting that ten women from each LDS ward attend the conference. In some wards bishops offered instructions on how to vote or gave priesthood blessings. The same women next were contacted

through the Relief Society and told to attend pre-conference meetings for instruction.³⁷

Those meetings, including one on 23 June at Highland High School in Sugarhouse, featured Bishop Dennis Ker's Conservative Caucus among others. Speakers informed the attendees that the IWY convention represented a plot between feminists and the federal government to railroad passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, to support abortion rights, and to promote dependency on federal funding in myriad and diffuse programs. They warned the women that they might be denied the right to speak or to vote but urged them to persist in defeating the IWY threat.³⁸

Tensions flared almost immediately as 13,867 women flooded the Salt Palace. The conference organizers rushed to find larger and more meeting rooms, print additional ballots and information sheets, and calm fears and suspicions. Chair Jan L. Tyler, a former faculty member at Brigham Young University and an outspoken feminist, opened the first plenary session. After several disruptions, she beckoned another organizer, Esther R. Landa, a former member of the Salt Lake City School Board and a president of the National Jewish Women's Council. The grandmotherly civic worker assured the women that all would be heard and allowed to vote. In some workshops discussion flourished around women's history, the arts, and community issues. In others speakers were shouted down and sessions disrupted as men with walkie-talkies coordinated women who demanded votes without discussion or monopolized the floor microphones.³⁹

Ultimately the meeting in Salt Lake County became infamous for the Mormon women's obedient rejection of all forty-seven national resolutions, including humanitarian causes and one that opposed pornography.⁴⁰ The attendees also refused to elect national delegates from a list of nominees who were active in a variety of civic and social causes. They added names of prominent women in LDS circles and elected them.⁴¹ Claiming a need for diversity, the IWY national steering committee appointed an at-large delegation to accompany the elected delegation to Houston.

Thus it was that Utah—at the end of the twentieth century as well as at the end of the nineteenth—sent to a national forum two delegations generically (if inaccurately) known as Mormon and non-

Mormon. As had happened a century earlier, the dividing issue in the public mind involved the role and the rights of women.

The national meeting heard speakers such as First Lady Rosalynn Carter and passed every resolution that had been presented to the states. Meanwhile a separate counter-rally merged a growing religious coalition with archconservative political groups; it attracted around two hundred Utahns.⁴² Due to the make-up of the elected delegation, the LDS church was linked by the national IWY leadership with rally instigators such as Stop ERA, the Eagle Forum, the Ku Klux Klan, and the John Birch Society, an association both the church and the elected delegates protested.⁴³

Back in the Salt Lake Valley, the effects of the Salt Palace convention were longlasting and far-reaching. During the next several years, women's groups organized conferences and discussions with the express purpose of bridging the new polarization between Mormon and non-Mormon women and between feminists and those promoting "family values." Also, women who had been mobilized for the convention found themselves newly empowered and committed to the political process. Their presence became visible around a variety of issues as they split into a second Peterson-led group and the arch-conservative Eagle Forum.

Other effects rippled even farther. The LDS Special Affairs Committee became a permanent fixture overseeing the church's political interests. It adopted the IWY meeting in Salt Lake City as prototype not only to overwhelm other state meetings from Montana to New York, but also to organize a national anti-ERA campaign closely directed by church leaders in Salt Lake City. Unknown to most residents, "the Mormon hierarchy planned and successfully administered a multi-directional political campaign in widely scattered states and in hundreds of cities and towns."⁴⁴ Thousands of Mormons lobbied their legislators by letter and in person, according to instructions they received at church.

The Salt Lake Valley, then, became an invisible center of movement politics as the decade waned and ratification approached what looked to be a photo finish, for the amendment lacked the vote of only three states. "Never before had the LDS Church headquarters conducted a political campaign so vast in geography, in rank-and-file

participation, and in consequences.⁴⁵ The anti-ERA Mormons pretended to represent a spontaneous uprising of private citizens. As instructed, they became the Virginia Citizens Coalition, the Arizona Home and Family Rally Committee, the Missouri Citizens Council, Florida Families Are Concerned Today, and so on. Meanwhile Eagle Forum petitions were signed in ward lobbies, stake Relief Societies bused women to legislatures, priesthood quorums and missionaries distributed literature, bishops raised funds, and entire church meetings were devoted to anti-ERA speeches and letter-writing campaigns.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, in direct response to the mobilization directed from Salt Lake City, four women organized Mormons for ERA in Virginia and attempted to expose the covert lobby. The media was more attracted to spokesperson Sonia H. Johnson's soon-threatened church membership, however, than to discussing movement politics. For several days, her excommunication was preceded in national news broadcasts only by reports on American hostages being held in Iran. Among those supporting Johnson was former Utahn Esther Eggertsen Peterson, who had once worked in Salt Lake County for fair labor practices and now served President Carter as Secretary of Labor. She joined hundreds of members of the National Organization for Women, members of the clergy, and reporters outside the darkened and locked Virginia stakehouse where Johnson's trial of membership took place.⁴⁷

At its peak, Mormons for ERA claimed only one thousand members nationwide, a pittance compared with the Mormons lobbying against the amendment. Johnson's success with reporters, however, focused a longlasting media blitz on the Salt Lake Valley, answered by a new church media network nationwide.⁴⁸ Articles speculating about the church's wealth and its recent exercise of corporate power were now joined by years of in-depth articles and series on the LDS religion, its history, politics, and treatment of women.

The Equal Rights Amendment failed in 1982 when the final blow was dealt by Idaho's federal district judge Marion J. Callister, an LDS regional representative, who ruled in favor of allowing states to rescind their votes.⁴⁹ Since church leaders had consistently denied the centralized direction of the LDS anti-ERA lobby, this largest political

trophy—won through a mass movement in and directed from the Salt Lake Valley—lay unclaimed.⁵⁰

As if the valley did not attract enough media interest during the last years of the decade, the nineteenth-century's most polemical issue returned wearing violent and bloody garb. "There is going to be a great thing coming down in Salt Lake City," Ervil LeBaron, patriarch of Colonia LeBaron in Mexico and leader of the bloodstained Church of the Lamb of God, told his followers south of the border. "It is going to be a military emergency."⁵¹

LeBaron's group was exceptional. Twentieth-century polygamists in the valley had suffered raids and imprisonment during the 1950s, but when the increase in crime filled jails and prisons, they were left to their usually quiet lifestyle. Ties remained with polygamous groups in Mexico where some families had fled in the nineteenth century to escape federal persecution. These families included the LeBarons.

About three thousand polygamists made up the Apostolic United Brethren led by Murray naturopath Rulon Allred. In 1951 Allred had ordained the rough-hewn LeBaron an elder in the Apostolic church; in return, LeBaron had hidden Allred a few years later during the anti-polygamy raids that hit Salt Lake County. But when Ervil's brother Joel LeBaron became prophet of the Church of the Firstborn and demanded tithes and respect from Allred, the Murray patriarch had simply dismissed the troublesome LeBaron clan.

Since then Joel had excommunicated Ervil and had been murdered for his trouble. Charged with homicide in Mexico, Ervil had been released after a jury declared insufficient evidence. By 1977 Ervil was stalking another brother, Verlan, Joel's successor. He guessed correctly that Verlan would attend Rulon Allred's funeral where he might be ambushed. Thus, he reasoned, removing Allred would down one "false prophet" and killing Verlan another, leaving open the leadership of the combined groups.

LeBaron's assassins included his thirteenth wife, eighteen-year-old Rena Chynoweth; his military chieftain, Don Sullivan; and twenty-year-old Ramona Marston, a plural wife to Eddie Marston who joined the backup squad. The teams conducted a weapons test in the Magna foothills, then found the Deseret Industries goodwill

store in Murray where the young women purchased wigs, sunglasses, and baggy clothes.

Late in the afternoon, the two young women entered Allred's waiting room which still held several patients. When Allred stepped out of a laboratory, Rena Chynoweth drew a pistol and fired two shots into his chest from pointblank range. The doctor screamed and fell; she emptied the remaining five bullets into his body before the pair ran from the office. Still, the teenager was unsure he had been properly "blood atoned," and the killers returned to fire again.

Back in the car, the killers stripped off their disguises and stuffed them into a bag as the car sped onto the interstate east. The jubilant backup team was less careful, discarding a bag police found containing Chynoweth's blue parka, maps to Allred's clinic drawn by Ervil LeBaron, and the gun box for one of the weapons.

Rulon Allred's funeral drew 2,600 mourners to Bingham High School, a crowd of family and quiet followers. As Ervil expected, Verlan LeBaron attended, but the team of assassins sent to kill him was discouraged by the virtual army of police present. Ervil LeBaron quickly became a suspect, but amassing sufficient evidence proved difficult. Finally a defector illuminated a fearsome subculture, and he and four others were charged and arraigned in Allred's death. As with Bundy, prosecutor David Yocom faced an uphill battle against defense attorney John O'Connell. Of the defendants arraigned, key witness Lloyd Sullivan died of a heart attack before trial, another was released, and Ramona Marston jumped bail. Victor and Mark Chynoweth remained, joined by Eddie Marston and Rena Chynoweth. All four were acquitted.

By then three dozen indictments brought against LeBaron and his followers in the western states had failed to result in a single conviction. Salt Lake County prosecutors lent a hand in gaining a California homicide verdict on 1 June 1979. That same day, Ervil LeBaron was forced to step onto United States soil to meet Salt Lake County investigator Richard Forbes, Murray detective Gary Pedersen, and a California investigator. In May 1980 he was tried and convicted in the death of Rulon Allred.

Ironically, a fluke lost LeBaron his own chance at "blood atonement." The death penalty had to be pronounced by a jury, and two

jurors saw prejudicial news coverage before the penalty phase of the trial. Consequently, the judge dismissed the jury and sentenced LeBaron to life in prison. After a year, however, LeBaron died in his cell of an apparent heart attack. A few hours later, the brother he had stalked so persistently died in Mexico when an oncoming car suddenly veered across the center line.

During the LeBaron years, the LDS church tightened security around its own leaders. Meanwhile investigators and prosecutors repeatedly aided law enforcers in other states as the violence continued through another decade and another generation.

Issues of civil liberties and civil rights rose within Salt Lake County in the 1970s more vigorously than they had in previous decades. Within this decade a variety of racial and ethnic minority groups gained a new or a stronger presence.

The Asian community grew and diversified. The Vietnam War's ceasefire in 1975 brought large numbers of refugees to the state by 1977. That same year, the Asian Association of Utah was founded, following by a year the Korean American Association. The Filipino-American Association of Utah appeared in 1979.

Meanwhile racial prejudice toward Asians gradually lessened. In 1976 attorney Raymond Uno, once interned in a Wyoming concentration camp, was named to the Salt Lake City Court, the first minority judge in the valley's history. Raymond and Yo Uno had found it impossible as late as 1960 to buy a home in the Avenues without their neighbors approving the presence of a Japanese-American couple. Uno was known for his work as an assistant to the state attorney general and as president of the Japanese American Citizens League. In 1984 he would become a Third District Court judge.

Salt Lake County also drew a quiet community of Native Americans from outlying reservations, who sought both education and employment. In 1973 the University of Utah established an ethnic-studies program in Native American, Chicano, African-American, and Asian-American studies. Three years later, the Indian Health Care Clinic opened in Salt Lake City, offering the same medical programs available to tribal members on the reservations. In 1983 it would be joined by the Indian Walk-In Center founded and

funded by United Way to aid the population moving between the capital and the reservations. In 1979 KRCL-FM radio began broadcasting the program, *Living the Circle of Life*, featuring American Indian news, music, and features, hosted by Donna Land, an Affiliated Ute. The program would be long-lived.

As the valley's largest ethnic or minority group, Hispanics drew strength from the national civil rights movement. Paquita Elder joined other women in founding *Las Mujeres Latinas*, a social club that annually raised money for scholarships. The Institute of Human Resource Development, the largest Latino social-services agency in the state, appeared in 1975, and in 1979 Alex Hurtado became the first Latino named to the Utah Board of Regents.

The Hispanic community protested what it believed to be racist treatment when in June 1976 a large, private party held at the Terrace Ballroom on State Street was dispersed by police officers including a canine unit. Some people were arrested and several bitten by the dogs. Telephone calls alerted the Utah ACLU, and its staff and volunteer lawyers took up the cause.

As riots in various American cities had filled newscasts over the last decade, some businesses in the Salt Lake Valley had "riot-proofed" their buildings by removing large storefront windows and adding grillwork. Much of the new construction in downtown Salt Lake City—from the new malls to the LDS Church Office Building—had been built defensively. Until the Terrace incident and a rowdy gathering at Liberty Park, however, confrontations between police and crowds had been television fare. Although the legal charges were privately resolved, the Terrace incident provoked considerable discussion via the media and within law enforcement.⁵²

The Salt Lake Chapter of the National Association for Colored People built upon the peaceful demonstrations it had sponsored to support the national civil rights movement and to encourage legislation on Capitol Hill. In 1972 Governor Rampton appointed Donald Cope as the state's first black ombudsman. A year later, Rampton created the Governor's Advisory Council on Black Affairs.

In July 1974 the NAACP filed a lawsuit on behalf of two African-American Boy Scouts who were barred from becoming senior patrol leader because the position was linked to the LDS priesthood forbid-

den to men and boys of African descent. In November the LDS church separated the scouting position and priesthood quorum leadership, and the lawsuit was dismissed.⁵³

Then on 9 June 1978, change for black Mormons and indirectly for other African-Americans arrived in an instant. Under Spencer W. Kimball's leadership, the LDS church opened its lay priesthood to black men. Encouragement for this change had accrued for decades especially during the McKay years and within the liberal Mormon community. Meanwhile the spreading missionary program in South America and Africa had raised continual and perplexing questions of lineage, even as the church reaped criticism for the priesthood ban during the civil rights movement. The reversal in policy was reported widely and favorably in the media and confirmed by the general church membership.

Apparently, however, the change in policy sparked a strong negative reaction, as well. The Ku Klux Klan rose again in Salt Lake County. When the NAACP appealed to religious, civic, and government officials to denounce its re-emergence, "the silence was deafening; not a single religious leader, governmental official, or newspaper publisher publicly voiced opposition to the formation of the Klan."⁵⁴

City police found a charred cross in the Riverton Park early on the first anniversary of the church's announcement; but until they found a racist poster stuck to the door of the police department, they assumed some prankster was responsible. A siege of mock executions and hate literature followed along with threats made to African-American employees in convenience stores.

The Klan had been organized by a twenty-year-old graduate of Bingham High School and attracted disgruntled, unskilled, or semi-skilled laborers from Herriman, Bluffdale, and Riverton. At Hidden Valley near the Jordan Narrows and the Point of the Mountain, they burned a cross, swore allegiance to the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and were thus initiated.⁵⁵

The group expanded through the early 1980s to more than one hundred Klansmen who dressed in army camouflage, bought, stock-piled, and sold arms and ammunition near Camp Williams and held guerilla training exercises. Although the group found sympathizers within the community, they embarrassed many, drawing negative



The old mission-style streetcar and later bus barns on Seventh East Street were transformed into the popular Trolley Square Mall in the 1970s by developer Wally Wright, who uncovered the original red brick. (Utah State Historical Society)

attention to Riverton whenever an act of violence or vandalism occurred.

The emergence of the Riverton Klan and the rise of other militant groups marked a negative reaction not only to the change in LDS policy but also to the widespread social, cultural, and economic changes visible within the valley. The firm lines drawn between genders, races, and classes were shifting and sometimes fading, as movement politics changed minds and lifestyles faster than laws and regulations. Even the rise in violent crime demanded new scrutiny of personality and human relations.

During the eventful 1970s, the Salt Lake Valley was not only affected by great national trends as it had been before, but it became a powerful player on the political scene. In the late nineteenth century, the issue had been the patriarchal system of polygamy; and the LDS church finally had acquiesced. In the late twentieth century, at issue was the role of women as equal citizens in a secular society, and

the church triumphed in secret. Meanwhile bizarre and frightening crimes paraded little-understood aspects of a mobile, modern society. Racial equality both advanced and drew a predictable backlash.

Growth and development continued in the capital, in suburban cities, and within pocket communities, enriching the valley's cultural and social opportunities. Simultaneously, certain conflicts came full circle within the Salt Lake Valley, echoing the turbulence felt elsewhere in the nation a decade earlier—and this trend continued locally well through the 1980s. Throughout, the valley's peoples—women and men, people of color and Anglos, non-Mormons and Mormons—all increasingly claimed a representative voice within the forum.

ENDNOTES

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4. *Deseret News*, 2 November 1973.

5. Jodi Hullinger, "Snowbird," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, Allan Kent Powell, ed. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 511.

6. Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Co., 1984), 284–88.

7. *Ibid.*, 291–92.

8. John S. McCormick and Nancy D. McCormick, "Lost Utah," *Utah Holiday*, June 1979, 9–10.

9. Bernice Maher Mooney and Jerome C. Stoffel, eds., *Salt of the Earth: The History of the Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City, 1976–1987* (Salt Lake City: Catholic Diocese of Utah, 1987) 151–53, 158.

10. David Hampshire, "The Great Salt Lake, Forlorn and Forgotten," *Utah Holiday*, September 1992, 32.

11. Alexander and Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles*, 304–5.

12. Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, *America's Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1984), 113–14.

13. Linda Sillitoe, *Banking on the Hemingways* (Ogden: Weber State University, 1992), 103–107.

14. Laura Friehl, "All Fall Down: Money Wins and History Loses at Canyon Road," *Utah Holiday*, December 1980, 42–58.

15. Bill Beecham and David Briscoe, "Mormon Money and How It's Made," *Utah Holiday*, 6.

16. Additional discussions of Mormon wealth in the media during this period include Jeffrey Kaye, "An Invisible Empire: Mormon Money in California," *New West*, 8 May 1978, 36–41.

17. Hynda Rudd, "Congregation Kol Ami: Religious Merger in Salt Lake City," *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* 10 (1973): 321–27.

18. Detailed descriptions of this FBI department include Robert H. Ressler and Tom Shachtman, *Whoever Fights Monsters* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992); Ronald Markman and Dominick Bosco, *Alone with the Devil: Famous Cases of a Courtroom Psychiatrist* (New York: Bantam Books, 1989); and H. Paul Jeffers, *Who Killed Precious?* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991).

19. Kate B. Carter, comp., *Heart Throbs of the West*, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1939), 1:332.

20. Steven Winn and David Merrill, *Ted Bundy: The Killer Next Door* (New York: Bantam Books, 1980). Merrill, a Salt Laker, was one of the first of many writers to chronicle Bundy's crimes, including those summarized here. Speaking in third person, Bundy described his criminal methods to Stephen G. Michaud and Hugh Aynesworth, *The Only Living Witness* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983). The Utah crimes are not detailed in the latter book.

21. Norman Mailer, *The Executioner's Song* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1979), offers a detailed account which is briefly recounted here.

22. Linda Sillitoe, *Friendly Fire: The American Civil Liberties Union in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996).

23. *Ibid.*

24. Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Kathryn L. McKay, in "Women in Twentieth-Century Utah," *Utah's History*, Richard D. Poll et al., eds. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1989), 582.

25. Alexander and Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles*, 300.

26. *Ibid.*

27. James L. Clayton, "Contemporary Economic Development," *Utah's History*, 540.

28. Peter Van Dyck and John E. Bruckert, *Adolescent Pregnancy in the 1970s: A Study Comparing Utah and the United States* (Salt Lake City: Utah Department of Health, Family Health Services Division and Bureau of Health Statistics, 1976).

29. August L. Jung, "Neonatology," *Medicine in the Beehive State 1940–1990*, Henry P. Plenk, ed. (Salt Lake City: Utah Medical Association, 1992), 424–35.

30. Kathryn L. MacKay, "Equal Rights Amendment," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, Allan Kent Powell, ed. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 174.

31. D. Michael Quinn, "The LDS Church's Campaign against the Equal Rights Amendment," *Journal of Mormon History* 20 (1994): 105. Interestingly, as late as 1982, 69.3 percent of Mormons polled agreed that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by a state on account of sex" if the phrase was not identified as the Equal Rights Amendment which the LDS church officially opposed. (See Quinn, 144.)

32. *Ibid*, 105–107.

33. *Deseret News*, 22 October 1976.

34. Linda Sillitoe, "Women Scorned: Inside the IWY Conference," *Utah Holiday*, August 1977, 26–28, 63–69. This article describes the agenda, takeover, and ambience of the IWY meeting. For the perspective of those conducting the conference, see Linda Sillitoe, "A Foot in Both Camps: An Interview with Jan Tyler," *Sunstone* 3 (January-February 1978): 11–14; and Linda Sillitoe, "Esther Landa: A Lifetime of Making Waves and Keeping Peace," *Deseret News's Utah* magazine, 18 August 1985, 4–7. Martha Sonntag Bradley, "The Mormon Relief Society and the International Women's Year," *Journal of Mormon History* 21 (1995): 106–67, gives a complete list of conference organizers, national delegates, and resolutions passed on the state level.

35. This title is extracted from a much-quoted statement from LDS church founder Joseph Smith when asked how he maintained order among church members: "I teach them correct principles, and they govern themselves."

36. Bradley, "The Mormon Relief Society," 132. Quinn, "The LDS Church's Campaign," 111.

37. Sillitoe, "Women Scorned," 28, 63. This article's perspective is drawn from interviews during the weeks following the polemical conference and includes information that the Relief Society initiated the call to Mormon women to participate, then "convinced the brethren" to encourage them; that it did not intend a "call to arms" by setting a quota of ten women. Bradley's more recent interviews with those involved indicate, however, that the LDS Special Affairs Committee and other strategists initiated the plan for LDS women to take over the conference, then involved the Relief Society and Benson.

38. Sillitoe, "Women Scorned," 64–65.

39. Ibid., 65–66, and Quinn, "The LDS Church's Campaign," 113. Sillitoe's and Quinn's works draw extensively on interviews, fact sheets, and campaign aids from both the IWY meeting and the subsequent LDS anti-ERA campaign. These may be viewed in the Collection of Utah Women's Issues, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

40. Sillitoe, "Women Scorned," 64 and 66; see also Dixie Snow Huefner, "Church and Politics at the Utah IWY Conference," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11 (1978): 58–75. Although participants were told to reject the national resolutions, several resolutions constructed in workshops passed the plenary session, some closely resembling the national resolutions that were rejected. See Bradley, "The Mormon Relief Society."

41. Of the fourteen elected delegates and five alternates, nearly all were LDS, Anglo, Republican, urban, and middle-class. One delegate was Hispanic and one was Catholic.

42. *Deseret News*, 21 November 1977.

43. *Deseret News*, 18 and 21 November 1977.

44. Quinn, "The LDS Church's Campaign," 119, 152.

45. Ibid., 135.

46. Linda Sillitoe and Paul Swenson, "The Excommunication of Sonia Johnson: A Moral Issue," *Utah Holiday*, 9 January 1980, 20–22; Quinn, "The LDS Church's Campaign," 125–27.

47. Sillitoe and Swenson, "Excommunication." A photograph of Peterson with an arm around Johnson as they stand outside the stake center appears in the article. For Johnson's autobiographical account, see Sonia Johnson, *From Housewife to Heretic* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1981).

48. One example was a twenty-three page insert, "The Church and the Proposed Equal Rights Amendment: A Moral Issue," *Ensign*, March 1980. This pamphlet was widely distributed before elections in a variety of states along with the editorial, Patrick J. Buchanan, "Sonia's Bishop Was the Real Hero." (See Quinn, "The LDS Church's Campaign," 123.) The church appointed a network of regional public relations representatives, with Beverly Campbell as national spokesperson on the amendment. Campbell and Barbara Smith followed Sonia Johnson on to the Phil Donahue television program; the churchwomen's appearance with Donahue was announced and aired at Relief Societies in Salt Lake County.

49. Quinn, "The LDS Church's Campaign," 109.

50. Ibid., 146. Gordon B. Hinckley, who directed regional representatives and anti-ERA leaders in the states, repeatedly deflected questions about the church's role. Another instance came in April 1980 during an appear-

ance with J. W. Marriott, Jr., on *Good Morning, America* with host Tom Brokaw. In 1981 Hinckley became a counselor in the First Presidency; Neal Maxwell, also a member of the Special Affairs Committee, then entered the Council of Twelve.

51. Scott Anderson, *The 4 O'Clock Murders: The True Story of a Mormon Family's Vengeance* (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 166. This most recent volume on the LeBaron murders chronicles crimes in Salt Lake County (summarized herein) and throughout the southwestern United States and in Mexico. Other credible accounts include Ben Bradlee, Jr., and Dale Van Atta, *Prophet of Blood: The Untold Story of Ervil LeBaron and the Lambs of God* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1981); and Dorothy Allred Solomon, *In My Father's House* (New York: Watts, 1984).

52. Sillitoe, *Friendly Fire*.

53. Ronald G. Coleman, "African Americans in Utah," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 4.

54. *Ibid.* Coleman quotes University of Utah history professor Larry Gerlach.

55. Larry R. Gerlach, *Blazing Crosses in Zion: The Ku Klux Klan in Utah* (Logan: University of Utah Press, 1982), 162–64.

“ . . . AND NOW, IN
SALT LAKE COUNTY . . . ”
1980–1990

The 1980s in Salt Lake County carried all the earmarks of a hard and heady adolescence. In a decade of complex decisions and striking contrasts, valley leaders eagerly welcomed exotic investment yet shut out the largest military project ever. Near the decade’s start and near its end, scientific discoveries beckoned worldwide media to the University of Utah campus where a plastic heart beat in a human chest and fusion experiments promised the energy source of the future; neither event, however, met the financial or practical expectations of discoverers. Meanwhile various areas of the county sought incorporation, most of them unsuccessfully. While Draper and Bluffdale accomplished their goal in 1978, Granger, Hunter, and Chesterfield battled to become the new and struggling West Valley City.

Overall, Salt Lake County entered the 1980s snugly aligned with national politics and trends and strongly supported Ronald Reagan’s eight years in the White House. Former Salt Lake City mayor Jake Garn led the United States Senate’s banking committee when it scotched his proposed amendment and loosened regulations over

financial institutions, unfurling a wild arc of lending, investment, and business expansion nationwide, echoed locally. National social trends and issues matured within the valley as women achieved unprecedented landmarks in public and professional arenas, and as minority populations grew, organized, and wove new threads into the fabric of the valley's cultural life.

Throughout, the county continued to draw national media attention even without the public relations efforts so much a part of the decade. Extreme weather became unsolicited news, and so did murder mysteries in real life. Television newscasts caught Salt Lake County residents heaving sandbags into extensive dikes that turned floodwaters into impromptu rivers, and lining up to record prints of their children's hands and feet for fear of kidnap and murder. The lines of Scottish verse quoted by David O. McKay in what seemed to have been simpler times gained an ironic poignance: "O would some Power the gift to give us/ To see ourselves as others see us!"¹ Repeatedly, the media offered valley dwellers precisely that opportunity. In fact, events in Salt Lake County between 1974 and 1990 inspired at least eighteen non-fiction books and a half dozen television feature films.²

The crux of development by "outsiders" opened the decade as massive new possibilities promised a gigantic inflow of cash. In 1979 President Jimmy Carter's administration had announced a huge national defense project, the MX missile system, to be built in the desert west of Salt Lake County. While the tons of concrete poured into the looped missile racetrack would lie at a distance, valley boosterism around the MX was high; the enormous venture was expected to spur gas and oil exploration, as well as energize employment and spending. In many ways, the challenge to manage a giant growth spurt seemed a welcome one.³

The range of concerns the MX inspired, however, varied from ecological to fearful, because the missile system would not only tear up the desert but become a natural target for enemy missiles if war came. Some argued that Utahns unknowingly and unwillingly had sacrificed plenty to national defense due to the high cancer rates and livestock losses attributed to nuclear testing in Nevada. Governor

Scott Matheson who challenged the military studies on the MX project’s local impact would later die of cancer that he attributed to practicing law decades earlier downwind from nuclear test sites.

Nevertheless, the MX seemed an inevitable challenge and wind-fall until in 1981 the LDS church shocked the nation by officially opposing placement of the MX system in Utah. The church’s posture bucked decades of valley partnership with military and defense industry and effectively halted the enormous project—a dramatic contrast to the federal government’s attitude toward church defiance a century before. Still, the church’s action did not go uncriticized. The *New York Times* called the official statement “disturbingly sanctimonious” as the church decried the arms race and sought to protect its own.⁴

Indeed the church’s action reflected Brigham Young’s defensive stance regarding outsiders more than it resembled the twentieth-century’s patriotic support of the military-industrial complex. The anti-MX pitch to the Special Affairs Committee had been led by University of Utah law professor Edwin B. Firmage, Young’s great-grandson and grandson to Hugh B. Brown, a counselor to McKay. A former aide to Senator Hubert Humphrey, Firmage had participated in the Geneva disarmament talks in the 1960s. Now he argued that supporting the MX missile system would escalate the international arms race; thus it conflicted with both LDS and biblical tradition. “Our fathers came to this western area to establish a base from which to carry the gospel of peace to the peoples of the earth,” read the church’s statement of opposition. Deferentially, Reagan moved the MX plans to Wyoming, but the missile system was never built.⁵

Even as the MX plan was rejected, a development dream of exotic and foreign entrepreneurs was enthusiastically embraced. Three Saudi Arabian businessmen and arms dealers, Adnan, Essam, and Asil Khashoggi, proposed to essentially remake Salt Lake City as a corporate center through transforming, over a period of ten years, its run-down northwest sector with condominium towers, office towers, even a bell tower. Trolleys would link Temple Square to the Triad Center, as they called it, where an Omnimax movie theater, modeled after one at Caesar’s Palace in Las Vegas would attract crowds.⁶

As the Khashoggis’ plans spiraled far beyond the original attrac-

tion (renovating the Devereaux Mansion), the Historic Landmark Committee protested that the Triad development presented “a parody of this significant historic building, . . . [as] a gratuitous marketing object.”⁷ When the LDS-owned Bonneville International Corporation considered relocating its corporate and broadcasting facilities to the Triad Center, board members from outside Utah raised concerns about the frequency with which the Khashoggi name rose in congressional and financial probes. None of these objections, however, squelched the local enthusiasm for the Triad development and what seemed a prodigious relationship with the Khashoggis in the future.

Actually, the Khashoggis’ flirtation with Salt Lake City had begun in 1975 after Bill Gay, a Mormon who worked for eccentric Nevada billionaire Howard Hughes, drew their attention to the valley’s potential. First, Triad Utah built the International Center and industrial park on property near the airport adjacent to land owned by the LDS church. The church maintained a staunch interest in airport development and the fortunes of airlines as shown in a First Presidency statement supporting the industry’s plea for deregulation. The area was annexed to the city, enhancing its value, and in 1983 Western Airlines relocated its corporate headquarters to Salt Lake City.⁸

Meanwhile, by the early 1980s, the LDS First Presidency suffered increasingly from age and infirmity. N. Eldon Tanner, credited with the church’s corporate success, was afflicted with Parkinson’s disease. Apostle Gordon B. Hinckley became an unusual third counselor and was soon the presidency’s most active member. Non-LDS businessman Emmanuel A. (Manny) Floor served as liaison between the Khashoggis and the LDS general authorities. He also convinced the Bonneville International board to relocate both its corporate offices and KSL to Triad, and Broadcast House on North Temple and Third West streets rose rapidly. In addition, the church sold six acres of land to Triad, enabling the project. The church also lent publicity to Triad with a glowing cover story in the weekly church section of the *Deseret News* and a slide show narrated by publisher Wendell Ashton which he presented at a national meeting of the Cities Congress on Roads to Recovery.⁹

Other private concerns became deeply involved as well. Travelers

Insurance Companies of Hartford, Connecticut, for instance, invested \$70 million in various Triad America subsidiaries, including \$38 million for the Triad Center itself.¹⁰

Three copper-colored, reflective towers rose at North Temple and Third West streets in a 560,000 square-foot complex that cradled an outdoor amphitheater and an ice-skating rink between ground-floor restaurants and retail stores. Then with the Devereaux Mansion restored and the office towers gracing the skyline, the Khashoggis disappeared from the Salt Lake project in 1987, abandoning a figurative tower of unpaid backers, investors, debts, and costs.

Deseret News business editor Max B. Knudson described the most involved of the brothers, Adnan Khashoggi, in a front page article as a “billionaire golden goose” who now threatened to fly off “and take the golden egg with him.” Knudson continued, “Khashoggi hasn’t really flown off with the golden egg, of course,” noting that the International Center and Triad Center brought thousands of jobs and millions in revenue to the valley and state. “But those figures are cold comfort to the hundreds of Utahns who have been left holding the bag because of Khashoggi’s construction loans to brick layers, carpenters, painters, and hundreds of other workmen and suppliers who have never been paid. . . .”¹¹

Defiantly, Khashoggi told the newspaper that if pressed, he would simply file bankruptcy. He claimed, “Without us, the city would be dead a long time ago!”¹² Long after the Khashoggis disappeared from the Salt Lake scene, however, the Triad Center remained, gradually recovering financial stability and hosting a variety of enterprises and community events.

Change was afoot in the county at large during the same years. County government itself declined participation in restoring the City-County Building (at a cost of \$33 million between 1985–88) and moved to the new Salt Lake County Government Center, consisting of two spacious structures on the former Salt Lake County General Hospital site at Twenty-First South and State streets. Within the new complex, meeting rooms, lobbies, and plazas welcomed various community conferences and events.

Meanwhile the drive to incorporate gained impetus in the south and west areas of the county. The idea was immediately controver-

sial. Although incorporation would not affect county-wide services such as parks and recreation, it would withdraw revenue from the municipal services fund. Salt Lake County used this fund to provide the services associated with city life to residents in the unincorporated area—who, in essence, comprised the largest “city” in the county.

Also, new cities either would have to contract with the county to provide those services—as Salt Lake City did for animal control, for instance—or must supply revenue to provide garbage pickup, police and fire protection, and other services independently. The county commission decided whether the proposed city possessed this capability, turning down the Taylorsville-Bennion area in 1983, 1988, and 1989. Magna tried and failed in 1984, and Cottonwood did the same a year later.

The incorporation movement that centered in the Granger-Hunter Community Council became the largest battle with county resistance led at first by Commissioner William Dunn. Plans were tabled when a special legislative session imposed a moratorium on annexation, incorporation, or consolidation plans. Meanwhile the Salt Lake County Council of Governments, comprised of the valley’s mayors and county commissioners, designed a master plan for ten or eleven cities, all served by the county in much the same way as at present.

The annexation to Salt Lake City of the Brickyard Plaza at 3300 South between Eleventh and Thirteenth East streets effectively upset the strategy. The \$30 million plaza opened in July 1980 with a ceremony led by Governor Matheson and Mayor Ted Wilson. The plaza, built on a site owned for many years by Interstate Brick Company, featured Mervyn’s department store, Ernst Home Center, and Block’s clothing store. Not an enclosed mall, Brickyard’s nine buildings were connected by covered walkways. By the time the plaza opened, several major enterprises were completed including a condominium with more than one hundred units, a 65,000 square-foot Harmon’s grocery store, and an American Savings and Loan building.¹³

Mere word of Brickyard’s annexation precipitated a series of events well before the opening, however. Immediately Granger-Hunter councilman Walter Ewell announced that he would submit

an incorporation petition, seeking a mid-September 1978 election for a city of roughly 50,000 people. County employees, however, reached the county attorney's office first and captured the election date for a rather nebulous Bonneville City proposal which would essentially unite all the unincorporated areas. Granger-Hunter sued, and so did Draper, which, like Bluffdale, had plans of its own. They alleged that the county had failed to provide proper notice of its rules of acceptance. Although the media closely covered the heated dispute, most residents were apathetic even within the affected areas.¹⁴

Amid political battle on the westside, Henry Price, a justice of the peace and a former deputy commander at Fort Douglas, emerged as a leader. He argued in favor of incorporating and consolidating tax revenues so that west valley residents would not continue to pay for parks and recreation facilities on the east side, such as a newly opened ice skating and swimming pool complex in Cottonwood Heights. The savings, Price maintained, would improve police protection and establish a low-cost government that could contract for many needed services.

Officially, county officials remained neutral but questioned whether the plan would not inevitably lead to a steep rise in taxes—the fear that had long prevented the formation of new cities. Most daunting was the threat that the new city would need to establish an independent school district required for any population of 60,000. A February 1978 election defeated the drive, and the school district factor was felt to be the deciding factor.

The west valley effort then sparked a drive to combine Salt Lake City and County governments, led by former governors J. Bracken Lee and Calvin Rampton with the League of Women Voters on the front lines. This battle completely overshadowed the September vote for Bonneville City which had frozen unincorporated-area boundaries and prevented annexations but remained a rather vague plan to unite unincorporated communities. Both unification and Bonneville City were defeated, even as Draper and Bluffdale achieved incorporation.¹⁵

Five days before a vote on another unification proposal, west valley leaders again pressed their plan upon county commissioners. The delegation was led by house majority leader Norman H. Bangerter,

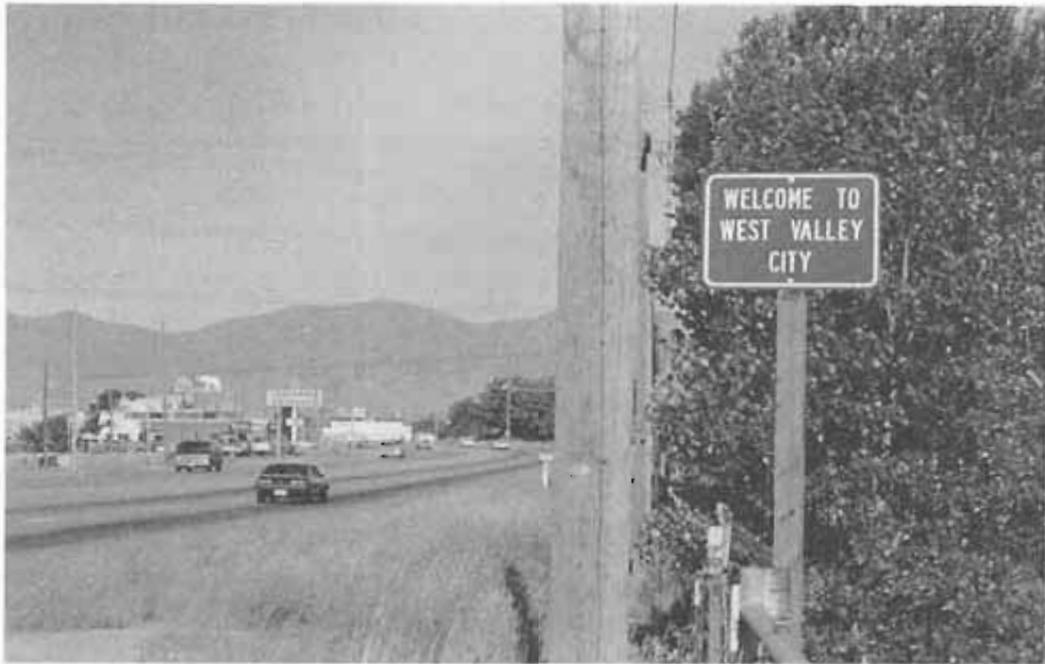
flanked by westside legislators on one side and by Price and incoming council president Richard B. Evertsen on the other. Bangerter stressed that the area's residents should be allowed to decide their own future.

When Dunn again brought up the issue of the tax base and a possible lapse in services, he chided the delegates for not showing more concern for residents' needs. Bangerter bristled, emphasizing that their priority was the welfare of the westside communities. He invited the commissioners to join in solving problems in ways that reflected the residents' perspective. A few days later, the Urban County proposal which resembled the Bonneville City plan, failed by a 5–1 margin in Hunter, 4–1 in Granger, and 2–1 in Redwood.¹⁶

The lag in conveniences, facilities, and services increasingly irked westsiders. Only in the 1970s did the Utah Transit Authority instigate efficient bus service, linking the westside with the eastside. The county had been gradually lining the most dangerous streets with sidewalks—streets that growth had transformed from country lanes to bustling arteries—even as the state widened both 3500 and 4700 South streets to four lanes; however, many roads had no sidewalks at all.

Most westside schools bulged with students while some eastside neighborhoods found empty classrooms the result of maturing neighborhoods. Granite School District had announced in 1978, in fact, that it would stop building schools in an effort to save money for overcrowding in Hunter. In the meantime, the school board considered busing Hunter students east to the half-filled Skyline High School on Wasatch Boulevard. By the 1979–80 school year, Valley Junior High had the most students statewide, while Eisenhower, West Lake, and Kennedy—all in the proposed incorporation area—ranked in the top five. Meanwhile legislation removed the obstruction of the proposed city needing to provide its own school district.

The flurry of plans, politics, studies, and court actions continued as the pressure for west valley incorporation grew. On 8 January 1980, the county commission announced that West Valley City would stand for election as a second-class city (one with more than 60,000 people). Candidates filed for the offices of mayor, commissioners, and auditor, as South Salt Lake, Murray, and Sandy endorsed the incorporation effort and offered their support, followed shortly by



West Valley City was incorporated as the state’s third largest city by a ninety-vote margin in February 1980. It survived its first impoverished years to gain population, prosperity, and clout by the early 1990s. (Jack Monson—Deseret News)

Salt Lake City. Each turn of fortune was closely covered by the weekly *Green Sheet*, but the valley’s major newspapers also followed the effort. When almost daily coverage gave way to series in the Sunday morning newspapers, west valley boosters counted it a sign of respect. Meanwhile county officials continued to advise caution.

On 26 February 1980, voters decided the two-year battle, but only by a ninety-vote margin. The count showed 5,179 voters supporting incorporation and 5,099 against. Hearing rumors of voting irregularities, Commissioner Bart Barker insisted on a recount, and the lead dropped to seventy votes. Despite the narrow victory, West Valley City was born as the state’s third largest city, formed from portions of Granger, Hunter, and Chesterfield. Henry H. Price became its first mayor, Renee W. MacKay and Jerry L. Wagstaff were elected city commissioners, and M. Gerry Ashman became auditor.¹⁷

Less than twenty-four hours after victory, however, two community leaders and supporters of the new city, O. Thayne Acord and

Lorraine Acord, were robbed, bound, and shot to death in their Granger home by teenage assailants. The loss not only shocked the valley but presented the new city with a practical disadvantage; as owner of the Golden Eagles hockey team and a prominent civic leader, Thayne Acord had been a valuable ally within the financial community.

Then almost as immediately as the murders, a drive ensued to disincorporate. It came to a vote on 8 July 1980, one week after the new city was scheduled to begin operating. The vote failed and city functions began in a converted warehouse with borrowed equipment and personnel. No financial institution stepped forward to loan the new city funds, and city officials shoveled snow and dug gas money for police cars out of their own pockets. Despite a hardscrabble and politically acrimonious start, gradually the city government stabilized, taxes dropped, and services developed. In 1984 with Bangerter's gubernatorial victory over former congressman Wayne Owens, West Valley City's self-image and its status within the valley improved.

A decade after its inception, the number of West Valley City residents had increased by nearly 20 percent. A \$9.6 million city hall rose at 3600 South Constitution Boulevard (2700 West), housing a government with revenues of more than \$15 million annually. Residents paid only \$50 more in taxes on a \$100,000 home than did county residents in unincorporated areas.¹⁸

The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported on the occasion of the city's fifteenth anniversary in positive terms. "West Valley is flourishing. Streetlights and sidewalks abound. Ordinance enforcement and community planning are creating beautified neighborhoods and new upscale housing."¹⁹ The anniversary party featured a speech by Governor Norman Bangerter, feasting, and games. The children of Paul and Moni Tuatonga caught a reporter's eye as they piled up a dozen first place t-shirts in the day's competitions.

Just as the Tuatonga children made their mark at the anniversary party, the Tongan sector of the diverse Asian and Pacific Islander community within the valley became increasingly distinct and visible during the 1980s. Significant islander immigration began in the 1960s, with most newcomers finding homes on the westside and working within the service sector of the occupational spectrum.



A Tongan community became increasingly distinct during the 1980s, bringing cultural traditions and a sport new to the valley—rugby. Here a family picnics in Jordan Park. (David Conley—Deseret News)

The 28,000 Salt Lake County residents who reported in the 1980 census that they spoke a language at home other than English or Spanish did not include the main influx of Pacific Islanders or Southeast Asian refugees. The size of the island communities proved difficult to ascertain since 1990 census counted only 3,904 Tongan-Americans in the state, while community leaders estimated the population at 10,000 to 12,000. Similarly, the Samoan population, estimated by its leaders at around 5,000, registered only 1,570 in the census.²⁰

By 1976 the Tongan Rugby Union had appeared, and soon its eight teams would include a Samoan team in vigorous games, often played at the Jordan River State Park. The game of cricket also made an appearance in the valley, even as festivals, performances, and the exotic fruits and vegetables newly available in local markets marked the emergence of another community.

The LDS missionary program was a significant factor in the Tongan immigration to Salt Lake County, and the first Tongan ward



While the LDS Church missionary effort in Tonga spurred immigration to the Salt Lake Valley, the Tongan United Methodist Church also benefitted. Here leaders of the church begin Sunday rites. (Gerald Silver—Deseret News)

in the valley was organized in Central City. By the decade's end several Tongan and two Samoan wards formed, and the Utah Polynesian Choir became a popular group, specializing in LDS hymns sung in English and in island languages. The native languages used in church meetings strengthened cultural ties, further reinforced by classes for the young in native language, music, and dance forms.²¹

Other religious denominations also benefitted. In 1978 the Tongan United Methodist Church opened in the former Grace Methodist building in Salt Lake City. In 1983 Bishop Patelisio Finau of the diocese of Tonga visited Tongan Catholics at St. Patrick's Church in Salt Lake City.

In the late 1980s, Governor Bangerter appointed an advisory council from the Polynesian community. Chair Phil Uipi represented Tongans, vice-chair Wayne Selu represented Samoans, and council members Ellen Selu, Winton Ria, and Tekehu Munani voiced the concerns of Hawaiians, Maoris, and Tahitians. A Republican, Uipi also became the state's first Polynesian legislator.



A diverse Southeast Asian community developed following the Vietnam War. Here, Cambodian dancers thank legislators for recognizing the community's contributions.

Pacific Islanders were often grouped statistically with the officially larger population of Southeast Asians which grew steadily throughout this decade. Following a 1975 ceasefire and the United States withdrawal from Vietnam, more than 12,000 refugees resettled in Utah, many in Salt Lake County. Most found the winters too cold and public assistance too brief to learn the language, gain professional skills, and sink roots. While many in the first wave moved to California, others arrived. By 1990 the Southeast Asian population statewide rested at over eight thousand, with most in the Salt Lake Valley.²²

Certain neighborhoods with a significant Hispanic component became home to numerous refugees, including the Guadalupe area in northwest Salt Lake City, nearby Rose Park, Chesterfield, and Midvale. Even within itself the refugee community was widely diverse, ranging from sophisticated and often multi-lingual Vietnamese urbanites to tribal hill people from Laos and Cambodia.

New agencies and programs appeared to offer services. In 1985



One of Salt Lake County's most popular ethnic festivals—the Asian Festival—includes performances by many groups including these Laotian dancers. (Paul Barker—Deseret News)

Betty North opened the New Hope Refugee Friendship Center in her Salt Lake City home. A year later, the center moved to Eleventh West and Fourth North streets, devoted to helping refugees gain access to public services. Chiefly serving Vietnamese, the center also offered aid to Laotian, Hmong, and Cambodian refugees. The Asian Association of Utah joined the New Hope Center in striving to serve this diverse and greatly challenged population. The influx of refugees prompted the opening of Port of Entry programs in a selected schools throughout the valley, teaching English and social and cultural orientation as well as academic subjects.

Meanwhile fine Vietnamese restaurants appeared in Salt Lake City and the southwest valley; Hmong “flower cloth” attracted customers at festivals and art shows; and the offerings at the spring Asian Festival and other community gatherings displayed native dances, music, and other customs. Korea House, the state's first Korean restaurant, opened in Salt Lake City in 1986. In 1989 the Filipino Performing Arts of Utah was formed.

Most Southeast Asian immigrants were Buddhist, and within the next decade a Laotian temple would appear in Sandy, a Cambodian temple at the New Hope Multicultural Center, and a Vietnamese temple in the Guadalupe neighborhood. Christian congregations also developed. Some newcomers converted to Mormonism, served by a Vietnamese branch in Taylorsville. By the mid-1990s, five hundred Vietnamese Catholics worshipped in the Immaculate Conception Church in Copperton. The Vietnamese Catholic Center remodeled the former LDS Kearns Second Ward to host a variety of community activities.

In comparison with these groups, Latinos had become tenured within the valley, yet the community continued grow and diversify through immigration. The 1980 census reported that nearly 16,000 county residents over kindergarten-age reported speaking Spanish at home. During the 1980s, El Salvadorans, Guatemalans, and Nicaraguans arrived due to political disturbances in their native lands. A significant farmworker population, both migrant and stable, continued to grow quietly within the northwest sector, the Chesterfield area, and in Midvale.

Although the latter population was impossible to count accurately due both to its mobility and the fear of deportation, the Utah Rural Development Council—offering services at the county multi-purpose centers and in Midvale—estimated it at 15,000 to 20,000 in a good harvest year. Largely invisible to the dominant population, the migrants lived in shelters provided by farmers, camped in or around their trucks, or shared rental space. Some settled in, working in service jobs in motels, restaurants, and in factories, often under poor conditions.²³

Latinos also participated in valley life at a sophisticated level. In 1981 Angel Abrea became the first Latino general authority of the LDS church. Alex Hurtado, who had been named in 1979 to the Utah Board of Regents, resigned in 1981 to work for the Republican National Committee. Michael N. Martinez, formerly with the state attorney general’s office and the Reagan administration’s Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, was appointed deputy county attorney under county attorney Ted Cannon. In 1986 Victoria



As many as 20,000 migrant and resident farm workers labored in Salt Lake County in the early 1980s in a good harvest year, most of them Hispanic. (Howard C. Moore—Deseret News)

Palacios became the first Latina to serve on the state Board of Pardons.

One measure of Salt Lake County's sophistication was marked by women following their sisters elsewhere in the nation into a variety of roles and positions. Women braved blue collar employment, for instance, including operating heavy machinery and earning higher wages than the traditional clerical and service positions. Meanwhile women producers and technicians at KRCL-Radio filled the valley's airwaves during Women's History Month each March with the program *Women Aloud*, featuring discussions, arts, and music "made for, by, and about women."

Significantly, women adjudicated in a variety of courts in Salt Lake County. Utah's first woman appointed to the Third District Court, Christine M. Durham then rose in 1982 to the Utah Supreme Court. Judge Eleanor S. VanSciver became the first woman appointed to Utah's Fifth Circuit Court in 1978, soon followed by Judge Sheila McCleve. Judge Sharon McCully served in the Second District Juvenile Court and Judge Judith Billings in the Third District Court.

In addition, Judge Jan Moffitt adjudicated administrative law for the Industrial Commission, and Commissioner Sandra Peuler was appointed to the Third District Court.²⁴

Whether wearing judicial robes or operating a backhoe, however, women in heretofore unavailable positions learned the necessity of solidarity and continuity. They faced patronizing colleagues at the least, and sexual harassment at the worst. Within the formal and soft-spoken legal arena, Justice Durham shouldered the task of sensitizing officers of the court to sexist attitudes and also devised a powerful symbol for women entering the judiciary. She designed a gavel engraved as a memorial to Utah’s first female judge, Reva Beck Bosone, which was handed down to each woman as she first took her seat at the bench.

A native of Salt Lake County, Durham had become interested in the law as a Wellsley University student who liked to attend her dates’ law classes. She graduated from the Duke University Law School and hung her shingle, then returned to the Salt Lake Valley with her husband, Dr. George Durham, and their young family. She practiced part time, became an adjunct professor at the Brigham Young University Law School, an instructor of legal medicine at the University of Utah, and served on advisory boards of diverse agencies.

When she applied for a judgeship, she claimed professional exposure to family and juvenile problems, drug abuse, contracts, negligence and tort law, and board and practical management. Despite her youth and perhaps aided by her gender and the times, Durham’s name was one of three presented by a judicial selection committee to Matheson. Following interviews, the governor telephoned Durham with the remark, “How about if you and I make a little history?” Four years later, the governor and judge made history again when Governor Scott Matheson appointed Durham to the Utah Supreme Court.²⁵

Other women fulfilled significant public roles. During the 1980s, Republican Katie L. Dixon served as county recorder and several city councils in the valley gained female faces, including Sydney Foncesbeck in Salt Lake City, Betty Johnson and Fonda Fairbanks in Sandy, the latter followed by Judy Bell in 1994, as well as city com-

missioner Renee W. Mackay in the newly incorporated West Valley City.

Throughout this decade, the news and entertainment media both reflected and perpetuated the Salt Lake Valley's urbanity as station transfer regulations were relaxed and the broadcast market grew to include Ogden and Provo. The market became increasingly attractive to investors who contributed corporate management and cash. As broadcasters in Salt Lake County became increasingly competitive nationwide, they formed the Salt Lake Market Radio Broadcasters Association which opened to all Wasatch Front broadcasters later as the Salt Lake Area Broadcasters Association. Several stations sold to corporations outside the state, while George Hatch of the Communication Investment Corporation, David Williams of General Telephone, and Roy Simmons of Zion's First Security Bank maintained local stations.²⁶

The LDS-owned Bonneville International, headed since 1964 by Arch Madsen, expanded its markets to include radio and television properties in Seattle and New York, and broadcast properties in Los Angeles, Kansas City, Chicago, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C. Bonneville also ran a film-production arm, a computer operation, and a number of audio production facilities.²⁷

Journalism had come of age during the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War, and the Watergate scandal that toppled the Nixon presidency. The media now considered themselves conscious agents of change as well as conveyors of information. The major newspapers in the valley gave a boost to investigative reporting during this decade complemented by smaller publications such as the feisty and eclectic *Utah Holiday* magazine, followed by *Network*, *Catalyst*, *Private Eye*, and *Event*, all publishing in Salt Lake City.

In the process, Americans had not only discovered their "right to know," with all its attendant stress and responsibility, but had grown increasingly cynical toward government and other powers. As a result, past decades acquired a sheen of innocence that could be captured within the Salt Lake Valley where the emphasis remained on large families, at-home mothers (though the majority of women worked outside the home), and deference to authority. Simultaneously, insti-

tutions—notably the University of Utah and the LDS church—became increasingly adept at attracting and fielding media coverage.

As was true in the late 1970s, dramatic and bizarre crimes continued to dominate the attention of valley residents and the local and national media. One that was widely-reported involved a murderer tracked across the nation. He was tried and convicted twice within the valley before local authorities relinquished him to other jurisdictions, and his eventual confession came not in court but belatedly to a reporter.

Four young friends jogged through Liberty Park on 20 August 1980, rounded the Ninth South end, and headed across Fifth East Street toward the 7-Eleven convenience store on the corner. As they crossed the street, rifle shots felled Ted Fields, twenty, and David Martin III, eighteen. They died where they fell, though two fifteen-year-old girls jogging with them were terrified but unhurt. The crux of the Liberty Park murders was as evident as it would ever become; the young men were African-American the young women white.

The valley’s small African-American population trembled at the epicenter as shock waves spread. A week after the unsolved murders, the Reverend Theodore P. Fields, Ted Fields’s father and leader of the New Pilgrim Baptist Church, asked the outraged community, particularly its young, not to seek vengeance. He was joined by France Davis, pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, Robby Robinson, representing the Faith Tempe Pentecostal Church, L. Moseley, pastor of Shiloh Baptist Church, and N. L. Liggins, pastor of New Zion Baptist Church in Ogden.²⁸

Although the churchmen publicly voiced confidence in the efforts of the Salt Lake City Police Department, they also suggested that federal investigators enter the case. A few days later, the Federal Bureau of Investigation became involved, citing substantial reason to believe that two young men’s civil rights had been violated—in other words, that they had been killed because of their race.

Meanwhile the young men’s employer, Northwest Pipeline Company, posted a \$25,000 reward that joined a \$10,000 reward offered by the *Salt Lake Tribune’s* Secret Witness program. Yet another \$10,000 was added anonymously, according to Salt Lake Police Chief E. L. Willoughby.

More than two dozen investigators pieced fragments of evidence into a circumstantial case. The shots had been fired from a weedy vacant lot on the northwest corner of the intersection; a car had been seen driving away, and the youngsters had been heckled in the park minutes earlier—but no one had seen the assailant or knew of any motive. Local police work was augmented by investigations of similar shootings in other cities.

Accused was Joseph Paul Franklin, a middle-aged drifter from Mobile, Alabama, and a member of the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party. Although Franklin claimed innocence, he was linked to thirteen murders across the United States in a personal campaign against interracial couples as well as the attempted murders of National Urban League president Vernon Jordan and *Hustler* magazine publisher Larry Flynt. Franklin was tried and convicted in Salt Lake City, first in federal and then in state court, gleaning four life sentences. He blamed the LDS church and local government for his convictions, citing their opposition to his racial attitudes. A decade later, however, while confined in a federal penitentiary in Marion, Illinois, Franklin confessed to reporter Chris Vanocur that he killed the young men for “race mixing.”²⁹

The hatred evident in the Liberty Park murders shocked the valley that had, since settlement, perpetuated, ignored, and struggled to end discrimination. As racial violence leaped from the television screen site warmly familiar to many valley dwellers, the words uttered at a victim’s memorial service seemed to echo: “The whole world stopped while these boys died.”³⁰

While the Salt Lake Valley continued to cringe at appearing in the national media for violent or bizarre events, the national media was eagerly beckoned to the University of Utah Medical Center by administrator Dr. Chase Peterson for historic surgery on 2 December 1982. That enthusiasm infused this front-page *Deseret News* report:

Approximately 75 reporters from across the country with cameras and lights in hand awaited word at the University Hospital as if their favorite uncle lay on the operating table.

Television reporters asked that progress reports be timed to coincide with morning news shows on the East Coast. Newspaper

reporters rushed to the telephones to call in each new development in the seven-hour operation. Radio reporters taped their stories during the briefings, echoing each statement made by a hospital official. The major television networks, cable networks, news magazines, and major newspapers all sent reporters, photographers, and film crews to the University of Utah medical center.

Even with all the coverage from local and national media the hospital arranged its own coverage. The entire operation was filmed, and medical illustrationists took black-and-white and color photographs during the surgery.³¹

For some time the University of Utah Medical School had conducted energetic and innovative research into transplants, prostheses, and artificial organs under the direction of Dr. Willem Kolff. As quickly as the Federal Drug Administration approved the device at the end of 1982, a carefully-assembled team of surgeons and technicians removed a human heart and implanted an artificial one in its place. Dr. Barney Clark, a dentist from Seattle, Washington, was so close to dying from heart failure that he was rushed into surgery ahead of schedule. By the time the sun rose, Clark had begun living his 112 days of borrowed time.³²

Optimism prevailed as the plastic heart beat, for more than 35,000 hearts were needed for transplants every year in the United States alone, and only two thousand donor hearts became available. Scientists and doctors hoped that, at the least, the artificial heart could keep patients alive long enough to receive transplants; at most, it might replace transplants altogether. In the glare of national and local publicity, surgeons William DeVries and Lyle Joyce became virtual celebrities as did Dr. Robert Jarvik, designer of the Jarvik-7 heart which improved upon earlier models by Dr. Clifford Kwan-Gett and Donald Lyman.

Two days after the implant, Clark returned to surgery, where doctors stapled his leaking lungs. Seizures struck Clark on 7 December, and he never fully recovered from their effects. Additional surgeries to fix a broken valve on the heart and to stop nosebleeds allowed him to move into a private room where he and his wife, Una Loy Clark, celebrated their thirty-ninth wedding anniversary and began to discuss going home. Two weeks later, however, Clark developed problems, and whole body systems began to fail. He died the night of 23 March.



Washington dentist Barney Clark was rushed, dying, into surgery at the University of Utah Medical Center the night of 1 December 1982 and given the first artificial heart to beat in a human chest. He died on 23 March 1983. (Special Collections, University of Utah)

The optimism following the surgery deflated into discussions of ethics, patient care, grandstanding, and finances. Both DeVries and Jarvik left the University of Utah, even as controversy rose around the Jarvik-7's clinical use and the ownership of its patents. Symbion,

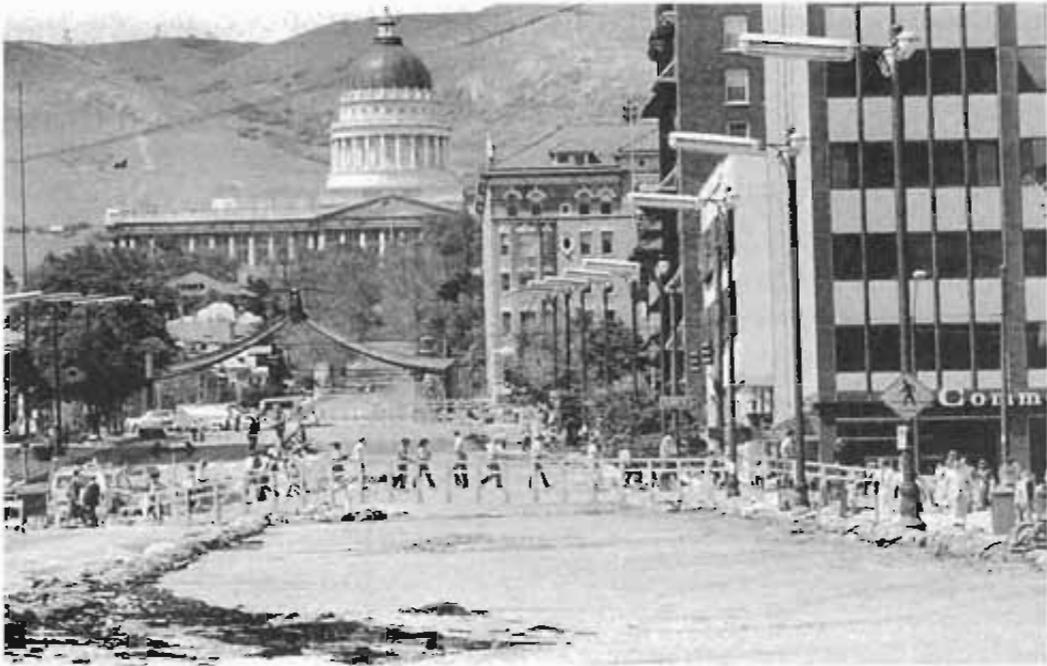
marketers for the Jarvik-7, went out of business after Jarvik was fired in 1987; the federal government filed a criminal complaint against the company in 1994, claiming it had filed false reports. Despite continued implants, criticism grew in the medical community that the Jarvik-7 was not sophisticated enough for human use, and in 1990 the FDA withdrew its approval.³³

While the future envisioned upon the night the artificial heart first beat did not arrive, 160 artificial hearts of the Utah type had ticked temporarily in human chests by 1992. Many of the principals of the first implant celebrated its tenth anniversary in Salt Lake City. During his speech, Jarvik whipped the Jarvik-2000 heart from beneath his jacket to describe how this palm-sized model could be slipped into a diseased heart through a ventricle. He predicted that widespread usage of it remained the solution to heart disease.³⁴

In 1995 the artificial heart beat again in Salt Lake City, implanted 12 April at LDS Hospital in the chest of a fifty-six-year-old Idaho man, as a part of the U.T.A.H. Cardiac Transplant program. The *Salt Lake Tribune* interviewed Kolff, by then retired. “It’s high time the artificial heart comes back to Utah,” the doctor said. “I’m absolutely delighted and I hope this will be the first of a series of patients that will be delegated to Utah because it was here that the artificial heart was born.”³⁵

Not even the excitement aroused by the artificial heart implant could completely distract valley residents from the relentless rain. The 1981–82 water year had broken all records; then September 1982 climaxed with ten times more moisture than normal. A sense of foreboding grew valley-wide, as autumn mud slides closed Big and Little Cottonwood canyons and creeks flooded, damaging three hundred homes, roads, and bridges. At September’s end, Governor Matheson declared a state of emergency, but the federal government declined his appeal for aid.

In fact, September’s “once-in-a-century flood” turned out to be only a bath. Although January and February 1983 proved mild, March again broke records with deluges of rain and snow. Skiers and resort owners smiled while city, county, and state officials prepared for the worst. Matheson appointed Utah Public Safety commissioner



Wooden pedestrian and auto bridges made the State Street river the bright side of statewide flooding in spring 1983. Rivers along Thirteenth South, North Temple, and Ninth South streets helped escort the waters out of town. (Tom Smart—Deseret News)

Larry Lunnen his “water czar,” and Salt Lake County Flood Control Division director Terry Holzworth found his name in the newspapers almost daily.

The Jordan River brimmed due to an effort to reduce flooding in Utah Lake; now workers constructed levies and dikes. Murray officials improved their communications system to correct September’s inter-agency snarls. Meanwhile snow and rain continued to fall on earth that could absorb no more moisture.

April not only topped March’s moisture content but also added hurricane winds of up to one hundred miles per hour, causing millions of dollars in damage along the Wasatch Front. Next, cracks appeared in the earth, slumping ground near the Capitol and closing two roads. Below the Emigration Oaks Condominiums overlooking the valley, the hillside slipped, taking out a sewer line and allowing waste to seep into Emigration Creek.

Salt Lakers’ attention was then diverted by a huge slide to the

south that drowned the town of Thistle in the Spanish Fork River and by devastating mud slides to the north in Farmington and Bountiful. The entire state felt the effects of the deluge, humorously summed up by the governor in his much-quoted statement, “This is a hell of a way to run a desert.”³⁶

Perhaps the height of optimism—or a popularized clinical term, “denial”—became apparent when Saltair III opened on the south shore of the Great Salt Lake. Partners Wallace A. Wright, who developed Trolley Square, Jim Sands, and John Silver and Stewart Grow, who already operated concessions, had announced the project two years earlier. Wright showed the creativity that made Trolley Square Mall famous when he found an old aircraft hangar at Hill Air Force Base, had it dismantled, then reconstructed on the Saltair site.

The new dance floor gleamed eight feet above the lake—more than four thousand feet above sea level. The last time the lake had risen higher, Rutherford B. Hayes had been in the White House. Yet no sooner did construction begin than the lake began its climb. At first the partners coped, replacing their dune buggy concession with a sailboat concession. But a year after the grand opening, only salty waves danced on the hardwood floor of the new resort, and the Moorish towers stood vacant and desolate.³⁷

May had proven climactic overall. Rain and snow dispelled signs of spring until the month’s end when temperatures soared into the 80s. Then canyon snowdrifts melted furiously into swollen streams and sodden ground. On 26 May, Thirteenth South Street was transformed by officials into a river flowing from Sixth West Street to the Jordan River. Trucks dumped eight loads of earth per hour into dikes, bolstered by sandbags and plastic. Soon blocks eastward were also encompassed, passing West Temple, and reaching Liberty Park in an effort to contain the flow from Red Butte, Emigration, and Parleys creeks. A second river appeared on Ninth South Street, but would not remain long.

Over the Memorial Day weekend, temperatures rose into the 90s. Children and teenagers splashed in the swollen creeks, ponds, and even the new river made treacherous by invisible manholes; sightseers stopped along Interstate 15 to spy the valley’s new waterway, and volunteers continued slinging sandbags. Police with bullhorns chased

the curious and the adventurous away from the Thirteenth South river. In fact, their flat-bottomed boat, equipped with a spotlight, and their ultra-light aircraft became known in city council meetings as the police chief's army and navy.

Then City Creek, notorious along North Temple in pioneer days, raised a ruckus. Leaping its usually quiet banks in Memory Grove, it sprinted into town and splashed against the LDS Church Office Building on North Temple Street then rushed Temple Square. Those buildings and the Salt Palace were quickly sandbagged even as waves lapped at the Eagle Gate apartments on South Temple Street and circled the Brigham Young monument where South Temple intersected with Main.

That weekend volunteerism captured the media's attention almost as strongly as the flooding. The American Red Cross, the Salvation Army, and the Job Corps all proved valuable; key, however, was the tightly knit LDS organization that had hailed 14,000 women to a feminist conclave and organized thousands of anti-ERA lobbyists. Now that power to mobilize became not only visible but providential under the direction of general authority Robert E. Wells and in cooperation with city and county officials.³⁸

On Sunday even Mayor Wilson slung sandbags as the State Street River was born to prevent millions of dollars in property damage to the downtown business district. Several thousand volunteers threw up a dirt and sandbag wall from Memory Grove to Fourth South Street as City Creek once again raged toward the city. North Temple Street overflowed when its crucial conduit became jammed with debris, an obstruction that would prove almost impossible to blast or drill loose.

During the next week, the State Street River moved south, threatening to meet the Thirteenth South river and effectively bisect the city; however, it was finally contained at Eighth South Street. Meanwhile wooden bridges for both pedestrians and vehicles allowed traffic across the river and linked downtown to the interstate. For weeks the brown waters sped through the city, ignoring the semaphores that turned red and green above them. Restaurants and shops exploited the novelty, as a stroll along the river became *de rigueur* during the lunch hour or after work.

Businesses along North Temple Street were less pleased when City Creek was rerouted there, and the State Street River vanished, sandbags, bridges, and all. Although the outer lanes on North Temple were finally opened to traffic, the conduit and the street required major and lengthy repairs. Thirteenth South Street merchants also suffered as city workers renovated the conduit for future use.

Meanwhile flooding outside the business district demanded attention. Parleys Creek surged around the Granite Tabernacle on Ninth East Street near Twenty-First South, placing one home on an island. Three hundred Murray residents were temporarily displaced from the Cottonwood Cove mobile home park as Big Cottonwood Creek brimmed its protective dikes. The sandbags removed from downtown Salt Lake City quickly banked the Jordan River, the Surplus Canal along Twenty-First South Street, Big and Little Cottonwood creeks, and Mill Creek, all of which peaked later than City Creek. Tragically, two flood-related fatalities were reported in the county, one an electrocution, and the other a drowning in Little Cottonwood Creek.³⁹ By June's end, only mud, memories, repairs, and photographs witnessed Salt Lake County's trial by weather, and its triumph through cooperation.

With the floodwaters contained and sunshine welcome, the Salt Lake Valley turned to Pioneer Day celebrations. Even as parades and picnics commenced, however, a mystifying and alarming phenomenon reached a tragic conclusion. The bodies of five missing boys were retrieved, two from the swollen Big Cottonwood Creek and the others from the Central Utah desert. The boys had vanished sporadically in what became a terrifying and accelerating pattern. As the photographs of missing children appeared in the media, fearful parents monitored their children closely and some purchased “kidnapping kits,” so that—if the worst happened—they could identify their children's remains.

At the core of the panic was the cold reality that the children had disappeared under seemingly innocuous circumstances. On 16 October 1979, four-year-old Alonzo Daniels gained permission from his mother to play outside the laundry facility in their apartment complex in northwest Salt Lake City while she finished her task. A

few minutes later, he was nowhere to be found. On 9 November 1980, eleven-year-old Kim Peterson left his eastside Salt Lake City home to meet a man who wanted to buy the ball bearings from his roller skates. He never returned.

Four-year-old Danny Davis accompanied his grandfather on 20 October 1981 to a supermarket on State and 3900 South streets in Murray and vanished from the store. On 22 June 1983, his sixth birthday, Troy Ward wore his cowboy boots to the corner of Eighth South and Third East streets in Salt Lake City to wait for a family friend. He disappeared. Less than a month later on 14 July, thirteen-year-old Graeme Cunningham (who looked young for his age) went to meet a friend at a market one block from his home, near Fourth East and Thirteenth South streets. He never returned.⁴⁰

Arthur Gary Bishop, a mild-mannered, chubby man on probation for embezzlement, narrowly eluded police in more than one disappearance. Using aliases and changing addresses, Bishop befriended boys, molested and photographed them, and—in at least five instances—killed them. Cool enough to carry Alonzo Daniels's body in a box past his frantic mother, Bishop crumpled under questioning about the Cunningham boy. He confessed matter-of-factly in a chilling, tape-recorded account, then helped police locate the bodies.

Following a grisly trial highlighted by the testimony of five boys Bishop had molested (and whose names and faces were protected by the media), he was convicted of five counts of first degree murder.⁴¹ He refused to appeal and was executed at the Utah State Penitentiary in 1988 by lethal injection.

No state, certainly not Utah, could afford to lose \$200 million from its economy. Yet fraud robbed the state of that amount as nine thousand people, many within Salt Lake County, fell prey to a variety of investment schemes, including gold mines, diamond ventures, ponzi schemes, and real estate scams.

Not only were these losses grievous to the victims and the economy, but the frauds seriously compromised the valley's position in the national securities market and in raising business capital. A branch office of the Securities and Exchange Commission had come to Salt Lake City in 1954, twenty years after the commission was

organized nationally to enforce federal securities laws. In addition, brokers and dealers in the state joined the self-regulating National Association of Securities Dealers. Still, abuses and frauds using shell corporations had created an unfavorable national reputation for Utah-based stock companies following the uranium boom in southern Utah. And government, itself, would reap blame for failing to adequately protect public investors. Eventually the valley risked compromising its reputation as a regional financial center.

In 1984 Governor Matheson assigned a Securities Fraud Task Force to study the problem. By the year's end, the group pinpointed laws that permitted the sale of undercapitalized corporations ripe for fraudulent activity, and blamed a lack of coordination and cooperation among state, county, and federal enforcement and prosecution agencies. Especially troublesome were the many schemes that slipped past the notice of federal agencies since they involved relatively small amounts of money and a limited number of investors.

The task force further reported that the valley's citizens appeared particularly susceptible to fraudulent schemes. Most victims were uninformed and unsophisticated when it came to investing money; nevertheless, they felt comfortable basing their financial decisions on personal and religious associates. “Several investment schemes have relied directly or indirectly upon religious affiliations,” the task force reported. “Most of these fraudulent schemes have promised excessive returns on investments appealing directly to greed.” Simply put, the frauds typically plagued networks of friends and churchgoers who believed that investing a little and profiting a lot was possible if a trusted individual backed the deal.¹²

A wavy line ran between sharp business practices, unwise investments, and outright fraud. Governor Bangerter's administration not only implemented the task force recommendations, but also closed the penny stock trade and major thrifts and loans, then set about settling with investors. The heads of several failed investment schemes and companies were prosecuted during the decade with mixed results.

When three murderous bombs exploded in Salt Lake County on 15 and 16 October 1985, the high-flying CFS Financial Corp., spiraling toward bankruptcy, seemed linked to the unknown perpetrator's

motive. As it turned out, fraud did underlie the bombings, involving not the investment company but a labyrinthian scheme to rewrite Mormon history through forged documents and to dupe church leaders, historians, investors, eastern experts, and the public at large, as well as to turn a profit. When the scam floundered, bombs expressed an unforeseen and sociopathic rage that rattled the valley and drew the eyes of the nation.

Steven F. Christensen, a young LDS bishop killed by a bomb in the doorway of his Judge Building office, had recently left a vice-presidency in the doomed CFS *and* was known as a Mormon history buff. As purchaser of the 1830 “salamander letter,” he had the \$30,000 manuscript authenticated in the East and studied by Mormon historians before donating it, as controversy escalated, to the LDS church. Apparently penned by a close associate of Joseph Smith, the letter linked the ancient gold plates Smith said he used to produce the Book of Mormon not to an angel, but to a magical white salamander, consonant with nineteenth-century folklore.⁴⁵

In June 1985, the letter’s seller, Mark Hofmann, offered Christensen a more controversial discovery—journals and artifacts owned by William McLellin, a renegade nineteenth-century LDS apostle. Christensen told Hofmann he could not afford another purchase and took him to see LDS general authority Hugh Pinnock. (Pinnock’s business acumen not only made him valuable to the church, but had placed him on the governor’s fraud task force.)

Pinnock checked with his ecclesiastical superiors, then arranged a \$185,000 unsecured loan for Hofmann at First Interstate Bank where Pinnock served as a director. Christensen volunteered as authenticator of the documents, hoping to have them studied. Hofmann, however, used the bank’s money to pay off a previous \$154,000 loan on the McLellin scam and stalled Christensen who became point man for the church authorities as they received pressure from the bank.

A forger and con man by profession, Hofmann spent the year 1985 trying to rescue grandiose schemes. By September, the First Interstate bank loan was in arrears, media exposure threatened, and the McLellin deal grew increasingly pressured. Even as Mormons gathered for October general conference, Christensen, Pinnock, and

Hofmann, overseen by Apostle Dallin H. Oaks and President Gordon B. Hinckley, restructured the transaction.

Desperately Hofmann worked to keep them and other investors at bay, even marketing a papyrus fragment he had told Christensen was part of the McLellin collection. The day Christensen locked up the papyrus for safekeeping, Hofmann bought bomb parts. The McLellin deal was reset for the morning of 15 October, the day Christensen picked up a package bomb. His widow was pregnant with their fourth son who would be born on his father's birthday.

Earlier that same morning, CFS president J. Gary Sheets, another LDS bishop, drove past a package bomb outside his garage in still-dark Holladay. His wife, Kathleen Webb Sheets, grabbed the box bearing her husband's name when she returned from a walk. The explosion bereaved her husband, four children, and three grandchildren and directed investigators' attention toward the floundering investment company.

The decoy worked too well, however, for when Hofmann checked in at the LDS Administration Building that afternoon, Oaks rescheduled the McLellin deal for the following day. On 16 October, Hofmann bought bomb parts in Logan then parked on 200 North Street with a third bomb, as a purchasing agent and authenticator waited for him to bring the McLellin collection. When the bomb exploded, Hofmann was seriously injured; searches of his car and home made him a principal suspect in the murders.

Before he could be charged, however, dozens of investigators traced a labyrinth of authenticated historical documents and fraudulent deals then countered Hofmann's lofty reputation in church, historical, and manuscript circles. Forensic scientists learned that Hofmann had used old paper and created his own inks, then aged them chemically. Not only had he fooled customers, historians, and authenticators, but also the Federal Bureau of Investigation laboratory.⁴⁴

Four months after the bombings, Hofmann was charged with thirty-two counts of capital murder, forgery, and fraud. Following a five-week preliminary hearing, he was bound over for trial but left free on bond. In January 1987 Hofmann pleaded guilty to second degree murder, forgery, and fraud, and was sentenced to five-years-

to-life at the Utah State Penitentiary. After listening to him dispassionately describe his crimes, the Board of Pardons refused in 1988 to set another hearing date.⁴⁵

Not only did the Hofmann saga publicize Mormon and even American history in an unexpected context, but it also shook the valley's sense of reality. His "discoveries" lay in collections and hung in galleries across the nation. They had been highlighted in LDS publications as well as locked in restricted vaults; their emergence had energized revisionist Mormon history and boosted coin, Mormon money, rare book, and manuscript markets locally and in the East. In all these arenas and markets, scholars, officials, experts, and investors suffered from Hofmann's exposure as a fraud.

Hofmann's crimes reached deeper into the valley's cultural ethos than forged Deseret currency and notes to Brigham Young. Investigators found that while Hofmann profited handsomely, his bent toward altering Mormon history included an obsession with historical secrets, including one in his family. A grandfather had married polygamously following the Second Manifesto of 1904, and his second wife bore all the family's children including Hofmann's mother. The family believed the marriage legitimate although church authorities had asked them not to discuss the matter.

Seven years after the bombings, LDS historical department director Richard Turley published a book from the church's perspective. He revealed that some McLellin papers had been found in a church vault by employees answering subpoenas for Hofmann's preliminary hearing. Since Hinckley and Oaks elected not to enlighten the court, Pinnock unknowingly testified that the church had no knowledge or possession of any McLellin collection, and Hinckley's testimony stipulated the same. This belated secret added a final irony to this deep-rooted and most convoluted murder mystery.⁴⁶

Despite the economic challenges of the 1980s, the south valley continued its metropolitan trend. ZCMI announced plans to build a \$100 million store in Sandy, and the department store became anchor of the South Towne Mall. Turnmar-Collier joined ZCMI in developing the 1.1 million square-foot of retail space on more than one hundred acres at 10600 South Street and Interstate 15.

South Jordan accrued upscale neighborhoods during these years, as well as a prominent landmark. In 1981 the LDS church erected the Jordan River temple on 1300 West and 10200 South, a site easily visible from Interstate 15.

The continued growth throughout the south valley kept the interstate busy, even congested during rush hours. Crowded roads, like crowded classrooms, were becoming commonplace near the decade's end. A disaster early in 1987, however, pointed up the dangers of congested skies.

Students at the St. Francis Xavier Catholic school on 5200 South Street at about 4500 West had returned to their desks following lunch, just before gruesome debris rained into the parking lot and upon an area three miles long and one mile wide. Above Kearns, a private airplane carrying an instructor and a student pilot had collided with a Skywest Western Express commuter plane, carrying two pilots and the six passengers they had picked up in Pocatello, Idaho. No one on either plane survived; remarkably, there were no casualties on the ground although several homes were damaged.

Only the year before, Skywest had scored a record year, carrying 762,773 passengers and more than one hundred tons of cargo. The company had begun humbly, ferrying passengers between Salt Lake City and St. George. Now as it concluded this forty-five minute flight in calm January skies, the commuter plane left its southern course and began turning northeast to approach the airport runway. Meanwhile a Mooney-20 plane practiced take-offs and landings during a training flight from Salt Lake City Airport No. 2 at 7400 South and 4500 West streets. Unaccountably the smaller aircraft climbed into commercial airspace.⁴⁷

Salt Lake County sheriff N.D. (Pete) Hayward and his officers established a command post at the St. Xavier church, and used its garage as a temporary morgue. Numerous police and fire departments donated officers and search dogs, combing the neighborhoods for body parts and plane debris. The State Medical Examiner and pathologists from the University Medical Center arrived to begin the grim task of identifying bodies. Meanwhile Father Louis Fischer comforted students then roamed the neighborhood, murmuring last rites over human remains and offering comfort to distraught witnesses.⁴⁸

Ultimately the disaster was attributed to an error of the student pilot of the Mooney plane; nevertheless, the radar system at the Salt Lake International Airport was replaced in 1990. One airport official compared the two systems as a Model A Ford versus a Space Age rocket, yet the new system, too, experienced “ghosts” and blind spots on the screen. Some were due to the valley’s geography; winter temperature inversions, evaporation from the Great Salt Lake, and reflections from the settling ponds used by mineral companies could all create false phenomena.” The airport would only become busier, handling more than 380,000 takeoffs and landings annually by 1994; nevertheless, the Federal Aviation Administration officials pointed to the airport’s record as one of the safest in the world.

Science stole center stage again just before the decade ended. The University of Utah stunned the world by announcing that it had discovered the energy secret of the future. A press release issued on 23 March 1989 read: “Two scientists have successfully created a sustained nuclear fusion reaction at room temperature in a chemistry laboratory at the University of Utah.” It continued: “The breakthrough means the world may someday rely on fusion for a clean, virtually inexhaustible source of energy.”⁵⁰

Collaborating in the experiments were two chemistry professors, Dr. Martin Fleischmann from the University of Southampton, England, and Dr. B. Stanley Pons, chair of the Department of Chemistry at the University of Utah. Dr. Chase Peterson who had shepherded the medical center through the artificial heart excitement was now university president and prepared for the ensuing media interest.

The electrochemists had created a simple experiment equivalent to one in a freshman-level course. Unlike conventional nuclear fusion that required temperatures registering millions of degrees, this process could be done at room temperature. The experiment used two electrodes immersed in “heavy” water which contained deuterium instead of hydrogen. One electrode comprised a strip of the metal palladium, the other a coil of platinum wire.

Exposed to an electric current, the heavy water decomposed into deuterium and oxygen with the deuterium atoms entering the palla-

dium electrode. There, Pons and Fleischmann contended, the atoms packed so tightly that they fused, releasing energy as heat.

The experiments that began in the Pons’s kitchen had continued at the university during late nights and weekends for more than five years before the announcement was made. Once public, other scientists around the world hurried to check the results. Excitement grew as some succeeded in duplicating the phenomenon, but negative results followed. Critical scientific papers virtually derailed the cold fusion effort and effectively quashed the university’s pride.

During the few years of excitement and doubt following the announcement, the university spent \$5 million state dollars on legal fees protecting patent applications. In 1993 the university administration arranged to license its patent rights with a private company but retain the right to share in royalties that might accrue in the future.⁵¹

Undeterred by criticism, Pons and Fleischmann continued their work funded by a Japanese company, Technova, an affiliate of Toyota. Now their experiments were performed not in a University of Utah chemistry laboratory, but at the European branch of Japan’s Institute of Minoru Research Advancement in the French Riviera town of Sophia Antipolis.⁵²

Some called cold fusion a mistaken discovery, others a scientific fraud; still others held out hope that the intriguing if unreliable results might yet prove to hold the secret of a clean, inexpensive fuel that could instigate an energy revolution worldwide.

Not surprisingly perhaps in a stressful and eventful decade, sports achieved new prominence in Salt Lake County. Not only did they offer recreation and relief from the stresses of contemporary life, but they also became the harbinger of the 1990s.

The Jazz basketball team got off to a tepid start in 1979 when fewer than eight thousand fans gathered in the Salt Palace stands and serious problems with players multiplied off the court. The turning point came when the Jazz surprised Utahns by capturing the 1983–84 Midwest Division title and began a long streak of playoff competitions, gleaning honors for Adrian Dantley, Mark Eaton, Rickey Green, and Darrell Griffith.

In addition, general manager and coach Frank Layden was named NBA Coach of the Year in 1984 when he also received the association's Walter Kennedy Award, for contributions to the community. *Deseret News* sports editor Dave Blackwell later wrote: "Perhaps Layden's biggest contribution was his good humor, his ability to draw attention away from the Jazz's woes on and off the court with his overwhelming personality. Layden was the savior of the Jazz in the early years."⁵³

In 1985 Larry Miller, a successful car dealer and owner of the Golden Eagles hockey team, purchased 50 percent of the Jazz and later the remaining share. All-stars Karl Malone, John Stockton, and others came aboard. By the late 1980s, Jazz tickets had become a hot commodity and Malone had signed a \$28 million contract to stay with the Jazz through the turn of the century.

The 1980s, a decade of hard financial and social lessons, interspersed by intrigue, horror, and excitement, was consistently—even relentlessly—illuminated by both local and national media. As a result, Salt Lakers were confronted with their own images, whether triumphing over natural disasters or mourning unnatural ones.

With the incorporation of West Valley City, Draper, and Bluffdale, and metropolitan growth in Sandy and South Jordan, the county became increasingly urban, a trend that would continue. Women and minority groups, including whole new communities, worked year by year toward more proportionate representation within public and professional life. More importantly, perhaps, participation from all sectors gradually became assumed. "Firsts" continued, but Salt Lake County eased into a hardwon maturity.

Cold fusion still claimed the spotlight as the decade ended, yet the valley's characteristic enthusiasm would soon refocus with sports at center stage. Capturing the Olympic Games again became a priority for boosters determined to convince the world that it wished to visit this beautiful, eventful, and paradoxical clime—then to welcome that world in all its complexity.

ENDNOTES

1. Robert Burns, "To a Louse." The original Scottish dialect reads: "O wad some Power the giftie gie us/ To see oursels as ithers see us!"

2. These included television films based on crimes committed by Ted Bundy, Gary Gilmore, Ervil LeBaron, Marc Schreuder and Frances Schreuder, and Richard Worthington. Books included Norman Mailer, *The Executioner's Song* (Gilmore); Steven Winn and David Merrill, *The Killer Next Door* (Bundy); Ann Rule, *The Stranger Beside Me* (Bundy); Steven G. Michaud and Hugh Aynesworth, *The Only Living Witness* (Bundy); Jonathan Coleman, *At Mother's Request* (Schreuder); Shana Alexander, *Nutcracker* (Schreuder); Ben Bradlee, Jr., and Dale Van Atta *Prophet of Blood* (LeBaron); Scott Anderson, *The Four O'Clock Murders* (LeBaron); Linda Sillitoe and Allen D. Roberts, *Salamander: The Story of the Mormon Forgery Murders* (Mark Hofmann); Robert Lindsey, *A Gathering of Saints* (Hofmann); Stephen Naifeh and Gregory White-Smith, *The Mormon Murders* (Hofmann); and Richard E. Turley, *Victims: The LDS Church and the Mark Hofmann Case*.

3. Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, *America's Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1984), 92–93.

4. *Ibid.*, 93.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1984), 304–305.

7. Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, 116.

8. *Ibid.*, 115.

9. *Ibid.*, 116–17.

10. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 10 June 1994.

11. *Deseret News*, 21 January 1987. Also Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, “Triad Utah: Angels or Flying Carpetbaggers?” *Utah Holiday March 1983*, 40–54.

12. *Deseret News*, 21 January 1987.

13. *Ibid.*, 30 July 1980.

14. Michael J. Gorrell, *The History of West Valley City* (West Valley City: West Valley City Civic Committee, 1993), 18–21.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*, 28.

17. *Ibid.*, 36–39.

18. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 2 July 1995.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Carol Edison, “South Sea Islanders in Utah,” *Utah History Encyclopedia*, Allan Kent Powell, ed. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 516.

21. Ibid.
22. Carol Edison, "Southeast Asians in Utah," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 519.
23. Linda Sillitoe, "The Third World in Utah," in *Deseret News Utah* magazine, 25 March 1984, 5; and Linda Sillitoe, "The Border and the Promised Land," *Deseret News Utah* magazine, 19 August 1984, 4–7.
24. Linda Sillitoe, "The Changing Face of Justice," in *Deseret News Utah* magazine, 4–6.
25. Ibid.
26. Tim Larson and Robert K. Avery, "Utah Broadcasting History," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 57.
27. Ibid.
28. David Proctor, "The Sniper Murders: 'The Whole World Stopped While These Boys Died,'" *Utah Holiday*, October 1980, 70–80.
29. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1 January 1990.
30. Proctor, "The Sniper Murders."
31. *Deseret News*, 2 December 1982.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., 7 June 1994.
34. Jan Thompson, *Deseret News*, 3–4 December, 1992.
35. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 13 April 1995.
36. Arnold Irvine, Jerry Johnston, and Linda Sillitoe, "The Floods of '83: Meltdown Along the Wasatch," in *Deseret News Utah* magazine, 26 June 1983. This special section details the flooding and volunteer efforts described herein.
37. David Hampshire, "The Great Salt Lake, Forlorn and Forgotten," *Utah Holiday*, September 1992, 28–29.
38. Irvine, Johnston, and Sillitoe, "The Floods of '83."
39. Ibid.
40. *Deseret News*, 26 July 1983.
41. Linda Sillitoe, "Tom Vuyk: Helping Children Convict a Killer," in *Deseret News Utah* magazine, 8 July 1984, 5–6. This retrospective examines the prosecution of Bishop through using child witnesses whom he had molested, as well as the impact of the crimes on the victims' families and law enforcers.
42. "Report: Governor's Securities Fraud Task Force," December 1984, 2; copy in possession of the author.
43. Linda Sillitoe and Allen D. Roberts, *Salamander: The Story of the Mormon Forgery Murders* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), details

the bombings and the plethora of forgeries and frauds briefly described here.

44. Investigators involved represented the Salt Lake City Police Department, the Salt Lake County Sheriff's Department, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the San Francisco Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. Primary investigators were detectives Kenneth Farnsworth and James G. Bell, SLCPD, and investigators Michael George and Richard Forbes of the Salt Lake County Attorney's Office. Forensic document examiners George Throckmorton and William T. Flynn discovered that chemically aging iron gallotannic ink caused microscopic cracking on the Hofmann documents.

45. Salt Lake County prosecutors in the five-week preliminary hearing were Robert Stott, Gerry D'Elia, and David Biggs. Defense attorneys Bradley P. Rich and Ron Yengich negotiated the controversial plea bargain.

46. Richard E. Turley, Jr., *Victims: The LDS Church and the Mark Hofmann Case* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 250–51.

47. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 16 January 1987.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid., 27 February 1994.

50. “Simple Experiment Results in Sustained N-Fusion at Room Temperature for First Time,” University of Utah press release, 23 March 1989; copy in possession of the author.

51. *Deseret News*, 21 August 1994.

52. Ibid.

53. Dave Blackwell, “Utah Jazz,” *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 592.

WELCOMING THE WORLD, 1990–1995

A flame, symbolic of the coming Olympic games, flared outside the City-County Building on 16 June 1995, lit by gold medalist Tommy Moe. As the Tabernacle Choir burst into a rousing rendition of the “Star Spangled Banner,” the fever that had long driven valley boosters and government officials peaked with the announcement in Budapest, Hungary, that Salt Lake City would host the 2002 Winter Games. The nod from the International Olympic Committee came on an unprecedented first vote, excitedly received by Salt Lake City mayor Deedee Corradini, Governor Mike Leavitt, and Olympic Committee chair Tom Welch, present with other Salt Lakers amid the throng.

Polls showed that slightly more than half of Salt Lake County residents favored “welcoming the world” to the valley. The effort had gained support from organizations ranging from the AFL-CIO to the LDS church; it involved numerous donors and had been shepherded by Salt Lake City mayor Palmer DePaulis and former governor Norm Bangerter for much of the previous decade. The sporting events were not at issue so much as the steady spotlight shed on Salt Lake County



The announcement on 16 June 1995 that Salt Lake City would host the 2002 Winter Olympic Games was greeted with great enthusiasm by a crowd at the City and County Building. (Lavell Call—Deseret News)

throughout the bid process, one that would only glare brighter with the games themselves, encompassing most of the Wasatch Front and perhaps much of the state. Salt Lake City would accommodate athletes and journalists while various events gained sites in Kearns, West Valley City, and Cottonwood, in Ogden and Provo, and in ski resorts outside the county.

Anticipation burst into a flurry of preparation as plans proliferated to beautify cities, expand facilities, and build new ones; all this stimulated the economy which sparked optimism and promised growth. Meanwhile the state centennial and the county sesquicentennial anniversaries approached in 1996, offering an appropriate juncture for reviewing the past, examining the present, and envisioning the future. Once again the world was coming to the Salt Lake Valley, and, as always, it would bring its own expectations as well as its dollars.

Already Salt Lake County epitomized growth within the state; in 1993 Utah tied with Arizona for fourth place on the nation's growth

chart with 1.86 million residents, a 2.7 percent growth rate.¹ In 1990 Salt Lake County's unemployment rate was only 3.8 percent compared with 4.3 statewide and 5.5 nationally.² New neighborhoods and enterprises bloomed and flourished throughout the increasingly urban county where intent to incorporate unfurled nearly everywhere. Some called the impulse a county-wide version of Manifest Destiny while others saw it as self-defense against envelopment in another community's city.

Much in evidence was the historic enthusiasm that in the nineteenth century had created an "instant city"³ in the wilderness; had transformed the valley from a religious experiment to a reflection of national trends and patriotism; had influenced national politics on "moral issues" such as equal rights; and had introduced the artificial heart and cold fusion to a skeptical world. Yet while the Olympics promised a pinnacle of acceptance and entrepreneurialism, voices urging planning and restraint also found expression.

In specific ways, further development provoked caution, even suspicion, amid the general euphoria. Some cities, many classrooms, major roads, and popular canyons had reached their limits. In addition, harmful land and water pollution and summer haze followed by winter smog demanded that amends be made to the past and respect offered to the present environment for its intrinsic beauty and fragility. Due to ecological concerns, the Salt Lake County Commission had removed Big and Little Cottonwood canyons from the list of prospective Olympic sites. Also, Salt Lake County dealt more than most in the state with the pressing social problems of an urban society including demands on education, homelessness, civil liberties issues, and crime. One and one-half centuries after settlement, the Salt Lake Valley was a far different place than the grassy crossroads traversed by Native Americans, trappers, and explorers; yet as its peoples redefined the familiar "This is the place!" adage for the International Olympic Committee, a new sense of preservation began to moderate the tenured all-American drive for expansion, convenience, and prosperity.

The reality that times had changed in the Salt Lake Valley was visibly apparent to the nation and the world with the emergence of women in highly visible public offices. In 1991 Salt Lake City elected,

businesswoman Deedee Corradini who brought an uptown attitude and numerous ideas for transforming the city into a sophisticated metropolis. For instance, July 24th events such as the Neighbor Fair and July 24th fireworks moved from Liberty Park to downtown. The change was unsuccessful, however, and the fireworks were returned to the park. More popular was a First Night celebration that filled New Year's Eve with downtown revelers.

Soon after her election, however, Corradini was scorched by scandal when the once-lucrative Bonneville Pacific Corporation declared bankruptcy, instigating criminal investigations by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the United States Justice Department, the Securities Commission, and the Internal Revenue Service.

Corradini, a company founder, had been paid tens of thousands of dollars in expenses for consulting and owned a subsidiary company which carried her home mortgage. The mayor and her husband, attorney Yan Ross, paid more than \$600,000 to settle complaints even as company executives were indicted and one pleaded guilty and went to prison. Corradini rode out the controversy through a combination of cash settlements, *chutzpa*, and favorable developments such as the Olympic bid, maintaining credibility with a majority of voters and narrowly winning a second term.⁴

Then amid a 1994 national Republican landslide, Mary Callaghan, a management consultant, became the first female Salt Lake County commissioner, upsetting Democratic commissioner Jim Bradley with 53 percent of the vote. That same year, Republican Enid Greene Waldholtz won a congressional seat from Democratic congresswoman Karen Shepherd who had triumphed over Waldholtz in 1992. Their congressional races were the first to involve two women since 1950 when Reva Beck Bosone won over Ivy Baker Priest. Waldholtz attracted national attention to herself and to the valley's birthrate and lifestyle when she gave birth to a daughter in 1995 while serving in Congress. Her tenure, too, was marked by scandal when financial irregularities in campaign funding and personal tax returns were scrutinized by federal investigators, as well as the very public break-up of her marriage.

Sometimes it seemed in the 1990s that not only was the world

being welcomed to the Salt Lake Valley, but had already moved in. In the 1990 census, Salt Lake County claimed 725,956 residents, by 1995 closer to 803,000, especially considering populations that were traditionally undercounted. That number was expected to top one million early in the twenty-first century. The population roughly doubled the 383,035 residents counted in 1960.

The phenomenon of a population doubling within thirty years was felt valley-wide as traffic thickened on freeways and main arteries, parking places became scarce, and the canyons and parks brimmed on holidays. Foothills and farmlands capitulated to mansions or subdivisions laced by ever-widening roads and studded by malls and businesses.

The shift into a post-industrial economy became increasingly apparent in the valley toward the century's end. Between 1970 and 1980, the percentage of non-agricultural Salt Lake County workers employed in manufacturing rose from 15.6 to 16.2 percent. A decade later, however, the percentage had dropped to 13.7 in 1990, shrinking further still to 11.9 percent in 1994. Concomitantly, the percentage of non-agricultural Salt Lake County workers employed in the "services and miscellaneous" sector rose steadily from 16.9 percent in 1970 to a whopping 26.7 percent in 1994.⁵

Gradually the county population was aging due to the maturity of the post-World War II generation and a lengthening lifespan. In 1960 residents over sixty years of age had slightly topped 10 percent, a ratio that increased by 1990 to 11.4 percent, with 82,744 senior citizens living in the county. The proportion of older residents was projected to rise in decades to come, reaching 16.7 percent by the year 2020. By the time of the 2002 Olympics, Salt Lake County Aging Services expect the residents over age sixty to outnumber the children in elementary school.⁶

In 1990, however, the average county resident remained younger than his or her national counterpart—27.8 years compared to 32.8—but a little older than the average Utahn, who was 26.2. The reason was the birthrate. Utah continued to lead the nation, and 9.6 percent of Salt Lake County residents were too young to attend kindergarten compared with 7.4 percent in the nation.⁷

Not only was the typical Salt Laker younger than the typical



By 1995, growth was the byword in Salt Lake County, with a population of 803,000, roughly double the 383,035 residents counted in 1960. (A. Kelner)

American, but the odds were 92 percent that he or she would be white—roughly the same as the state percentage. While the acceptance of a pluralistic society had grown as a national and local value by the end of the twentieth century, minority communities in the valley remained proportionately tiny, even as their diversity and cultural strength brought increasing visibility.

Most likely the typical Salt Lake County resident would be LDS—64.3 percent were in 1990, 5 percent lower than in 1970 but 24 percent higher than in 1930.⁸ Still, religious diversity was evident, as Russian immigrants formed the Antiochian Orthodox parish of Saints Peter and Paul, housed in the former synagogue of the Congregation Montefiore—or as the Kanzeon Zen Center welcomed students of meditative Buddhism.

Also, women clergy led out in many congregations. In April 1986 Dr. Eugenia Nitowski, who became Carmelite Sister Damian of the Cross, left her Salt Lake City home for Jerusalem. There she performed tests for the Environmental Study of the Shroud on the Shroud of Turin which allegedly bore the imprint of the resurrecting Christ.

Closer to home, denominational ministries included the Reverend Barbara Holman-Holloway, co-minister of the South Valley Unitarian Church; the Reverend Nancy Darnell, associate pastor of Salt Lake's First Baptist Church; the Reverend Carol West, former pastor of the Mount Tabor-Lutheran Church and full-time chaplain at the Veterans' Affairs Medical Center; and the Reverend Caryl Marsh, rector of the St. Paul's Episcopal Church. In December 1995 a native of Salt Lake County, The Reverend Carolyn Tanner Irish, an Episcopal priest at the National Cathedral in Washington, was named Utah's tenth Episcopal bishop.⁹

In sum, however, the majorities dominant in Salt Lake County since statehood persisted despite the metropolitan sophistication of the late twentieth century. The chief differences appeared not in who Salt Lakers were but increasingly in how they lived.

Interestingly, the average Salt Lake County resident was more likely to be a woman heading a family than in either the state or in the nation. Both marriage and divorce occurred among Salt Lakers more frequently than among other Utahns or Americans. Valley residents married at a rate of 11.3 per one thousand residents compared to a state average of 10.6 and 10.5 in the nation. They divorced at a rate of 6.2 per one thousand residents compared to 5.3 statewide and 4.9 in the nation.¹⁰

In 1990, in fact, female-headed households represented 13.9 percent of the families in Salt Lake County, compared with 11.9 percent in Utah and only 11.6 percent nationally. Given women's low average earning power and a plague of non-supporting fathers, many children lived in poverty. Overall, per capita personal income was higher in Salt Lake County than statewide, and the overall poverty rate lower than in either the state or the nation¹¹; nevertheless, half of Utah's *children* lived in poverty, a reality reflected within the county. In the capital's Central City, that proportion rose to over 60 percent.¹²

Salt Lake City proper now claimed 160,000 residents, South Salt Lake another 11,000, and Murray an additional 31,300. West Valley City burgeoned just south and west with 96,000 people, closely followed by Sandy with 90,000. In these cities, land available for new development was quickly vanishing.

West Valley City had come of age with greatly improved street

lighting, a police and fire department, and emergency medical services. Its traffic enforcement included the effective, if notorious, Photo Cop, which used technology to catch speeders. The urban priorities of the late twentieth century were apparent when city leaders decided to use 1994 Community Development Block Grant funds to rehabilitate houses and mobile homes, to provide a shelter for the homeless, and to fund agencies such as DARE (Drug Abuse Resistance Education), the Rape Crisis Center, and the Primary Children's Hospital, which provided counseling for sexually abused children.¹³

The northwest quadrant of West Valley City lying between 5600 and 7200 West and 2100 and 3500 South streets remained undeveloped due to the marshes, mud flats, and wet meadow protected by the federal Environmental Protection Agency. Developers applying for building permits included the Beneficial Development Company, the development arm of the LDS church, which planned a lake park to combine businesses with water recreation. Truckland Freightliner proposed a heavy-truck center and began planning ways to mitigate the impact on the natural environment.¹⁴

Sandy meanwhile became a prime example of post-haste planning as its leaders wrestled not only present problems but also those created by the unfettered growth following World War II. The battle of local residents with Utah Power and Light over the Dimple Dell substation which crisscrossed peopled areas with high-voltage lines illustrated the difficulty of inserting an infrastructure after development. Currently, developers wishing the annexation of lots along the foothills could count on objections from Sandy citizens. Voters also insisted that their city government lead out with laws requiring mandatory recycling and automated garbage pickup.

By the mid-1990s, Sandy seemed united in its determination to grow better rather than bigger with an eye on becoming a hub for the entire South Valley. A \$6 million city hall featured a tri-level design to provide numerous accessible offices. A satellite campus for the University of Utah Division of Continuing Education opened north of city hall. Localized sites relieved traffic and the student overload on the main campus and were convenient for numerous valley dwellers. Between these key buildings at 10000 South Street and the

South Towne Mall to the north, city planners hoped to attract major retailers and all levels of government offices.¹⁵

West Jordan had become the state's sixth largest city with 52,000 residents, and it pressed for improved access to freeways and major arteries. City officials also found it necessary to cope with problems from polluted soil that tainted four subdivisions. Farmers who thought they were enriching their fields had trucked the earth from the Bingham Creek bed.¹⁶

Meanwhile South Jordan almost doubled between 1990 and 1995, claiming 24,000 residents. Upscale subdivisions now patched the familiar bucolic scene of farms, cottonwood trees, and mountains. The city's challenges included improving automobile access and development around the railroad crossings that hugged I-15, as well as its consistent need for a water supply.¹⁷

Riverton's growth rate of 12 percent made it one of the state's fastest growing areas by the mid-1990s with 16,000 residents. In 1994 the city government rezoned undeveloped land, requiring building lots to be at least one-third of an acre, hoping to gain the time to manage increased traffic, crowded schools, and the threat of urban sprawl.¹⁸

Further south the population numbers dropped, yet Draper felt crowded with nine thousand residents. In 1991, for instance, the city had approved subdivisions for 122 homes; only two years later, more than two thousand building lots were established. As in Riverton, city officials attempted to brake the momentum, adopting a temporary ordinance requiring building lots to be one-half acre. Meanwhile the city designed a gateway at 12300 South Street and Interstate 15 to thin the inevitable traffic among newly-planted trees and well-preserved buildings. Once known for its farms and egg co-op, Draper hosted the 1995 home show, drawing the event farther south than ever before. Even Bluffdale, still comfortably rural with 3,100 residents, watched the nearby growth uneasily.¹⁹ Up Little Cottonwood Canyon, Alta resolved to hold the line at its 400 residents, most of whom worked in the ski industry. More welcome than homeowners were the half million skiers who invaded the hamlet each year, leaving behind \$1.6 billion in revenue.²⁰

Originally named the West Valley Highway, the Bangerter

Highway stretched in the 1990s from the international airport to 9000 South Street. Planners predicted that the highway would push south during the second half of the decade, connecting South and West Jordan, Riverton, Draper, and Bluffdale, then sweep east and north through Sandy and Holladay to link with 2000 East Street in Salt Lake City.²¹

Amid all the growth, incorporation became the byword throughout the unincorporated county from Magna on the west to Union to the south to Brighton up Big Cottonwood Canyon. Borders were drawn and redrawn within various communities whose leaders then lined up to persuade the Salt Lake County Commission. A feasibility study by the county followed to investigate the new city's economic viability. After review the commissioners would then call an election on whether to incorporate. An affirmative vote would bring a second election to elect city officials.

In practical terms, the incorporation efforts required commissioners to juggle resources and services; however, each incorporation reduced the municipal services fund for citizens in the remaining unincorporated area. "It's better if the efforts all fail or all succeed," commented David Marshall, associate director of Salt Lake County Community and Support Services. Marshall said most new cities would contract with the county to provide municipal services—as did Draper for police and fire protection—unless, "like West Valley City, they swell their chests with their newly-found independence and say, 'No, we'll do it all ourselves.'"²²

The Holladay area renewed its 1985 effort when six thousand petitioners requested a city called The Cottonwoods, roughly bounded by the Murray-Holladay Road and Casto Lane on the north, Interstate 215 on the east and south, and Highland Drive on the west. According to plan, this would place 6,800 residents in the state's fifteenth largest city.

The lucrative Cottonwood Mall and the nearby Creekside Plaza became the breaking point, however. The commissioners rejected the petition because it gave a significant chunk of the tax base to the new city without an equivalent amount apparent in new city's expenditures. When negotiations between the proposed city and the county commission broke down, The Cottonwoods sued. Early in 1995,



Increasingly, subdivisions encroached on pasture land and country living. Taylorsville-Bennion, Magna, Kearns, the Cottonwoods, and Union all pressed for incorporation. Even Draper, Bluffdale, and Alta began to feel crowded. (Lavell Call—*Deseret News*)

Commissioner Brent Overson told the *Deseret News* that the tax issue seemed likely to be decided by the courts.²³

Taylorsville-Bennion had lost three bids for incorporation during the 1980s but tried again in the mid-1990s to become the state's fourth largest city with a population of 55,000. Carriage Square, the Mid-Valley Shopping Center, American Express, and the Sorensen Research Park all fell within its boundaries between Murray and West Valley City on the east and north respectively, 4000 West Street on the west and West Jordan to the south. Eyeing annexations proposed by Kearns and Murray, residents decided incorporation was the only way to avoid being consumed by their neighbors and won incorporation in 1995.²⁴

When Salt Lake City showed an interest in annexing Kennecott's tailings ponds, Magna also feared being gobbled and renewed its 1984 bid for incorporation. The town had seen hard times after the post-World War II suburban boom with closure of Kennecott's

Magna mill and downsizing from 7,500 workers to 2,300. In addition, Hercules Bacchus Works cut back from 5,400 to 2,200 employees. In the mid-1980s, however, the cityscape had improved after the Salt Lake County Commission created a development agency which used federal grants to refurbish twenty-five buildings on Main Street to their 1920s appearance, attracting small businesses as tenants.²⁵

By the 1990s, when the Magna population stood at 18,500, talk spread of the historic Main Street becoming a tourist attraction. Incorporation could make Magna the state's eighth largest city, and the Kennecott Corporation, Hercules West Bacchus Works, and Packard Bell would all lie within its boundaries between 7200 West Street and the Tooele County line, Interstate 80 on the north and 9600 South Street to the south. Citizens gained one thousand signatures ahead of Kearns, edging out their neighbor for third place in line in as much as the commission held to a "first in, first out" policy.²⁶

Meanwhile Kearns drew its proposed boundaries between 4700 South and 8000 South streets and from the Bangerter Highway on the east to the Oquirrh Mountain ridgeline, including 40,000 residents in what could become the state's sixth largest city. Portions of Kennecott and several commercial plazas would boost the tax base. Both the Taylorsville-Bennion and Magna efforts threatened to carve land from Kearns's east and west edges, and West Valley City had threatened to annex eleven acres to the north for a proposed shopping center.²⁷

Union, lying between Interstate 215 and 7800 South Street and Thirteenth East and State streets, made its first incorporation move in 1994, trying again the next year. With 13,684 residents, Union could become the ninth largest city in the state, drawing revenue from the Family Center at Fort Union and several other commercial plazas. And, with so much incorporation anticipated in the valley below, residents of Big Cottonwood Canyon began to study establishing a city called either Brighton or Silver Fork.

Although not in line for incorporation, Midvale, too, envisioned a different future. Planners called it a potential Georgetown with winding streets and old homes graced by vintage-looking street-lamps, stylish restaurants, and restored architecture. In April 1994 the

city purchased four pieces of rundown real estate in hopes of transforming the downtown properties into a museum, a park, and temporary parking.²⁸

Along with rapid growth and expansive dreams came pressure on existing resources and systems. The canyons ringing the valley had long provided a water supply, a lovely refuge, recreation, and tourist income. As homes mounted the foothills and vehicles scaled and sometimes scarred their slopes, the canyons' beauty and usefulness were compromised.

Government responded on several levels. A toll booth went up in Millcreek Canyon, charging drivers a \$2 fee, although bikers, hikers, and joggers could pass through untaxed. Big Cottonwood Canyon retained free access, and one Sunday in September 1993, 16,000 cars were counted streaming into the canyon vividly painted with autumn's pallet.

In 1994 the Salt Lake City Council demanded an end to development in the foothills north and east of the city. Actually, a similar line had been drawn in the mid-1970s but often ignored as expensive homes crept into the preservation zone lying above 5,200 feet. Even the 1990s moratorium did not affect one hundred already-approved lots of varying sizes that would see new residences built from Ensign Peak to below Parley's Canyon. Meanwhile luxury homes lined new roads cut into the hills of Emigration Canyon.²⁹

Both Sandy and Draper also dealt with canyon problems. In Sandy new neighborhoods had virtually closed access to the canyons, requiring hikers to park on busy Wasatch Boulevard and walk along residential streets to reach hiking trails. Draper, too, found hikers, bikers, equestrians, and four-wheel-drive enthusiasts unable to discern between private property under construction and public access to the canyons.³⁰

Meanwhile Salt Lake County joined the Utah Division of Parks and Recreation, various cities, and volunteer organizations in developing a crucial and long-neglected resource, the Jordan River. The completed Jordan River Parkway would line the river the entire length of the valley, featuring bridges, canoe landings, fishing, trails, and parks along the way. The parkway would link with another Salt Lake County plan for a hatch of urban pathways valley-wide, pro-

viding safe, scenic routes between homes, schools, shopping areas, business centers, and recreation facilities. The commission and planners hoped that the trails, pathways, and river access would help to offset the concrete and asphalt hardening on the valley floor every day.³¹

As farmland continued to vanish, other things blossomed. Premiere dance companies, symphony, opera, artists, and theater companies continued to draw crowds to the capital city, yet performing arts localized throughout the valley, as well. Audiences enjoyed the ninety-member Murray Symphony during the 1980s, and by the 1990s, Arts in the Park programs featured the Murray Symphonic Band, the Murray Symphony Summer Pops, and the city's own Ballet Centre.

Sandy embraced annual performances of *The Nutcracker* by the Mountain West Ballet which premiered at Mt. Jordan Middle School in December 1985. In addition, open houses featured local artists, a symphony orchestra, and choral programs. By 1993 the West Valley Symphony brought its ninety-five musicians to the newly-named Abravanel Hall in downtown Salt Lake City, joined by the West Valley Symphonic Chorale.

Literally and figuratively clouding this picture of growth and prosperity was its cost to the air, land, and water. A brown haze which became fog in winter tended to hang over the mountain-rimmed valley. About two days out of three the air quality registered as “moderate,” an officially allowable but unhealthy designation. As in the 1920s, pollution resulted primarily from industry, but now secondarily from the increasing number of vehicles, and thirdly from wood-burning stoves and fireplaces.

Regulating wood-burning stoves and fireplaces after World War II and then tightening controls on vehicle emissions had decreased the presence of carbon monoxide. The days when its level exceeded the federal standard had dropped to nearly zero from sixty-eight days in 1970; nevertheless, experts predicted that the carbon monoxide level would rise significantly within the next decade.

More urgently, Salt Lake County was ruled a “non-attainment” area by the Environmental Protection Agency for flunking four out

of the six polluting agents the agency monitored. The valley's 272 days of moderate air pollution ranked well only in comparison with such states as New York which experienced 304 days of moderate pollution each year. In short, Salt Lake County residents could breathe deeply and confidently three days each month with Halloween and Thanksgiving thrown in free.³²

Particularly noxious was the valley's level of PM10, tiny particulates that infiltrate the human respiratory system. These small ash and dust particles came primarily from industry—44 percent—including copper mining and oil refineries. Motor vehicle emissions contributed 31 percent, wood-burning and other space heating added 21 percent, and other sources including planes and trains added the final 4 percent.³³

Throughout the twentieth century, the number of vehicles on the roads had increased; nevertheless, Salt Lake County voters resisted repeated proposals to build a light rail system running the length of the valley, including a 1993 defeat of a proposed quarter-cent tax increase. In response, the Wasatch Front Regional Council comprised of elected officials preserved the light rail plan but shelved the tax and looked at other options.³⁴

The Salt Lake County Commission publicly opposed calling any election to raise or divert taxes for a light rail. In fact, the commission hired its own lobbyist to secure federal funding for improved roads and freeways without entanglement with light rail dollars.

By 1995 opponents of the light rail system insisted on voter initiatives to enforce their point; they stressed that the commitment of a Republican Congress to balancing the federal budget would likely reduce projects in the states—and Salt Lake County voters had rejected the proposal while voters elsewhere in the nation wanted transportation aid. If the light rail came, its opponents feared getting stuck either with the bill or an unfinished project.³⁵

Undaunted, the Utah Transit Authority continued to promote a light rail intertwined with a plan to improve Interstate 15. It went after federal funding with new fervor once the Olympic bid came. In August 1995, the "Utah Transit Authority won the first unexpected gold of the 2002 Winter Olympics," the *Deseret News* reported, with a



The air pollution problem grew increasingly serious in Salt Lake County as industry, traffic, and woodburning stoves thickened the haze created by the valley contours, as shown by this inversion fog of December 1990. (Deseret News)

federal agreement to pay “a whopping \$240 million” for a light rail system running from Sandy to downtown Salt Lake City.³⁶

The action, approved by the Bill Clinton administration after the project appeared dead in Congress, aimed directly at the Olympic experience. “The Winter Olympics in Salt Lake are not just Salt Lake’s Olympics,” the newspaper quoted Transportation Secretary Federico Pena. “They are the nation’s Olympics.”³⁷ Although the funding would still require the approval of Congress, it would appear within the federal transportation budget, almost guaranteeing its success. Like the prehistoric Utes, and the nineteenth-century Mormons before them, the voters who had rejected the light rail discovered that once the Salt Lake Valley attracted “the world,” it often lost the ability to dictate the terms under which it would arrive or stay.

Actually, air purity and public transportation represented two of a cluster of concerns around pollution. In the 1994 *Environmental Almanac*, Salt Lake County tied with New Haven, Connecticut, for fifty-third place among seventy-three metropolitan areas. Each area was ranked by air quality, the number of EPA Superfund sites, the amount of toxic releases, the amount of energy consumed, and the use of public transit in comparison to individual vehicles.³⁸ Among polluted states, Utah ranked ninth in 1994. Six chief industrial culprits operated in Salt Lake County, including that economic staple, the Kennecott Corporation.³⁹

The Environmental Protection Agency designated several Superfund sites within the county to clean up poisonous tailings and other industrial poisons. In Salt Lake City, these included the Rose Park Sludge Pit left by Amoco Oil Company. This had been purchased by the city, capped, and, by 1985, covered with the Rose Park Golf Course, a baseball diamond, tennis court, and soccer field. Four others remained within the capital.⁴⁰

Midvale too coped with serious industrial pollution. The EPA oversaw the clean-up of ten million tons of tailings in the Sharon Steel slag pile as well as the two-million-ton Midvale Slag Pile laced with lead, arsenic, and cadmium. By 1993 nearly 20 percent of surrounding residences had been cleansed of contaminated dust. Meanwhile the EPA and state officials debated whether to cap or move the tailings. In addition, the EPA threatened to add the old

Murray Smelter near 5300 South State Street to its priority list as well as Bingham Creek and various Kennecott evaporation ponds.⁴¹

Meanwhile, pressured by the federal government, Kennecott launched its own clean-up effort epitomized by a \$1.5 billion project to modernize its smelter, refinery, and concentrator. Not only was the effort expected to reduce pollution, but also to make Kennecott the lowest-cost producer in the world—rather than in the nation—and to save the company as much as 20 cents per pound.⁴²

The *Salt Lake Tribune* featured the new facility in a front page story in its business section. “The old operation is an eyesore that represents decades of smoky, unhealthy air pollution,” the article read, describing its “soot-coated pipes and blackened buildings where a blazing hot, smoking substance known as copper matte is poured into flaming-orange copper anodes.” The new self-contained facility would reduce the number of furnaces from nine to four and eliminate nearly all sulfur-oxide emissions from the smokestacks. In addition, it would provide 85 percent of the energy needed to operate an “ultra-modern, \$880 million high-tech smelter” beginning in 1996.⁴³

Another effort to ease the impact of technology on the natural environment was evident in the expansion of the Salt Lake International Airport. By 1993 the airport boasted the greatest increase in the number of passengers served among the fifty largest airports in the nation. Nearly sixteen million passengers moved through the facility each year, and most either began or ended their journeys in Salt Lake County.

Yet when the facility expanded between 1992 and 1994, the airport also created new wetlands for waterfowl whose tenure near the Great Salt Lake far preceded flying machines. In replacing the environment destroyed by a third runway, the airport designed 1,500 acres of open water, mudflats, marsh, and wet meadow.⁴⁴ Law required the airport to mitigate the harm caused to natural resources, but in the process came visible respect for the intrinsic value of lives other than human and for the beauty of the natural environment.

The number of students remained the education system’s greatest pressure valley-wide given the annual “crop” of incoming students provided by the high birthrate; nevertheless, in the mid-1990s, Utah

placed fourth in the nation for SAT scores, tied for eighth place for eighth-grade mathematics proficiency, and tied for tenth place for ACT scores. Yet the state scored forty-fifth for teachers' salaries, forty-ninth for student-administrator ratio, and dead last for student-teacher ratio.⁴⁵

Also relevant in an urban county stood the 1990 census ranking of Utah as second in the nation with 85 percent of people older than twenty-four achieving a high school diploma while people of color stood at a clear disadvantage. In contrast to the accomplishment *in toto*, the state's African-Americans ranked thirteenth in the nation, Asian and Pacific Islanders sixteenth, Latinos twenty-fifth, and Native Americans forty-fifth.

In the late twentieth century, the inequity present in the valley's public schools was something of an open secret as population shifts and migrations changed the make-up of student bodies valley-wide. Since school boundaries were geographic, neighborhood socioeconomics played a major role in parent participation, student readiness, and ultimately in a school's access to fine teachers, supplies, and programs.

The disparity was illustrated when Salt Lake City school superintendent John Bennion took a sabbatical to teach in a poor elementary school in the northwest sector where minority students were by far the majority. In June 1994 he resigned his post to direct a University of Utah effort to improve education for poor urban children through working with their teachers.⁴⁶

In 1995 Californian Darline Robles followed Bennion as superintendent of the Salt Lake City District, a distinct contrast from her administration of the Montebello Unified School District where 93 percent of the students held minority status. In her first speech to a community group—the Sugar House Kiwanis Club—she stressed the need to educate every child in the district regardless of race, socioeconomic level, or background.⁴⁷

With the valley's proportionately small minority communities at a numerical economic and educational disadvantage, the most pressured schools could be tracked valley-wide by the proportion of minority residents. They represented less than 4 percent of the people living in East Millcreek, Mount Olympus, Cottonwood, Holladay,

Draper, Riverton, and only slightly more in Sandy and South Jordan. By contrast, minority residents comprised more than 17 percent of South Salt Lake, Midvale, and Salt Lake City—in the capital, living mainly to the west, northwest, or in Central City. West Valley City's neighborhoods were 12.7 percent minority with over 10 percent of Magna, Kearns, and Taylorsville-Bennion comprised of minority residents.⁴⁸

Other groupings also required a custom-fit within the public schools. Alternative programs appeared in all Salt Lake County districts to reach students who were at risk to drop out before high school graduation. The largest example was the Salt Lake Community Alternative High School on Second South and Second West streets, which under Principal James Anderson became a magnet for various programs and by 1995 served 6,416 students annually.

Conversations in Russian, Spanish, Czech, Navajo, and Vietnamese mixed in the halls before and after classes in English as a Second Language, taught both days and evenings. Teen parent programs became increasingly important valley-wide, and by 1991 the Salt Lake Community High School adapted six classrooms to nurseries for students' children. On weekday mornings, the halls filled with youthful mothers who typically balanced baby, diaper bag, and bookbag with a toddler or two clinging to their clothing.⁴⁹

Satellite programs included Oasis on Thirteenth South and State streets and Garfield at approximately Seventeenth East and Seventeenth South streets. The former drew many minority students and the latter a mixture described as “often affluent, often brilliant, and often burned-out.” Within these programs, the usual dress standards relaxed, allowing complicated ear and nose rings, black leather, and shaved heads. These classrooms became an unofficial haven for runaways and the newest and saddest social category—“throw-aways”—who camped at friends' homes or in vehicles, or lived on the streets.⁵⁰

Not only did the districts differ by their position north to south following the out-migration from the capital, but well before 1990 there was a significant contrast from west to east as well. Many schools on the east edge of the valley found their numbers decreas-

ing as neighborhoods matured, even as portable classrooms, split sessions, and year-round sessions marked the overcrowding to the west. (Year-round sessions also helped to promote learning and to supervise children in some Central City elementary schools.) Certain east-side schools waived the boundary requirement for students outside their areas if parents could provide transportation. Busing from west to east also ensued in some areas.

Higher education keenly felt the ongoing pressure for space and resources. Not only were the children of the post-World War II generation still entering college, but many adults were returning for additional or transitional education. Sometimes it seemed as if the entire valley population spent at least some time in the classroom.

The Salt Lake Community College at 4600 South Street on Redwood Road played an increasingly important role, renovating the former South High School on State Street at about Seventeenth South into an attractive campus. Between 1986 and 1991, the college's enrollment increased by 11,630 students, one of the most dramatic growth patterns anywhere in the nation. As 30,000 students per year filed into both day and night programs, the college won the approval of thirteen accrediting agencies. In 1992 Frank W. Budd was named president of the burgeoning institution, succeeding Orville Carnahan.⁵¹

Despite a continuing vocational emphasis, the School of Humanities and Sciences claimed the most growth as many students used the college as a step to entering a four-year institution. Meanwhile vocational training included almost \$2 million in contract training for more than six hundred local businesses and industries. The Union Pacific Railroad, for instance, offered \$5 million to help fund an instructional building to train railroad workers from twenty-two states. The Salt Lake Community College Skills Center concentrated on meeting the needs of people with disabilities or experiencing social, economic, or vocational disadvantages, offering thirty short-term training programs.⁵²

One and one half centuries after higher education sent down tentative roots in the Salt Lake Valley, two valley institutions posted "firsts" in their administrations. In September 1991 Arthur K. Smith became the first non-Mormon and non-Utahn president of the



In the 1990s the transient population became the “homeless,” and programs and volunteers reached out. More families were seen among the ranks of mostly white, single men searching for work. Chronic mental illness remained a major factor.

University of Utah, and Peggy Stock became the first woman to lead Westminster College—or any college or university in the state since Mary Madeleva led St. Mary of the Wasatch.

In addition to educational demands, Salt Lake County coped with the numerous societal problems of a modern society including homelessness, crime, and public health, with mental health becoming an increasingly evident demand. In addition, civil liberties battles were fought in the valley, not only due to its metropolitan nature but also because it encompassed the annual legislature and the office of the Utah Affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union.

By 1990 the “hobos” of the 1930s and the “transients” of the 1980s had become the “homeless” population; the evolution of terms depicted not only increasing numbers of itinerate families as well as individuals but also more sympathetic public awareness. A shifting, post-industrial economy, insufficient or inaccessible health care, and

untreated mental illness—often self-medicated by alcohol or drugs—all contributed to the growing problem.

The bitter, stormy winters of the early 1980s had compelled the Salt Lake City Council and agencies such as Travelers Aid to provide the first transient shelter even as long lines formed for meals or beds outside the Salvation Army Rescue Mission and the St. Vincent de Paul kitchen. By the 1990s, West Valley City and other municipalities joined the effort.

By 1992 the Salt Lake City shelter served 8,596 people, 7,363 of whom were single men, an 8 percent increase over the previous year. By 1993 those seeking aid increased by 12 percent, including 2,103 Anglos, 917 African-Americans, 886 Latinos, 234 American Indians, 29 Asians, and 37 listed as “Other.”⁵³

By then services had expanded and diversified to include outreach services by Intermountain Health Care and the Salt Lake Community Services Council. The School With No Name educated a shifting student body of homeless children. Utah Legal Services offered attorney Kay Fox who hung her shingle at the St. Vincent de Paul soup kitchen, aided in 1993 by fifty volunteers from the recently founded Lowell Bennion Community Service Center at the University of Utah. Christian philanthropist Jennie Dudley organized Sunday respites near the Interstate 80 viaduct. With the help of volunteers, Dudley offered food for both body and soul.⁵⁴

In some respects, population growth worked against the needs of homeless people: rents soared and housing became scarce. By 1994 rents, the vacancy rate was less than 2 percent. More than six thousand Salt Lake County families signed waiting lists for available housing. One all-female effort approached the problem directly. Architect Paula Carr, general contractor Vicki Hansen, and Habitat for Humanity vice president Rebecca Phillips joined efforts with a team of volunteers who built a simple home with the help of donated materials and labor.⁵⁵

The Salt Lake County Housing Authority also stepped in with HEART (Housing, Employment, and Rehabilitation Training). The Housing Authority facilitated the sale of homes to qualified families. Meanwhile HEART workers learned and applied skills in framing, building, applying sheet rock, painting, wiring, and plumbing.

While a transient clinic provided basic health care, the need for adequate mental health care remained a challenge. Although private mental health hospitals and programs had mushroomed throughout the valley, they served patients who had insurance or the ability to pay. The underserved included the chronically mentally ill, who had been hospitalized and committed during earlier decades. Once drug therapies became available, few people remained confined; however, the success of drug therapies depended upon consistent usage and supervision. Lacking such treatment, the seriously mentally ill became noticeable within the homeless population for their bizarre, though usually harmless, behavior.

Salt Lake County Mental Health services provided day programs and counseling for people with schizophrenia, as well as medical intervention and counseling for those suffering from less visible illnesses, such as depression. For several years, the Spanish-Speaking Health and Mental Health Unit not only targeted the Hispanic population in providing health care, but also took over a day program for those with chronic mental illness. The mental health system itself was chronically stressed, however, and few beds were available for those who reached a crisis. In 1993 alone, the Salt Lake County Human Service Department contracted for mental health services at a cost of more than \$40 million.³⁶

Other difficult social issues debated and litigated nationally came to a head in the Salt Lake Valley, not only drawing national attention but also challenging national law. The question of women's reproductive rights provided one example. Pro-choice and pro-life rallies become an annual event on Capitol Hill, and women throughout the intermountain region traveled to Salt Lake City if they needed legal abortions or the infertility procedures and fetal surgeries that had become medically possible but legally controversial.

In 1991 the legislature on Capitol Hill passed the Criminal Abortion Law to directly challenge the United States Supreme Court's ruling on *Roe v. Wade* which legalized abortion early in pregnancy. The Utah law required either a promptly reported incident of rape or incest or a physician's opinion that the pregnancy endangered the life or health of the mother. The Utah Affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union sued in federal court, postponing the law's enforce-

ment. Ultimately the high court upheld *Roe v. Wade* in essence, but allowed states to place restrictions upon access to abortion, which Utah lawmakers then did.⁵⁷

The question of praying in public also became an issue in Salt Lake County, within the Granite School District and at Salt Lake City Council meetings. Both entities were sued by the ACLU and the Society of Separationists for the practice of opening council meetings and a variety of school events with prayers which typically were LDS.

In the case of prayer at government meetings, the ACLU won in district court, while the city council triumphed before the Utah Supreme Court. The council, however, was directed to make praying accessible to all beliefs and to monitor content. Defining and ruling on acceptable prayers and pray-ers proved impractical to the point of impossible. Meanwhile the United States Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional the prayers given commonly in public schools before assemblies, athletic events, plays, and at graduation exercises.⁵⁸

Homosexual rights became a national issue in the late 1980s and early 1990s. A quiet but longlived community centered in the Salt Lake Valley, organizing such groups as the Gay and Lesbian Coalition, the Gay and Lesbian Youth Group, the Utah Log Cabin Club (for Republicans), and the Gay and Lesbian Utah Democrats. The Stonewall Center, a non-profit agency, provided space for meetings and social activities and coordinated with health, political, and social agencies throughout the valley.

This community faced strong opposition in public and private arenas. Despite documented incidents of hate crimes against homosexuals, the legislature resisted toughening laws to protect that sector of the population. While certain clergy began performing extra-legal, same-sex marriages, other religions strongly prohibited homosexual relationships, including the LDS faith which enforced its views with excommunication. Meanwhile citizen groups such as the Eagle Forum lobbied the Utah State Board of Education regarding curricula in the public schools. The view prevailed that high school textbooks and teachers be precluded not only from advocating a homosexual lifestyle, as the board proposed, but also from acknowl-

edging its existence. This complicated the search for contemporary texts in health, psychology, and history.⁵⁹

On occasion, the Utah-ACLU also sued the Salt Lake County Jail, the Utah State Penitentiary, and youth detention centers over inhumane conditions in the overcrowded corrections system. Generally the ACLU lawsuits resulted in rearranging inmates and setting limits on jail and prison populations. Most significantly, as the result of a major lawsuit, the prison built a mental health unit at the Point of the Mountain and improved its medical and dental care to align with constitutional standards.⁶⁰

By 1990 crime and law enforcement preoccupied Salt Lakers as they did other Americans. Certain Salt Lake County crime rates were high compared with both the state and nation. Property crimes occurred at a rate of 74.9 per one thousand residents compared with 50.9 nationally and 53.8 statewide. Violent crimes were higher than in the state as a whole—4.5 per one thousand residents compared with 2.8—but lower than the national rate of 7.3 percent.⁶¹

Civic uneasiness about crime and firearms peaked in late summer 1993 when a gang shooting claimed the life of a teenager outside the Triad Center followed by the unrelated murder of a prime witness. In this climate, Salt Lake City, Murray, and West Valley City adopted ordinances to regulate the sale of guns.

Salt Lake City's buy-back program which offered \$25 for each gun turned in to the Salt Lake City Police Department took a surprising twist when an addict sold five antique guns for \$125. Two of the weapons turned out to be single-shot dueling pistols once owned by Brigham Young. Two other pistols were pre-Civil War .36-caliber cap-and-ball revolvers. Etchings on their cylinders depicted great Navy sea battles. The fifth gun was also a cap-and-ball revolver. All five had been stolen recently with other Mormon memorabilia from an exhibit at the Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum.⁶²

In October the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that the pressure on the youth corrections system had become overwhelming. While teenagers of all racial and ethnic backgrounds became involved in gangs, some gangs were identified by race. "The study also shows that Latino, American Indian, Asian and black juveniles are more likely to be locked up than their white counterparts," the report read. "The



In November 1993 the Salt Lake City Police Department offered \$25 per gun in an effort to get firearms off the streets. The drive turned up two historic pistols that had been stolen from the Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum.

findings mirror results from a 1991 report, showing no improvements have been made.” In addition, minority juveniles spent more

time behind bars, the article continued. These youngsters were often at a disadvantage socioeconomically and less likely to enter treatment programs than white children. Another factor was the sparsity of minority staffers within the juvenile justice system. More than 80 percent of the detention staff was white.⁶³

Youthful rowdies who tended to run in groups were not a new law enforcement problem, but both mobility and firepower now made them an urgent one. The Salt Lake Area Gang Project reported 3,184 gang-related crimes ranging from vandalism to homicide in the first eight months of 1993. More than one-third occurred in Salt Lake City—1,381—and another 904 in the unincorporated areas of Salt Lake County. In addition, West Valley City reported 331 gang incidents, Sandy tolled 258, South Salt Lake counted 100, Murray cited 81, Midvale counted 70, and West Jordan reported 59.⁶⁴

The seriousness of crimes committed by juveniles was alarming. In the 1990s teenagers were jailed for murder, aggravated assault, and other violent crimes. In fact, juveniles held in detention facilities had an *average* of 10.3 convictions, indicating a population experienced in lawbreaking.⁶⁵

Teen offenders brought particular problems to the corrections system, not only in imprisoning them but also because punishment could augur future trouble. A harsh environment might impose or reinforce the abuse that statistics suggested was significant in the development of violent people; furthermore, overcrowded facilities exposed troubled youngsters to hardened criminals.

The Utah-ACLU's first staff attorney, Kathryn Kendell, concluded in the early 1990s that the youth corrections system teetered on the brink of an irreparable crisis with overcrowding exacerbating every other problem. Kendell found teens sleeping on the floor, sometimes beneath toilets, and doing without classes, programs, and counseling simply because the resources were too limited. The affiliate filed a lawsuit alleging that the Salt Lake County Detention Facility detained teens beyond its capacity during 76 percent of the year 1992.⁶⁶

Law enforcers looked for relief. The Oxbow Jail in South Salt Lake was designed to confine misdemeanants, while those accused of felonies were jailed in the Metro Jail, and convicted felons returned there or most likely were sent to prison. That meant that sometimes

an entire wing with nearly two hundred beds remained vacant at the Oxbow facility while the Metro Jail and detention centers threatened to burst their seams. Understandably, the residents of South Salt Lake City expressed reluctance at adding either youthful offenders or people accused of committing felonies to the jail population.

In late 1993, Salt Lake City mayor Deedee Corradini and Salt Lake County sheriff Aaron Kennard agreed that the Oxbow beds should be used temporarily to accommodate youthful offenders. Modifying the jail as a permanent site for youngsters could run as much as \$1 million, Kennard said; nevertheless, the sheriff told the *Salt Lake Tribune* that the inability to lock up wayward youths fueled the problem with gang members and others who knew there was little chance they would be imprisoned.⁶⁷

Meanwhile the Lone Peak facility for young offenders, completed at the Utah State Penitentiary in 1994, offered some relief, but it too meant moving adult prisoners. Bluffdale residents were similarly concerned when the prison administration moved adult inmates to seven buildings at Camp Williams. Prison officials installed an eight-foot fence topped with barbed wire and other precautions and assigned inmates to laundry and other chores in exchange for using Utah National Guard buildings.⁶⁸

An encouraging alternative to the overcrowded law enforcement system gained notice in 1994 when United States Attorney General Janet Reno cited the Youth Works program of the Salt Lake Neighborhood Housing Services as an example of crime prevention. The program, directed by Leticia Medina, hired "at risk" youths in inner-city areas to help build homes within their own neighborhoods, to renovate old ones, and to clean up yards for senior citizens. Medina told the *Deseret News* that 80 percent of the youths who participated went on to finish high school. That success rate compared well with the 2 percent success rate claimed by detention centers where the stay was an expensive nine months on the average as opposed to four months in the Youth Works program.⁶⁹

Racial and ethnic diversity among role models in law enforcement improved at the highest levels. In 1992 Chief Ruben Ortega became the first Latino to head the Salt Lake City Police Department. In 1993 Japanese American Glenn K. Iwasaki was named to the Third

District Court in Salt Lake City. That same year saw the appointment of Andrew A. Valdez as a Third District Court juvenile judge. The first Hispanic judge in the court system, Valdez grew up on the west side of Salt Lake City, graduated from the University of Utah Law School, and as a Salt Lake Legal Defender had represented several high-profile defendants.⁷⁰

Courtroom facilities changed as well. The venerable post office on Main and Fourth South streets was renamed the Frank E. Moss United States Court, housing federal adjudication. Meanwhile the crowded Salt Lake City Police Department, Metro Jail, and a variety of courts cried out for increased efficiency and space. Despite requests for courts near the valley's population locus, a huge \$80 million court complex gained approval for the east side of the block across State Street from the City and County Building. The new facility would consolidate courtroom use and prove convenient for judges and attorneys but require citizens in outlying areas to drive to Salt Lake City to take care of legal concerns.

Despite the fears around gang violence and a crowded judicial system, the frequency of bizarre and dramatic crimes diminished markedly after the mid-1980s as mysteriously as civil unrest had diminished in the nation after the mid-1970s. Two crimes, however, encapsulated the great fears of the 1990s, confronting cities and nations worldwide. Both involved hostage-taking, terrorism, and explosives. The first happened in homeloving Sandy, the second in Salt Lake City at an event intended, ironically enough, to promote the cause of peace.

The armed takeover of the Women's Center at the Alta View Hospital struck at a bedrock value particularly evident in the south valley—the emphasis on large families. In fact, the madness lying beneath a terrifying eighteen-hour siege stemmed from a couple's disagreement over a Sandy woman's fertility.

Following the birth of their eighth child, Richard and Karen Worthington had agreed she should have a tubal ligation. Richard gave only grudging permission, however, and later the couple objected so strongly that the hospital canceled their bill for both the delivery and the procedure in return for the Worthington's promise not to pursue litigation.⁷¹

Both depression and tirades increased in Richard Worthington's everyday life; he was known in his Sandy neighborhood as the hard-working but short-tempered father of six children (two had died shortly after birth). By fall 1991, Karen Worthington removed all his guns from the home, but acquiesced to his demands on the afternoon of 20 September and retrieved them. That night Richard Worthington, heavily armed, drove to the Alta View Hospital where he damaged the automobile of Dr. Glade Curtis, who had performed the surgery. Leaving a bomb in a flower bed, he then broke into the Women's Center in search of the doctor.

He cornered two nurses, Karla Roth and Susan Woolley, even as the alerted doctor ducked into an office and called police. Worthington then had the nurses round up hostages, including newborns in plastic cribs. Meanwhile two post-partum mothers grabbed their infants and hid.

When Worthington forced the nurses into the parking lot toward his vehicle, the trio encountered Sandy police. Karla Roth seized the barrel of his shotgun, tried to wrest it from him, then ran. He raised a pistol and shot her in the back. He forced Woolley back into the hospital as medical personnel failed to save Roth's life. She left behind a teenage son, her husband, and their baby.

Worthington's hostages were forced to sack Curtis's office and to build a barricade as the long night became morning. At one point, he fired a pistol into a telephone that rested beside Christan Downey, in labor with her first child, who would be born a hostage. Another hostage, Adam Cisneros, was ordered to retrieve the homemade bomb from the flowerbed, and its presence kept SWAT teams from West Valley City and Salt Lake City at bay.

As hunger and exhaustion wore down both captor and captives, Salt Lake City officers Sergeant Don Bell and Detective Jill Candland overcame telephone line difficulties to talk Worthington into surrendering, aided by Woolley inside the hospital. For much of the eighteen-hour siege, the media surrounded the hospital, allowing valley residents a look at the defeated terrorist. He perched beside his wife on the back bumper of a fire truck, wearing a baseball cap that read: "It's a boy—Alta View Hospital." Worthington later committed suicide in prison.

While the Alta View incident prompted a nationally-aired television drama, the second incident brought national and presidential awards for courageous and canny police work. Lieutenant Lloyd Prescott of the Salt Lake County Sheriff's Office became a hostage himself within the main branch of the Salt Lake Public Library about 9:30 A.M. on 7 March 1994.

Tibetan monks were performing a sand-painting ceremony in the cause of world peace when Clifford Draper leaped onto a table, announced he had a gun and a bomb, and began taking hostages. As the monks and most audience members escaped, word of the gunman spread across the plaza, and Prescott, a self-described "desk jockey," rushed to the library's second floor. He traded places with the last hostage entering an enclosed room, his service pistol hidden beneath his clothing.⁷²

Draper, the Salt Lake Valley learned later, represented a classic example of a citizen who should not possess a gun. He had purchased it during a local rush on gun stores as the weapon-restricting Brady Bill was debated in Congress. Draper's bizarre behavior had been observed locally when he "stomped out a war dance around his penny-pot while working as a Salvation Army bell ringer."⁷³ His lurking presence outside a supermarket in the Avenues had frightened customers and employees alike. Now he demanded cash, gold and platinum bullion, back pay he believed he had earned in military service, and a pardon from President Clinton.

Morning faded into a tense afternoon. Outside the library, SWAT teams gathered, friends and families of the hostages waited on the City and County Building grounds, and reporters raced between police sources and television cameras. At 2:30 P.M., when Draper prepared to have the hostages draw straws to determine their order of death, Prescott acted.

As had been the concern in the Worthington incident, he worried that eliminating Draper would result in a "dead man's switch" detonating the bomb; but he concluded that if the hostages lay on the floor, their risks would be reduced. He slowly withdrew his pistol, and when Draper became distracted, yelled, "Sheriff's office!" and "Hit the floor!"⁷⁴

The hostages dropped and the gunman wheeled toward him.



Under coach Greg Marsden, the University of Utah Utes gymnastic team led collegiate meets and produced Olympians such as Melissa Marlowe. Here, Shelly Schaerrer scores the first 9.9 in any event in Utah gymnastics history.

Prescott fired five fatal shots, even as fellow officers burst through glass partitions. Minutes later the hostages fled from the building to the relief of onlookers and viewers who were aware that shots had been fired and medical assistance requested—not only for Draper but for officers who also suffered cuts while breaking into the room.

Even as Salt Lake County dealt with growth and confronted the social challenges of the late twentieth century, play became an increasingly dominant aspect of valley life. Sports not only filled leisure hours, but also drew positive attention to the valley and enlivened the economy.

Led by hard-driving and controversial coach Greg Marsden, the University of Utah's Ute gymnasts became a premiere team nationally and drew enthusiastic audiences season after season to the Huntsman Center. Winning their first national championship in 1981, the Ute program was among the first to recruit nationally and to engage nutri-

tionists, sports psychologists, and weight trainers in developing outstanding gymnastic talent.⁷⁵ The program's success was evident through such excellent gymnasts as Olympian Melissa Marlowe.

Megan McCunniff Marsden, twice an all-around national champion (who also married the coach), became a paid assistant coach and a strong influence on the team. By the 1990s, Ute gymnasts Suzanne Metz, Missy Wells-Taylor, Candace Wooley, and Amy Trepanier were among the team leaders. In April 1995 the Utes claimed their ninth national trophy.

In 1994 Larry Miller disappointed hockey fans by selling the Salt Lake Golden Eagles for close to \$5 million. The organization had lost \$3.6 million in five years because attendance at games did not support costs; nevertheless, in their final game in April 1994, the Golden Eagles triumphed before 14,144 fans.⁷⁶ That game was played not in the Salt Palace but in a bluish arena that represented one of Miller's newest projects.

The 20,000-seat Delta Center dominated the block between Third and Fourth West and First and Second South streets, drawing crowds to a variety of sporting and recreational events. Immediately the arena became the new home of the Utah Jazz which had become a powerful force in the National Basketball Association. Quickly the Delta Center hosted an NBA All-Star game.

The direct economic benefit the Jazz brought to the Salt Lake Valley exceeded \$10 million by the 1990s, a considerable increase over the \$1 million during its initial years. In the early 1990s, the team racked up division titles and played repeatedly in the conference championship playoffs.⁷⁷ During the 1994–95 season, Jazz players achieved important milestones: John Stockton broke the all-time record for assists; Karl Malone and Tom Chambers (the latter a former star for the University of Utah team) each exceeded 20,000 total career points. Even before the Olympics came to the valley, Malone and Stockton played on the United States "Dream Team" in 1994 and were selected again for 1996.

Even though sporting events migrated to the Delta Center, the Salt Lake County Commission and other government officials deemed the Salt Palace inadequate to accommodate the valley's conventions. The familiar drum of the Acord Arena and the remainder



Karl Malone and other players in the NBA's Utah Jazz ball club found a new home in the Delta Center, built by team owner and automobile dealer Larry Miller. (Gary McKellar—Deseret News)

of the building became rubble at the end of 1993, and Salt Lake City, Salt Lake County, and the State of Utah united to build a third Salt Palace, this one at a cost of \$70 million dollars.



Salt Lake County donated \$3 million to the Franklin Quest baseball field, which replaced Derks Field. The Triple-A Salt Lake Buzz attracted 14,611 fans to the first game played in the new stadium in April 1994 and went on to set a minor league attendance record that year. (Kristian Jacobsen—Deseret News)

Meanwhile the Derks Field baseball stadium was determined to be inadequate and unsafe. As with the Salt Palace, renovation was ruled more expensive and less satisfying than new construction, and the familiar arena faced the wrecking ball. For a time, Mayor Corradini worked to place a new baseball field downtown, but ultimately the Franklin Quest Field replaced Derks on the same site.

Salt Lake County donated \$3 million to the new baseball stadium in return for tickets to nonbaseball events being sold through the county-run ArtTix system and use of the \$17.5 million facility at cost whenever it was available. Salt Lake City provided \$10.2 million and the state of Utah \$1.8 million; Franklin Quest, a company that sold organizational planners and provided consulting, pledged \$1.4 million of the \$3 million raised from private sources, stipulating that its name designate the new field.⁷⁸

Despite controversies over location, name, and costs, the innovative and attractive park opened in April 1994. Ceremony and excitement prevailed for 14,611 fans though the Triple-A Salt Lake Buzz

lost their first game 7–1 to the Edmonton Trappers. Undaunted, the team set a minor league attendance record in its first year of play, proving the popularity of both the sport and the new baseball field.

County residents not only enjoyed watching sports, however, but participating in them, and from an early age. By the mid-1990s, Salt Lake County's recreation program sponsored more than 13,000 boys and girls in basketball, while girls' softball and tee ball, soccer for both youth and adults, volleyball, tennis, flag football, and track and field rounded out the offerings.

The county operated two dozen neighborhood parks, thirteen community parks, and eight regional parks in addition to a dozen recreation centers. New swimming pools opened in West Jordan and Magna and county golf courses in Riverton and Holladay. Altogether the county spent about \$13 million per year on recreation, allocating \$9.6 million to sports and leisure programs and \$513,000 to operate the Historic Wheeler Farm with the rest going to golf courses. Participant fees covered the remaining costs.⁷⁹

Despite so many recreational options, visitors to the Salt Lake Valley demanded one delight that most residents had all but forgotten. "I want to see the Great Salt Lake," one tourist demanded. "And don't tell me I don't!"⁸⁰

A century had passed since valley residents had shed their Victorian broadcloth and corsets for bathing costumes or had sighted buffalo from the decks of a luxury steamship. Decades had disappeared since families had loaded picnic baskets and swimwear onto an open-air train for a day on the beach. Yet the thousands of visitors flocking to a makeshift visitors' center on the south shore represented every state in the nation and many foreign countries. Catching their first glimpse of the lake as they circled the Salt Lake International Airport, they were shocked once they landed to find that most residents and civic boosters regarded the lake with indifference, if not embarrassment.⁸¹

True, piers, marinas, and breakwaters lined Black Rock Beach, and members of the Great Salt Lake Yacht Club entered games and races year-round since the salty water never froze. While these structures served a devoted group of boaters, the marinas also prevented the lake's natural current from scouring out the shoreline near Saltair.

The detritus in that corner not only reduced the slope of the beach but also added a noxious odor and an influx of brine flies.⁸²

Salt Lake County officials joined other Olympic boosters in planning ways to make the lake accessible and attractive to visitors and residents alike. Meanwhile naturalists and ecologists recognized the lake as an important resting site for many of the continent's species of shorebirds. In August 1992 dignitaries gathered to make it part of the Western Hemispheric Shorebird Reserve Network.⁸³

In pondering how to make the Great Salt Lake an attractive part of the burgeoning plans for the Winter Olympics, valley boosters confronted the wilful mystique of the valley's most distinctive feature.

Virtually every aspect of valley life was re-visioned as the Olympic clock ticked almost audibly toward 2002. Almost anything, it seemed, could suddenly change. The valley's two largest cities, for instance, battled toe to toe for the ice skating rink that would host the Olympic figure skating event. The upstart West Valley City triumphed over the capital in August 1995, jarring more than a century's tradition for placing key attractions in downtown Salt Lake City.

In the process of winning the Olympic venue, Mayor Gerald Wright and West Valley City manager John Patterson also snared the Utah Grizzlies hockey team, the defending International Hockey League champions from Denver. Meanwhile Mayor Corradini settled for a \$3 million practice ice sheet, rather than an ice arena at the Utah State Fairpark, and a smaller rink at the Steiner Aquatic Center near the University of Utah.⁸⁴

Liquor laws were redrawn to allow restaurants and hotels to serve metered alcoholic drinks rather than requiring patrons to buy or tote liquor in mini-bottles. After one wealthy skier found his prestigious credit card worthless at a State Liquor Store and no cash in his pockets, a Republican senator introduced legislation to allow purchase by credit card or check. While the change to metered drinks had been approved by both LDS and state officials as a means of reducing liquor consumption, neither entity resisted the second law.⁸⁵

The gold associated with the Olympics clearly was not all in the medals athletes would win. A portion of the Salt Lake County sales tax was designated to fund the event even as the Salt Lake Olympic Bid Committee budgeted a theoretical \$797.8 million dollars between

1996 and 2002. Less than 3 percent would be spent each year until the year 2000 with 62 percent earmarked for 2002. The committee assured residents that if revenues from the sale of television rights and corporate sponsorships were not forthcoming by June 1999, the expenditures could be reduced. That fear drowned in a deluge of dollars, however, when in August 1995, NBC purchased broadcast rights for \$545 million, far exceeding the \$400 million budgeted.⁸⁶

As Salt Lake County's sesquicentennial year and the centennial anniversary of statehood approached, the valley reached an interesting and critical phase of its history. Just as the Great Salt Lake captured the mountains, sky, and human inventions in its shiny surface on a clear day, the Salt Lake Valley reflected many of the nation's trends, conflicts, devotions, and triumphs. Yet its history was as unique as the salty lake and bent the image of the larger society to suit its own characteristics.

For one and one half centuries since settlement, Mormonism had drawn residents and shaped their lives once they arrived. Its emigration program had accounted for Great Salt Lake City's rapid growth and the settlements that branched valley-wide. In the late twentieth century, its missionary program boosted the numbers of bilingual people within the valley. Religious affiliation sometimes offered individuals with racial or ethnic minority status an entrance into the mainstream society. Conversely, non-membership distanced people otherwise in the American mainstream and tended to isolate individuals and families who were not.⁸⁷

Racial, ethnic, and religious diversity had played a vivid and important role historically which projected strongly into the future. Hunters of prehistoric mammals, gatherers of the pinon nut, and mounted merchants/warriors all predated settlement. Peoples from many lands had settled the valley, planted farms, built railroads and industries, and enlivened the cultural heritage. They varied from the African-Americans who drove some of the first pioneer wagons, the Chinese who lowered one another in baskets to lay rail in Bingham Canyon, and the international community in Fort Union, to the post-war waves of Latinos, Southeast Asians, and Pacific Islanders.

Here innovation flourished from the time electric lights illumi-

nated the “Great White Way” down Main Street to the moment an artificial heart began beating in a human chest. Conservatism thrived as well. Here residents rushed to prove their patriotism in each of the nation’s great wars; here powerful men suffered their greatest political defeat in the late nineteenth century and achieved their greatest political triumph in the twentieth, both over the proper role of women in society.⁸⁸

The decision to draw the Winter Olympics to the Salt Lake Valley was, perhaps, as characteristic of Brigham Young in his more expansive and less embattled moods as of the public officials in the late twentieth century. Since settlement, civic leaders had consistently worked at attracting favorable attention, enterprise, and residents even as they deliberated how to prevent worldly trends from diminishing their preferred way of life.

Now as the decade ended and the Olympic games loomed, those tensions were illuminated, even in small ways. Brigham’s statue, for instance, had stood in the intersection of South Temple and Main streets for a century. In the increasing traffic near the twentieth century’s end, Brigham was efficiently lifted from his pedestal by a crane and put into storage until a new perch could be arranged on a mid-block island a few yards to the north.

From his new post, the founder of what had become an expansive metropolitan county surveyed the approach of a new century filled with new residents and numerous visitors, without standing in the way.

ENDNOTES

1. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 29 October 1993.
2. “Population Profiles of Utah Counties, Mountain States, and United States: 1990,” chart (Logan: Population Research Laboratory, Department of Sociology, Social Work and Anthropology, Utah State University, 1994).
3. A term coined and applied to Salt Lake City in the 1960s by historian Gunthar Barth.
4. *Deseret News*, 10 April 1994. For samples of the extensive Bonneville Pacific coverage, see *Deseret News*, 23 April 1994; *Salt Lake Tribune*, 19 September 1993, 1 July 1995, 1 May 1994; and Lynn Packer, “Goin’ for Broke,” *Private Eye*, 20 July 1995.

5. Statistics provided by Utah Department of Employment Security. For most recent data, see Richard W. Newman and Kris Beckstead, "Annual Report of Labor Market Information, 1994," Utah Department of Employment Security, 1995.

6. Fact sheet provided by Salt Lake County Aging Services, 1995; copy in possession of the author.

7. *Population Profiles*.

8. Ibid.

9. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 2 April 1994, 3 December 1995.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid. The per capita personal income in Salt Lake County was \$15,399 in 1990, compared to \$14,034 in Utah and \$18,639 in the United States.

12. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 25 April 1994; *Deseret News*, 25 April 1994.

13. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 February 1994.

14. Ibid., 30 January 1994.

15. Ibid.

16. *Deseret News*, 1 February 1995.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 25 January 1994.

19. *Deseret News*, 1 February 1995.

20. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 25 January 1994.

21. *Deseret News*, 22 January 1995.

22. Interview with David Marshall, 25 July 1995.

23. *Deseret News*, 3 March 1994, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 7 February 1994, 31 December 1994.

24. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 29 March, 1995.

25. Ibid., 29 August 1993.

26. Ibid., 29 March 1995.

27. Ibid.

28. *Deseret News*, 13 April 1994, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 2 January 1994.

29. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 9 January 1994, 19 November 1994.

30. *Deseret News*, 16 May 1994.

31. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 23 November 1993, and *Deseret News*, 24 March 1994.

32. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 10 December 1993, 26 January 1992, 30 January 1992.

33. Ibid.

34. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 27 June 1993, 23 September 1993, 24 September 1993.

35. Marshall, interview.

36. *Deseret News*, 2 August 1995.

37. Ibid.

38. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 24 November 1993.

39. *Deseret News*, 19 April 1994. Polluters named in Salt Lake County included Hercules plants in Magna and Salt Lake City, Chevron USA and Sales in Salt Lake City, and Fashion Cabinet in West Jordan.

40. Ibid. Remaining were the Petrochem Recycling/Ekotek Incorporated on north Chicago Street; the Utah Power/American Barrel site at Sixth West and South Temple streets; the Portland Cement site at 10000 Redwood Road; and the Wasatch Chemical Corporation site at 1987 South Seventh West Street.

41. *Deseret News*, 19 January 1994, 21 November 1993.

42. *Deseret News*, 30 March 1994, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1 April 1994, 4 November 1993, 25 February 1994.

43. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 16 April 1995, 1 May 1994.

44. *Centerline* (Salt Lake City Airport Authority newsletter), September 1994.

45. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 10 September 1993.

46. *Deseret News*, 5 June 1994.

47. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 9 April 1995.

48. Ibid., 20 March 1994.

49. Linda Sillitoe, "The James Principal," *Utah Holiday*, February 1991, 24. Also annual statistical reports prepared for the State Office of Education, 1990–95; copies in possession of the author.

50. Ibid.

51. Salt Lake Community College public relations material, 1994–95; pamphlets and reports in possession of the author.

52. Ibid.

53. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 December 1993.

54. Ibid., 31 January 1994, 27 February 1994, 16 December 1993.

55. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 December 1993, *Deseret News*, 10 May 1994.

56. Chris Segura, "Annual Report," Salt Lake County Human Services, 1993, 1.

57. Linda Sillitoe, *Friendly Fire: The ACLU in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996).

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. *Population Profiles*.
62. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 25 November 1993.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid., 16 September 1993.
65. Ibid.
66. Sillitoe, *Friendly Fire*.
67. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 10 November 1993.
68. Ibid.
69. *Deseret News*, 27 April 1994.
70. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 29 June 1993.
71. *Deseret News*, 19 March 1992. This special section details the siege briefly described here.
72. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 8 March 1994.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.
75. *Deseret News*, 18 April 1994.
76. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 11 March 1994, and *Deseret News*, 7 April 1994.
77. Dave Blackwell, "Utah Jazz," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, Allan Kent Powell, ed. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 591–92.
78. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 July 1993, *Deseret News*, 10 April 1994.
79. *Sports and Recreation*, Salt Lake County Parks and Recreation, 1995.
80. David Hampshire, "The Great Salt Lake, Forlorn and Forgotten," *Utah Holiday*, September 1992, 24.
81. Ibid., 24–27.
82. Ibid.
83. Ella Dibble Sorensen, "Birds of a Feather," *Utah Holiday*, September 1992, 28–29.
84. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 26 July 1995.
85. Interview with Utah senator David L. Buhler, 27 July 1995.
86. *Deseret News*, 7 August 1995.
87. Phyllis Barber, "Culture Shock," *Utah Holiday*, November 1981, 31–40.
88. In late 1994, Gordon B. Hinckley, who as an apostle oversaw the anti-ERA lobby, then as a counselor administrated LDS church affairs during the 1980s and early 1990s, became church president.

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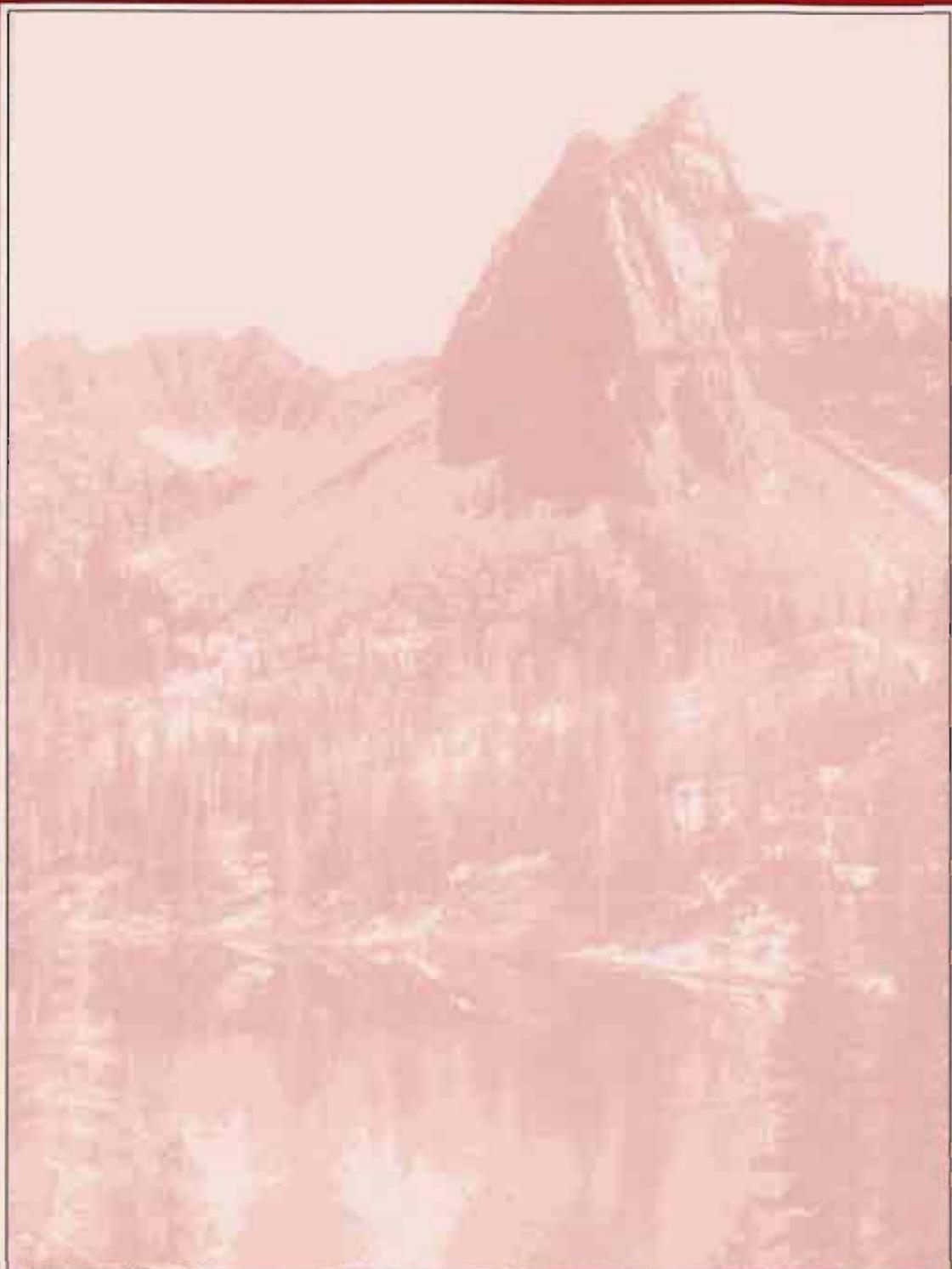
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