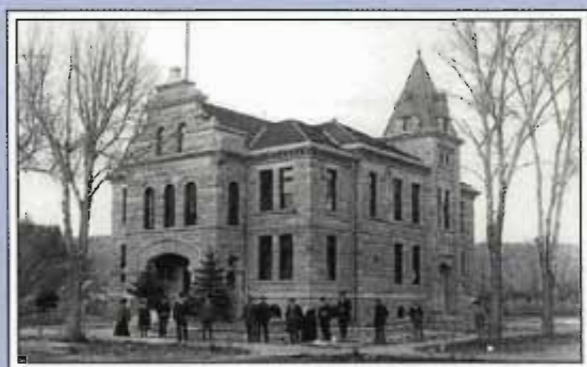


A HISTORY OF \_\_\_\_\_  
*Summit  
County*

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David Hampshire  
Martha Sonntag Bradley  
Allen Roberts

UTAH CENTENNIAL COUNTY HISTORY SERIES

A HISTORY OF

*Summit  
County*

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# *Summit County*

David Hampshire  
Martha Sonntag Bradley  
Allen Roberts

Summit County's 25,000 residents constitute scarcely more than one percent of Utah's inhabitants; yet, the county's influence always has been out of proportion to its population. For the first Mormon pioneers, the route to their Zion passed through the area that became Summit County. The county continues to serve as a major transportation corridor, carrying transcontinental freeways and railroads. From its mountains spring four major rivers, providing water that sustains much of northern Utah. Its mines have produced silver, gold, lead, and zinc worth hundreds of millions of dollars, money that helped build the state and the Intermountain West. By 1997 its petroleum deposits had yielded almost 170 million barrels of oil. Its three large ski resorts have helped define Utah as a major international destination for skiers and the county as a popular recreational area for Utahns, especially those living along the Wasatch Front.

These themes—as well as many others—are woven here into a colorful tapestry that is the history of Summit County.

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1998

Utah State Historical Society  
Summit County Commission

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## *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

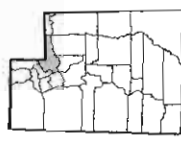
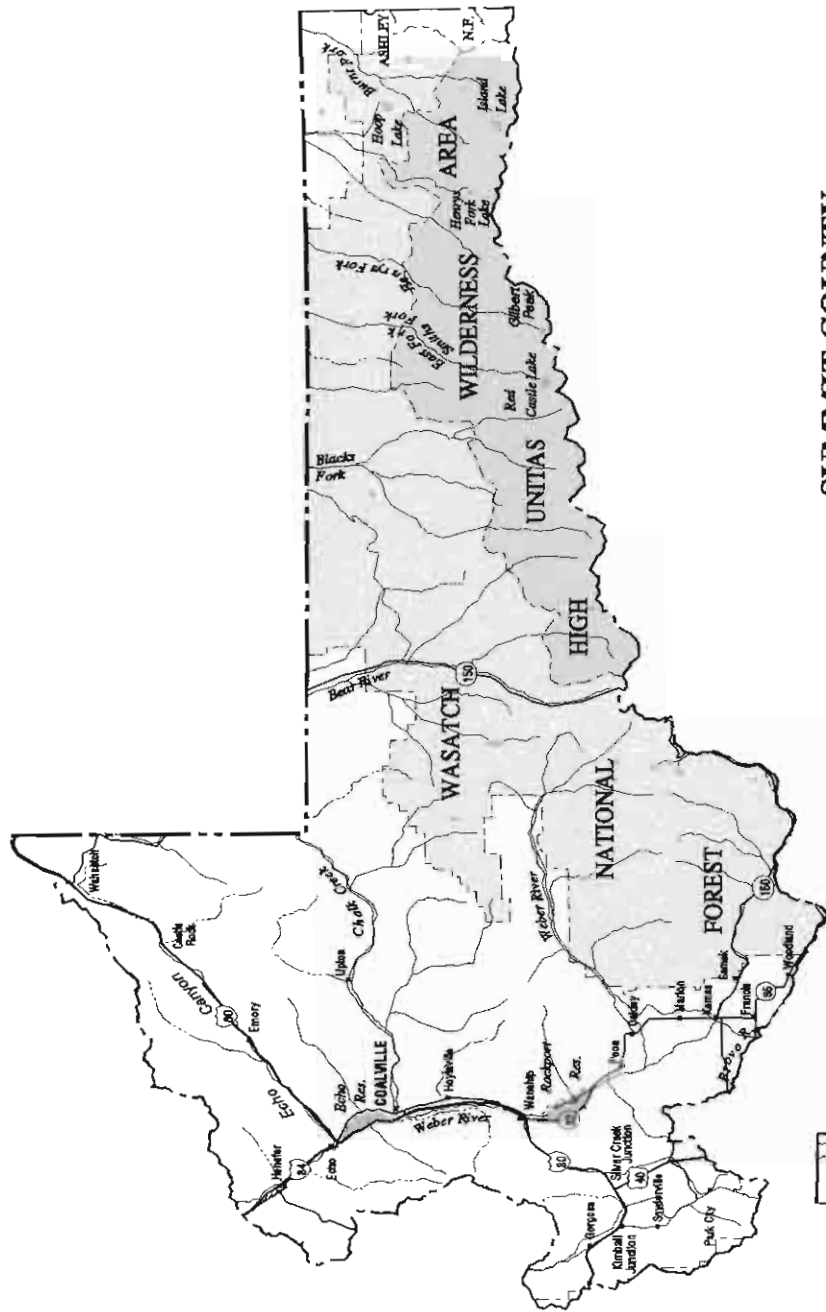
to help develop policies for distribution of state-appropriated funds and plans for publication.

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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# SUMMIT COUNTY

## CHAPTER 1

# INTRODUCTION

In 1959, the 100th anniversary of its first permanent settlement, Summit County was feeling its age. The old mining camp at Park City seemed headed for the same destination as most other mining boom towns around the West—oblivion. The major silver mines had been idle for most of the 1950s. Many people had already moved away; the remaining residents were hanging on by their fingernails. Agriculture, always a challenge at high altitudes, was literally losing ground to new reservoirs and new highways. The farming community of Rockport had just been wiped off the map by a new reservoir and 1,000 acres of surrounding land had been permanently flooded, victim of the growing demand for water in the lower valleys. Road construction was cutting a wide swathe through the town of Echo, forcing the demolition or relocation of a dozen homes and businesses. There was talk of a new superhighway that would cut through some of the most fertile land in the county.

Bit by bit, it seemed, the county was sacrificing its vitality, a victim of forces it could not control. Its destiny seemed tied to the remaining strips of arable land and to that slim, unpredictable win-

dow between the last frost of one winter and the first frost of the next. The population was slipping; for the young, looking to start households of their own, employment options within the county were few. Many moved away. For the remaining communities—tough, independent, tightly-knit—the mode was survival.

True, Summit County was an area of astonishing beauty, framed on the east by the high, rounded peaks of the Uintas and on the west by the rough crags of the Wasatch Mountains. It was an area rich with wildlife and majestic forests. But snow-covered peaks don't put food on the table. Or at least they didn't then.

Could anyone have anticipated what would happen to this sleepy, agricultural county in the following four decades?

As it turned out, of course, those snow-covered peaks *could* put food on the table. And the superhighway that was just a rumor in 1959 has become a commuters' corridor between Summit County and the growing cities of the Wasatch Front. Now, as Utah passes the 100th anniversary of its statehood, Summit County is wrestling with a very different set of challenges. The emergence of ski areas and bedroom subdivisions has spurred phenomenal growth in the county, covering the valleys with houses and driving up land values. The irony is that this new affluence is putting yet another strain on the county's remaining farms, and it's making some of the old-time families yearn for the quiet times of the 1950s.

The themes that thread their way through Summit County's recorded history are shared by other communities in Utah and around the West: the first Mormon settlers, eking a living from the land; the rise and demise of a mining boom town; the not always cozy relationship between Mormons (members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or LDS church) and gentiles (non-Mormons); the impact of railroads and modern highways; the thirst for water to make the desert bloom; the discovery of oil and natural gas; and the modern lure of Rocky Mountain ski resort towns. However, in few places have so many of these themes interacted to define such a small area in such a profound way. Consider:

—In 1847, Summit County was the gateway to Zion for the first Mormon pioneers, who followed the natural corridor down Echo Canyon, then walked along the banks of the Weber River as far as the

present town of Henefer before striking out across the mountains toward the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

—In 1850, when Parley P. Pratt opened the Golden Pass road up what we now know as Parleys Canyon, he laid the groundwork for a major east-west stage route bisecting the county. Today that route is followed by Interstate 80, the first divided highway to run from coast to coast. Today, thousands of motorists use that highway to commute from their mountain homes to jobs along the urban Wasatch Front.

—In 1859, the first Mormon farms took root along the banks of the Weber River and its tributaries. However, within the next century, water from that river would inundate many of those farms as two large lakes backed up behind manmade dams.

—In 1868, soldiers stationed at Fort Douglas in Salt Lake City ventured into the surrounding mountains looking for precious metals. The silver they found sparked a frenzy that evolved into the founding and growth of one of the West's great silver-mining camps. The incursion of this nineteenth-century "Sodom" into the bucolic environment planted the seed for a schizophrenic population pattern that persists to this day in Summit County.

—In 1869, railroad gangs marched down Echo and Weber canyons en route to Promontory Summit, laying track for the first transcontinental railroad. That railroad would bring the outside world to the protected communities of northern Utah, and it would help define the economy of Summit County.

—In 1961, the desperate attempt of an exhausted silver-mining camp to save itself from extinction led to a huge new industry—downhill recreational skiing. The success of Treasure Mountains and the resorts that followed has redefined the character of western Summit County and made Park City an international destination point.

—In 1974, the discovery of oil in the Pineview field near Coalville touched off an invasion of exploration crews during the late 1970s and early 1980s. In 1979, one of those crews found the Anschutz Ranch East Field, which oilmen would describe as the most significant onshore find since Prudhoe Bay in Alaska.

By the mid-1990s, that sleepy county of the 1950s was one of the three fastest-growing counties in the United States.<sup>1</sup> The area's majes-

tic scenery, moderate climate, and recreation amenities are luring people from other states and other parts of Utah. Now, in communities around the county, residents are asking whether development is killing the golden goose, destroying the natural charm that people moved here to enjoy.

Will the history of the next 150 years in Summit County include as many colorful themes as has that of the past 150 years? If so, it ought to make great reading.

#### ENDNOTE

1. *Deseret News*, 9 March 1996.

## CHAPTER 2

# THE LAND

**T**he story of Summit County begins with the land.

To those who love Summit County, mention of the land invokes a flood of images. Rolling sage-covered hills. A remote mountain lake. Fir trees draped in snow. The first cutting of hay lying golden in the fields. Stunted spruce mats and scree at timberline. A moose glimpsed through the white of aspen trunks. Mine dumps. Red earth and cedar trees. A stream meandering through a pasture.

This is high country, indisputably Utah's summit. Some 60 percent of the county's area of 1,849 square miles is covered by national forests. And that number doesn't include all the mountainous land in private hands. The ancient Uinta Mountains stretch eastward, broad, rich with alpine meadows and lakes. To the west, the steep Wasatch Mountains rise up, flanked with aspen and fir. Summit County is the place where these two ranges converge in a mosaic of foothills, secondary ranges, and high valleys.

But this land is more than images or a joining of mountain ranges. The land here is a historical force. It has shaped the development of the county—its economy, its politics, its culture. The land



has shaped the people—both residents and outside investors and power brokers. And, in return, these people have shaped the land. The history of Summit County is largely the history of that relationship.

### *A Geologic History*

The mountains, rivers, and valleys of Summit County that have influenced human history have a previous history of their own. The geologic story of how this land came to be can be told not in terms of years but of millions of years. Using current place names as reference points (even though the actual present landforms don't appear until very late in the narrative), the story basically goes like this:

Pre-Cambrian period—1.4 billion years ago and earlier: Several periods of volcanic activity and mountain building occurred.

Late Pre-Cambrian—to 800 million years ago: A continent lay to the southeast of Utah. Utah itself was covered by a shallow sea. Sediments from the continent washed into this sea, laying down sandstones, shales, claystones and conglomerates. Up to 26,000 feet of sediments (in the western sections of the Uintas) were laid down. However, between 800 million and 550 million years ago, there's a gap in the geologic record. No rocks from this period have been found in Summit County, suggesting that either no sediments were laid down or that rocks formed during this period were later uplifted and eroded.

Cambrian period—to 500 million years ago: Another shallow sea covered much of Utah. The western part of Utah sank and received sediment deposits, while, to the east, there was a large continent. The continent's coastline varied; sometimes it was in Nevada, and at other times the seas covered Utah. At this time, the equator ran through Utah, north to south, and marine life was rich.

Ordovician, Silurian, and Devonian periods—to 360 million years ago: Not many sediments were laid down in Summit County. Vascular plants appeared, amphibians developed, and fish ruled the seas.

Pennsylvanian and Mississippian periods—to 280 million years ago: Shallow seas covered all of Utah. The earth's land mass was a single continent—Pangea. Warm, lush forests provided material for

later petroleum and coal deposits. Insects and the first reptiles appeared. Later in this period, an uplift occurred in Colorado and eastern Utah.

Permian and Triassic periods—to 200 million years ago: Pangea separated. An arc of islands to the west rose up, separating the Utah sea from the open ocean. More marine deposition occurred; but then the earth “hinged” along a line where the Wasatch Mountains would later appear. The continent to the east sank and separated; the sea flooded into eastern Utah, making a new coastline near the Wasatch. Meanwhile, the land to the west rose, forming a 3,000-mile mountain chain that stretched from southern Nevada to Alaska. During this time, reptiles flourished and mammals appeared.

Jurassic period—to 140 million years ago: The sandstones of southern Utah were laid down in shallow seas and dunes. In Summit County, Nugget Sandstone—closely related to southern Utah’s Navajo Sandstone—was deposited. Dinosaurs ruled and birds appeared.

Cretaceous period—to 66 million years ago: Yet another sea, this one stretching into Texas, covered the area. From the great mountains west of the Wasatch, alluvial fans and gravel washed into Summit County. Along coastal swamps in the Coalville area, organic debris accumulated through a cyclical process of flooding and subsidence; these layers would later form coal deposits. At the same time, the land to the west moved eastward in a series of tremendous thrusts. Older rocks were pushed on top of younger rocks, forming pockets where oil and gas would later collect in what is called the Overthrust Belt. Dinosaurs vanished.

Tertiary period—to 1.8 million years ago: To the east, the Rocky Mountains rose, and the seas disappeared for good. The land was compressed north to south, forming a series of folds that became the Uinta Mountains. At the same time, igneous intrusions beneath the Wasatch Range pushed up the older sediments. As this occurred, hot fluids, rich in dissolved metals, reacted with the sedimentary rocks, metamorphosing them and forming veins and beds of silver, gold, copper, lead, zinc, and other minerals.

This was also a time of spectacular volcanic activity in the entire region. Volcanoes in Wyoming filled the valleys of Summit County

with ash and magma, forming a large crescent of volcanic material between the Uintas and the Wasatch Range. These areas of easily eroded volcanic ash later became the wide valleys through which the Weber River and its tributaries run.

About 25 million years ago, uplift began along the Wasatch Fault, pushing up the blocks that would become the Wasatch Mountains. At the same time, the entire land mass of western North America was uplifted nearly a mile.

Quaternary period—to the present. Glaciers filled the valleys, advancing and retreating at least four times over a period of 700,000 years and sculpting the Wasatch and Uinta mountains into their current forms. The Uintas now run about 150 miles in length, the nation's largest range with an east-west axis. They are Utah's highest mountains, with eleven peaks exceeding 13,000 feet in elevation; the highest, King's Peak (13,528 feet), is just outside the Summit County boundary, in Duchesne County. Within the county, the highest mountain is Gilbert Peak (13,422 feet). The Wasatch Range, one of the most rugged in the contiguous forty-eight states, reaches heights just below 12,000 feet. Together, the Uinta and Wasatch Ranges constitute the Middle Rocky Mountains topographic province.

It was during this time that mammoths, sloths, and other Ice Age mammals appeared and disappeared. They "reappeared" in 1963, however, when Allan J. Lewis, digging a ditch to drain a marsh near Silver Creek Junction, uncovered a very large tooth. He took it to paleontologists, who identified it as a mammoth tooth, and organized excavations on the site. University of Utah paleontologists eventually uncovered Utah's most complete collection of large Ice Age mammals at this site. Among them were the 40,000-year-old bones of humpless camels, saber-toothed cats, ground sloths, muskrats, hyena-like wolves, and large bison.

### *Mineral Resources*

These geologic ages have left various mineral resources throughout the county. The Park City area is rich in silver, of course, but gold, lead, iron, and zinc also have been found and extracted to some extent from both the Uintas and from the Park City mining district. Antimony, arsenic, bismuth, and manganese are all found around

Park City, and manganese is found in Beaver Canyon and near Coalville.

From the earliest settlement years, residents have used native stone for building. Settlers quarried the reddish to cream-colored Nugget Sandstone from Snyderville and the Weber Valley and used it to construct buildings, bridges, dams, walls, and monuments. Among the structures built from Nugget Sandstone was the county courthouse in Coalville.

Gravel deposits, formed by glacial movement and water erosion, have been quarried in Peoa, Wanship, and Hoytsville. The county has a few small marble deposits and a minor granite quarry near Peoa. In 1962, Utelite Corporation opened a plant between Peoa and Wanship to mine and process shale aggregates, which are used in the production of concrete.<sup>1</sup> Phosphate is mined in Franson Canyon and the Uinta Mountains, sulfur is found near Coalville, and salt is mined from the Preuss Sandstone in the northwest part of the county.

The reddish-brown and rust-colored clays in the 80-million-year-old Henefer Formation are used to produce brick and sewer pipe and to surface the infields of baseball diamonds; this local brick found its way into many pioneer structures. The common clay from the Henefer and Coalville areas is mined for use in brick, ceramics, tiles, medicines, and lightweight aggregate. A montmorillonite clay mine near Park City yields drilling mud and lining material for water structures. Bloating clay, a clay that expands and acts as a sealant when wet, is quarried in the Coalville and Wanship areas.

### *Energy Resources*

The county's only major coal field is found near Coalville in folded Cretaceous and Tertiary rocks. This coal is classified as "sub-bituminous." A small coal field at Henry's Fork on the north slope of the Uintas consists of several beds, all of which are older than those near Coalville. The 340–320-million-year-old Manning Canyon Shale at Henry's Fork was mined until the mid-twentieth century.

Unlike coal, which is formed mostly from large plants and animals, petroleum is formed mostly from decomposed phytoplankton and small marine animals. Summit County lies within a large oil and gas province called the Overthrust Belt. When the western-moving

North American plate collided with the Pacific crustal plate, porous Mesozoic and Paleozoic rocks came to rest on top of older, petroleum-laden marine shales. The result was a thousand-mile-long area of complexly folded and faulted rocks. Later, high pressures forced the petroleum upward into pockets and reservoir rocks, forming today's oil fields.

### *Geography*

The influence of Summit County's mountains goes beyond county borders. It's not just that Summit County adjoins so many other counties: two in Wyoming and six in Utah (Daggett, Duchesne, Wasatch, Salt Lake, Morgan, and Rich); the county's main contribution to the rest of Utah is water.

Four main rivers originate in the Uinta Mountains. The Provo, the Weber, and the Bear are Great Basin rivers; water from these rivers ends up in the Great Salt Lake, albeit by widely different routes. The Duchesne River runs into the Colorado River system. Along the way, these rivers provide irrigation and municipal water for communities to the south, north, east, and west.

During the last geologic period, the canyons that became major transportation routes were formed. At the same time, the three major alpine valleys where most of the county population now lives took shape. The populated valleys all lie in the western third of the county's land area, where elevations aren't as extreme. But even the low country here is high country. In these mountain communities, both human and non-human residents know snow—intimately. Summers arrive late and leave early, leaving behind frozen gardens and sweet cool memories.

The longest, widest, and flattest of these valleys is the Rhodes Valley, or Kamas Valley. The Weber River flows through the north end of Rhodes Valley and from there through the Coalville/Wanship area—a valley that has no consistent name on maps. In the westernmost part of the county lies Parley's Park, or the Snyderville Basin, with its mining town, Park City, tucked into a canyon to the south. From the beginning, these three populated sections of the county have been distinct places. Although they are somewhat connected politically and economically, the connection isn't strong. The geog-

raphy that separates these areas has fostered social differences, local boosterism, and a good dollop of rivalry.

Some county residents chose to live in smaller valleys and canyons away from the large valleys. Some of these smaller communities have disappeared; each of those that remain, however, is associated—both practically and philosophically—with one of the three sections of the county.

### *Plants and Animals*

Between its high mountain valleys and bald mountain peaks, Summit County has a wide range of life zones. At lower elevations, sagebrush and grasses cover the valleys, providing land for grazing and farming. The foothills are covered with Gambel oak in some areas and with pinyon-juniper forests in others. Higher up, aspen, white fir, Douglas fir, spruce, and lodgepole pine flank the mountains.

In one way or another, humans have employed the county's natural resources for their own uses. Trees, for instance, have served widely different purposes. They have provided "landscaping" for huge second homes, ties for train tracks, beauty for hikers, and fuel for the huge pumps used to pump water from Park City mines.

Trees have obviously been a valuable resource. But the relationship of settlers to many local animals has often been more adversarial. As farmers and ranchers established their crops and livestock on the land, they found that their needs clashed with the needs of a variety of wild animals. The *Coalville Times* reported in 1896 that coyotes were so numerous that they "chase the calves around on the feed grounds" at Wahsatch. Coyotes also were taking a heavy toll on sheep herds, according to the *Times*. Ten to fifteen young lambs per herd per night was a "reasonable average," the paper reported.<sup>2</sup> Bears, wolves, and mountain lions also raided herds.

The conflicts between humans and animals that damaged their property became a war that, in many cases, the animals lost. When the county adopted a bounty law, both young boys and men leaped into the fray. The *Coalville Times* applauded the law. "The adoption of the bounty law is encouraging to all, especially the boys. The chances are now that the squirrel nuisance will be abated rapidly. In

Echo, the sheep and squirrels are more numerous than silver dollars.”<sup>3</sup>

The system worked. In 1899, payment for a squirrel tail was 1.5 cents; by mid-year the county had paid a total \$1,200 for tails. The *Deseret News* commended the county commissioners for helping farmers “in the extermination of these mischievous animals.”<sup>4</sup> Despite such industriousness on the part of the boys, in the early years most of the bounties went to hunters of predatory animals. In 1899 the bounty for a coyote skin was 75 cents. Poison and traps were the usual methods of killing, but in 1908 George Wright tried a new method, chasing a group of coyotes on horseback and lassoing three of them.

In 1910, the *Coalville Times* reported that Sam Moore had found a litter of five gray wolf pups. “This is considered a good catch, besides the bounty of \$10 each [the bounty for a grown wolf was twenty dollars], it is an effectual and sure way of ridding the country of the dreaded pest; it also means a saving of thousands of dollars to the cattlemen of this county.”<sup>5</sup> In 1910, bounties were paid for seven wolves. In April 1911, Frank Rigby poisoned a very large male gray wolf at Castle Rock. “Said wolf has been a pest around here for some time,” the *Coalville Times* reported. “Last week, in one night, he killed two yearlings.”<sup>6</sup> Just four years later, in 1915, the county’s bounty receipt book recorded what was apparently the last bounty paid for a wolf in the area. By 1918, bounty hunters were mostly finding just squirrels and rabbits. Again, the system had worked as intended. Wolves, once common in Summit County, had been exterminated.

While the pace of predator elimination has slowed—due to the fact that the numbers of both predators and livestock have dropped—the battle between humans and nature continues in other arenas. In one instance the “enemy” is the mountain pine beetle, a tiny insect that has been on the U.S. Forest Service’s hit list for decades. These beetles invade lodgepole and ponderosa pine, tunneling between the bark and the wood until they girdle the trunk and kill the tree. In the early 1920s, foresters expressed concern over spreading beetle damage; a decade later, the spread was becoming an epidemic. In an attempt to control the beetles, the Forest Service “treated” about 2,300 trees on the north slope of the Uintas in 1931.<sup>7</sup>

The “treatment” was this: crews sprayed the infested trees with fuel oil and then burned them. The job had to be done before the larva turned into adult beetles, and also, of course, before fire danger became too high.

By 1936, the Forest Service had treated about 140,000 trees in the Wasatch National Forest. Much of the work was done by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), working out of the Soapstone camp near Kamas. In spite of the foresters’ best efforts, beetle infestations continued to plague the Wasatch National Forest. According to Kamas District records, crews did a substantial amount of control work in the Iron Mine and Soapstone Basin areas in the 1940s. However, in the mid-1950s, beetle populations flared up again. Aerial and ground surveys showed that more than 100,000 trees on the north slope were infested with mountain pine beetles.<sup>8</sup>

In response, the Forest Service launched the Wasatch Insect Control Project in 1958. Entomologists and other scientists joined the crusade, along with personnel from every district in the Wasatch National Forest. Again, the crews tried to destroy the beetles by burning infested trees; however, they also used insecticides such as ethylene dibromide and, in a radical departure from previous tactics, considered chaining the most blighted areas. Code-named Operation Pushover, this plan called for two large tractors linked by a heavy chain to move through the blighted areas uprooting the trees, which would then be stacked in rows where they could be burned. Foresters changed their minds when they considered how the public might react, however; besides, no one could predict the long-range consequences of chaining.<sup>9</sup>

The Wasatch Insect Control Project continued into the early 1960s. In 1962, crews treated more than 12,600 trees in the Provo and Weber river drainages within the Kamas District. Many of the contract workers were locals, giving the Kamas economy a lift. By the time the project ended in 1964, more than 734,000 trees had been treated at a cost of about \$4 million.<sup>10</sup>

Nevertheless, beetle infestations continue to haunt the evergreen forests of Summit County. Experts say that an extended drought in northern Utah that began in the mid-1980s weakened thousands of trees, creating ideal conditions for a beetle epidemic. Between 1984



and 1989, about 200,000 acres of lodgepole and ponderosa pine in the Uintas were affected.<sup>11</sup> By the early 1990s, the Forest Service also was reporting an infestation of fir engraver beetles among alpine fir trees on public and private land in Summit County.

Although certain insects are still under attack, relations between humans and animals are perhaps slightly more cordial than they were a few decades ago. For one thing, there are fewer people making a living from agriculture, both in real terms and as a percentage of the total, so there are fewer ranchers to complain of coyotes and bobcats. Also, animals have more advocates, both mild and fanatic, these days—a fact attested to by the October 1996 raid on a Coalville mink farm by animal rights activists. And among the general public, wildlife is held in greater esteem than it once was. More and more people make the trip to see bald eagles wintering in trees along the Weber River, and many people thrill to see even a mule deer. But when conflicts do arise, this admiration doesn't give the animals any advantage. If a porcupine chews the trees around a Deer Valley house, the porcupine will probably lose the battle. If a deer crosses the freeway in front of a commuter rushing to Salt Lake City, the deer will almost certainly lose.

#### ENDNOTES

1. *Summit County Bee*, 13 December 1962.
2. *Coalville Times*, 13 March 1896 and 29 May 1896.
3. *Coalville Times*, 8 May 1896.
4. *Deseret News*, 7 July 1899.
5. *Coalville Times*, 4 March 1910.
6. *Coalville Times*, 7 April 1911.
7. Charles S. Peterson and Linda E. Speth, *A History of the Wasatch-Cache National Forest* (n.p., 1980), 162.
8. *Ibid.*, 164.
9. *Ibid.*, 168.
10. *Ibid.*, 169.
11. See "Condition Red: The Mountain Pine Beetle in Northeastern Utah," USDA Forest Service pamphlet, revised 1990.

## CHAPTER 3

# PREHISTORIC PEOPLE, EXPLORERS AND TRAPPERS

### *Native American Occupation*

Northern Utah's prehistoric people built few monuments to themselves. There are no great cities, no imposing stone pyramids, no huge caches of artifacts for archaeologists to examine. Nevertheless, the area's earliest human inhabitants left enough clues for scientists at least to begin gathering pieces of the puzzle.

Unfortunately, few of those clues have been found in Summit County. To date, the only indications we have that early native tribes occupied this area are references in the journals of early white explorers and settlers as well as fragments of stone tools found scattered on the surface in a few locations. No one really knows how long ago native tribes first entered the Summit County area and whether they ever used it as anything more than a seasonal hunting ground.

Despite sparse physical evidence, archaeologists believe that humans have inhabited northern Utah for perhaps 12,000 years. At Danger Cave, an important archaeological site in western Utah near the Nevada state line, archaeologists have found artifacts dating from between 11,000 and 12,000 years ago. Since large mammals such as

bison, ground sloths, mastodons, mammoths, and camels lived in the area by at least 10,000 B.C., researchers speculate that the first human occupants of the area were nomadic hunters in pursuit of large game. No one has actually proved this theory yet, however, despite a few Great Basin sites where human artifacts have been found near the bones of extinct mammals.<sup>1</sup>

About 8,500 years ago, as the Ice Age gave way to a warmer, drier climate, a new culture began to replace the big-game hunters. Some experts believe that technological advances in weaponry contributed to the extinction of the great mammals; others believe that climate changes—and the resulting extinctions—forced humans to develop new weapons. Whatever the chain of events, the period between 8,500 and 2,500 years ago, known as the Archaic period, was marked by the development of projectile weapons and tools such as the atlatl, or spear-thrower. The Archaic peoples also used flat stones for grinding wild plants and seeds, and they began to make basketry and textiles.

These hunter-gatherers lived on the animals and plants close at hand. Evidence from this period found at Hogup Cave in northwestern Utah shows that they hunted several large game animals still prevalent today, including pronghorn antelope, mule deer, bison, and bighorn sheep.<sup>2</sup> Inhabitants of Summit County during the Archaic period—if, in fact, there were any—likely also would have had much in common with the occupants of higher-elevation sites such as Swallow Shelter (elevation 5,800 feet) in the Goose Creek Mountains of western Box Elder County. Here, excavations revealed a people more dependent on mountain sheep and marmot, along with prickly-pear pads and the seeds of wild grasses.

About 2,500 years ago the population of the northeastern Great Basin apparently plummeted. For about the next 1,000 years there seem to have been few people in this area. Then, about 1,500 years ago, a new culture appeared. It was marked—for the first time in the history of the area—by the use of pottery and by structures made of stone or adobe. In much of Utah, this culture is known as the Fremont. Variants of the Fremont culture—known as the Sevier, Great Salt Lake, and Uinta variants—developed in northern Utah. Many traces of the Fremont culture and its Great Salt Lake variant

have been found around the Great Salt Lake and Utah Lake. The evidence suggests that these people lived in permanent or semi-permanent villages, and that they also used temporary campsites while hunting or gathering food in mountainous areas like Summit County.

Bison, antelope, and deer were important sources of food and materials for the Fremont, although by the time the first white settlers arrived the bison had largely disappeared from northern Utah. However, bison bones have been found at a number of Fremont sites around the Great Salt Lake, and early white residents reported finding bison skulls in Echo Canyon.<sup>3</sup>

About 700 or 800 years ago, the Fremont people also disappeared. Perhaps drought or some other change in climate forced them to move; or, as some researchers have suggested, they may have been driven out by a new group from the southwestern part of the Great Basin.<sup>4</sup> The new arrivals were the so-called Shoshonean people, speakers of a Numic language. The descendants of these people were still living in Utah when the first white explorers and trappers arrived in the late eighteenth century.

According to anthropologists and ethnologists, northern Utah was inhabited by three Shoshonean groups—the Goshutes (mostly south and west of the Great Salt Lake), the Utes (from the Uinta Basin west as far as Utah Lake), and the Northern Shoshoni (in northeastern Utah, including Summit County). Anthropologist Julian Steward reported that the Shoshonean people lived in winter quarters in groups of as many as fifteen families; they then divided into groups in the spring to hunt and forage for food.<sup>5</sup> A common dwelling was a conical lodge thatched with a variety of materials, including rushes and grass. Those of the northern Shoshoni who had access to buffalo made tipis, using the hides to cover the tipi poles. According to Steward, caves and rock shelters also served as winter dwellings.

By the time the first white explorers arrived in the area in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the Shoshoni and Utes of northern Utah were using horses. Horses enhanced the hunters' ability to kill larger game and allowed them to travel farther east for buffalo when the herds disappeared from Utah in the 1830s. Horses also

changed the nature of tribal politics and economics. Steward reports that the comparative wealth of Shoshoni and Ute tribes made them tempting targets for Blackfoot war parties from the north. Early emigrants also reported battles between “Snakes” (Shoshoni) and the Ute tribes. The aftermath of one conflict, near the head of Echo Canyon, was described by John W. Jones, who was en route to California in June 1850. By this time, the natives obviously had adopted the white man’s weapons.

On arriving at Yellow Creek, 11 miles west of Bear River, the singular actions of an Indian dog howling upon the summit of the hill, west of the road, attracted my attention. Crossing over, I found the smoking ruins of an Indian town; the poles of the wigwams were laid in piles as were also the coverings of the tents. The skins of warriors and all their effects, which had been burned in heaps, were still smoking. To the north of the wigwams, as if retreating from the road, lay the bodies of seven Indians, namely three warriors—one of whom was scalped, and four squaws, all of them covered with robes or sacks. One thing which I noticed was that every shot had pierced the heart, and each victim lay in the spot where the deadly bullet overtook him. One aged squaw lay crouched behind a large bunch of wild sage, as though not yet dead; several Indian dogs guarded her carefully and forbade our approach. We advanced in hopes of administering relief to suffering humanity, but she too was dead. It was truly a solemn scene. . . . In the canyon, several miles from the ford on the Weber, one of our company discovered the yet smouldering ruins of another encampment. Dogs were howling in the direction of the mountain, but being alone and some distance from the train, we did not search for bodies.<sup>6</sup>

According to the 15 July 1850 issue of the *Deseret News*, Ute chief Wakara (Walker) claimed to have organized the attack as retaliation against the Shoshoni for “having previously killed some of his Indians.”

Before the arrival of whites, some historians say, the Indians of northern Utah lived quite comfortably on a diet of buffalo meat, fish from the streams, camas roots, and the seeds of wild grasses from the mountain valleys.<sup>7</sup> Even the fabled “Mormon cricket,” regarded as a scourge by the early settlers, was harvested for food.<sup>8</sup> However, native



Indian petroglyphs in northern Summit County. Native Americans hunted in the area, but there are no traces of year-round settlements. (Lottie Richins)

foods dwindled as white incursions multiplied. First to go was the game; early white trappers developed a reputation for shooting everything they saw.<sup>9</sup> By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Indians began to feel the shock waves from a growing influx of Mormon settlers and from hordes of gold-seekers on their way to California. Trees were cut down for firewood, grasses were destroyed by livestock, and wild game was culled in enormous numbers. In July 1849, overlander Charles Glass Gray recorded the success of consecutive days of hunting near the Bear River. "Several of our men who had gone shooting brought in 12 fine prairie hens," Gray wrote after one day's hunt, followed by: "5 of us today shot 50 large Sage hens." Mariett Cummings, another overlander, wrote that he was able to catch thirty-two fine speckled trout from the Weber River in two days of fishing. Historian Brigham Madsen suggests that such incidents reduced wild game so much that, by the 1850s, the Shoshoni Indians faced a severe depletion of their food supplies.<sup>10</sup>

Helping to put the two groups on a collision course was the disdain with which the whites regarded tribal claims to the land. Within days of the arrival of the first pioneers in July 1847, Mormon official Heber C. Kimball had established a policy addressing native reimbursements for the land. Kimball argued that the Shoshoni should not be paid for their land, because the other tribes would expect compensation as well. "The land belongs to our Father in Heaven, and we calculate to plow and plant it," he said.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, Brigham Young discouraged his followers from fighting the native tribes and peoples, arguing that it was "manifestly more economical, and less expensive to feed and clothe . . . them."<sup>12</sup> As a result, the Shoshoni became increasingly dependent on the white settlers for their survival.

Inevitably, the migration of Mormon settlers into the high mountain valleys brought them into contact—and sometimes conflict—with the Shoshoni and Ute tribes who hunted there. Among the first casualties were three customers of Samuel C. Snyder's sawmill. In 1850, Snyder acquired squatter's rights to Parley's Park, a lush, saucer-shaped mountain valley that is now called the Snyderville Basin. In 1853, he built a water-powered sawmill on the southwest side of Parley's Park (near the present Silver Springs subdivision), harnessing the flow of White Pine, Red Pine, and Willow creeks. Snyder found an eager clientele for his lumber in the growing community of Great Salt Lake City.

However, the opening of Snyder's sawmill coincided with an outbreak of hostilities between the Mormon settlers and the Ute chief Wakara. According to a *Deseret News* report:

On the 17th [of August 1853], as four men were hauling lumber from Snyder's mill, near Parley's Park, and had arrived just east of the summit of the second or big mountain, a party of Indians fired upon them from an ambush, and instantly killed John Dixon and John Quayle, and wounded John Hoagland through the fleshy part of his arm, between the shoulder and elbow. Hoagland and Knight then unloosened, and mounted two horses, and escaped to this city, leaving the dead, and four horses and two mules in possession of the Indians. A detachment was immediately sent out who brought in the dead bodies unmutilated, the day following; a por-

tion of the detachment proceeded to Snyder's mill, dismantled it, and all returned in safety, and without being able to find any Indians. No further collisions have taken place.<sup>13</sup>

On 19 August, the same day that Dixon and Quayle were buried, Governor Brigham Young issued a proclamation in which he advised all people of the Territory of Utah to be prepared to defend themselves and to help others whenever necessary:

Every person, whether resident, or non-resident, is hereby strictly forbidden to give, trade, or in any way voluntarily put in possession of any Utah Indian, any powder, load, gun, sword, knife or any weapon, or munition of war whatever; or to give, or in any manner render to any Utah Indian, any aid, shelter, food, or comfort, either directly or indirectly, unless by permission, or license from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, the Indian Agent, or Sub-Agent.<sup>14</sup>

Young also revoked all licenses to trade with the Indians in Utah Territory.

To protect themselves, Snyder and the other settlers built their homes inside a fort. Each evening they would bring their cattle, wagons, and other belongings inside the compound. After the Utes began setting fire to piles of lumber, Snyder began hiding the lumber in ditches and tall grass. An employee, Jesse Johnson, apparently escaped one confrontation by sneaking up a creek drainage and into the Salt Lake Valley.<sup>15</sup>

Early settlers of Wanship, Henefer, and Peoa all reported encounters with large groups of native peoples. In his 1889 history, Edward Tullidge described these groups as "warlike tribes," and contended that the settlers felt they had to share their provisions with them "for the sake of peace and amity." "As early as the summer of 1865 these marauding bands began to kill and drive off cattle," Tullidge wrote. "Commencing their thieving again as the spring of 1866 opened, the leaders of the Saints, who exercised an energetic, fatherly care over the infant colonies of their people, issued a written circular to the people of Summit and Wasatch Counties, dated May 2nd, 1866, giving them wise counsel that if followed would insure the safety of their lives and property."<sup>16</sup>



Two local histories based on the recollections of early settlers suggest that confrontations between Indians and whites were the exception, not the rule, however:

During the early settlement years, many Indians camped along the [Weber] river bottoms. Sometimes as many as fifteen hundred of one tribe would stop at one time. The Indian Chief most remembered was Washakie, of the Shoshones. The Settlers were compelled to keep close watch on their cattle and horses but as a rule the Indians were very friendly.<sup>17</sup>

Other early settlers reported encounters with large groups of from 300 to 400 Shoshoni Indians at Wanship in the fall of 1861 and at Peoa in the late summer of 1863. In each case, the settlers shared their food with the Indians, and in each case there was no violence. In fact, there are stories of close friendships developing between settlers and Indians.<sup>18</sup>

Ironically, during the late 1860s peaceable relations between settlers and natives in Summit County were impeded by skirmishes far to the south. Raids on cattle herds in central and southern Utah by Utes under Chief Black Hawk prompted Brigham Young to advise Mormon settlers to move into forts and take their cattle with them, even in areas as far north as Summit County.<sup>19</sup> Thus, in 1866 and 1867, settlers moved into forts at Henefer, Chalk Creek, Rockport ("Rock Fort"), and Peoa.

There were some confrontations between Utes and Summit County settlers during the Black Hawk War. One journal gives the details of an encounter between William W. Cluff, mayor of Coalville, and a band of Utes. The Utes rode into town and demanded eight beef cattle and a large quantity of flour. When Mayor Cluff attempted to talk with the small band, one of the Utes grabbed the mayor's hat and began taunting him. Cluff kept his composure in this tense situation and declared that he could spare only one beef and a little flour. Seeing that Cluff did not intend to sweeten his offer, the Utes took the animal and the flour and left, doing no harm to the settlers in Coalville.<sup>20</sup>

Another incident that year, involving Indians and "renegade"



Indian encampment in Summit County. Early settlers reported a number of encounters with large groups of Shoshoni, most of them peaceful. (Lottie Richins)

white man Ike Potter, didn't end as peacefully. This incident has become part of county folklore.

Isaac S. Potter, commonly known as Ike Potter, is said to have stolen and killed an ox belonging to a person living on East Weber. He was arrested. He requested time for trial, which was granted, he giving bonds. Soon after he absconded, but in a short time returned in company with some Indians and others who bore the reputation of belonging to a band of desperadoes and thieves, of which he was the reputed chief. It is said, on good authority, that he threatened to "clean out" the settlement of Coalville with the Indians.<sup>21</sup>

Potter and two white accomplices were arrested by Sheriff J.C. Roundy and locked up in the strongest available building: the Coalville ward chapel, later to become the "old rock school house."

What happened next is a matter of dispute. Some people say that Ike and his men were forcibly removed from their makeshift jail. Others say they escaped. Either way, two of them didn't make it out of

town. One was shot as he crossed Chalk Creek. The other was Potter, who apparently met his maker in front of the old county courthouse.

No one claimed Potter's body, and no one wanted it in the local cemetery. It was buried on a rocky hillside near the point where the old county road crossed Grass Creek. Some sixty years later, the grave was submerged by Echo Reservoir, and, about forty years after that, a few human bones were washed up on shore. The origin of those bones has never been determined, but some Coalville residents are convinced that they are Ike Potter's remains.

By 1868, the threat of Ute raids had subsided, and the settlers began to leave the forts and return to their original homesites. The establishment of the Uintah Indian Reservation in the Uinta Basin in 1861, and a series of Indian treaties beginning with the Spanish Fork Treaty of 1865, moved most Indians away from the towns and villages of the territory.

### *Spanish Explorers and Gold-seekers*

By the time the first Anglo-Europeans arrived in northern Utah in the 1820s, the Spanish were already well acquainted with the territory. Most historians believe that the first Spaniards to arrive in northern Utah were two Franciscan friars, Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Silvestre Vélez de Escalante. In 1776, these friars led an expedition from New Mexico looking for a route to the Pacific and exploring possible sites for Christian missions. Although they never reached California, they did explore much of Utah, traveling as far north as Utah Lake.<sup>22</sup> By the early 1800s, Spanish fur traders had developed trade routes into Utah territory, also perhaps as far north as Utah Lake.<sup>23</sup>

However, local lore suggests that the Spanish may have been in the state much earlier than 1776. Author George Thompson, who prowled many of the canyons of northeastern Utah, photographed a number of rock inscriptions in the Uinta Basin that he believed dated from the 1660s. He also pointed to an accumulation of Spanish artifacts found between the Uinta Basin and the Wasatch Mountains, including several cannons and cannonballs. One of the cannons is an elegant brass howitzer, complete with intricate decorations and inscribed with a date: 1517.<sup>24</sup> Thompson also contended that there

are a number of old mines in the upper Weber River drainage that may have been Spanish in origin. In fact, a mineral map of Utah published in 1878 shows an "Old Spanish Gold Mine" at the head of Crandall's Canyon east of Rockport.<sup>25</sup>

In neighboring Wasatch County, the weekly newspaper in 1897 described two newly discovered tunnels on the ridge that separates Daniels and Center creeks. The newspaper reporter, who "took up a long and tedious march" to the site of the excavations, said the tunnels had "every appearance of being there for years past." The reporter wondered whether there was any link between those tunnels and a story told by early settlers "that at a time some eight or ten years before the first settlers arrived here, there existed valuable mines in the surrounding mountains which had been worked by Mexicans." According to that story, "the miners had been murdered and driven from their treasure by the Indians."<sup>26</sup>

No other mine workings in the Uintas can match the legendary status of the so-called Lost Rhoades Mine. One of the first Mormons to cross the plains, Thomas Rhoades settled first in northern California, where he apparently became quite wealthy from gold claims he had worked before the famous discovery at Sutter's Mill. Rhoades then returned to Utah in 1849 and apparently donated a substantial amount of his gold to the Mormon church. He also explored much of Summit County and was among the first group to settle the Kamas Prairie, which became known as Rhoades (or Rhodes) Valley.<sup>27</sup>

According to legend, Mormon prophet Brigham Young chose Rhoades as the man who would accompany Ute Chief Wakara to the site of a Spanish gold cache in the Uintas. The cache was said to be in a sacred place called Carre-Shin-Ob, or "There Dwells the Great Spirit," and Rhoades had to agree never to reveal the site to anyone else. Rhoades reportedly learned the location and made several trips, bringing back gold for the Mormon mint, until he became too ill to continue. The secret was passed on to his son, Caleb, who continued to visit the site until the Utes finally forbade him to remove any more gold.

Since then, the location of Carre-Shin-Ob, or the Lost Rhoades Mine, has been the subject of much speculation and several books.

But it appears that the secret of the gold—if, in fact, it ever existed—died with Caleb Rhoades.

Thompson freely admitted that much of his information is folklore, and most of it is difficult to document. Still, the sheer volume of anecdotal information, together with tantalizing hints in Spanish archives, are enough to convince some people that Spanish treasure may still exist in the Uintas, perhaps in Summit County. Among those who have visited the area recently is treasure hunter Mel Fisher, a national celebrity since his discovery of the Spanish ship *Atocha* off the coast of Florida.<sup>28</sup>

### *Trappers and Adventurers*

The first documented visit by white men into Summit County was made by trappers William H. Ashley and Etienne Provost. Ashley and Provost were among several groups of trappers that converged on Utah in 1824–25, including parties led by Englishman Peter Skene Ogden, Jedediah Smith, and possibly Jim Bridger. Ashley's party, traveling from the east, met Provost on 7 June 1825 in the Uinta Mountains.<sup>29</sup> After picking up a cache of supplies, the two groups followed the Strawberry River to its source in the Uintas. Ashley and Provost then headed north through the Kamas Valley. They followed the Weber River—which Ashley called “Lake River”—as far as Echo Canyon.

At that point, Provost and Ashley parted company. Provost continued down the Weber River to the Great Salt Lake while Ashley doubled back up the Weber to Chalk Creek, explored Chalk Creek Canyon, then crossed over into the Bear River drainage. Ashley's destination was along Henry's Fork about twenty miles from its confluence with the Green River, where a rendezvous was scheduled with about 120 mountain men, including Provost's men and others who had heard of the gathering.

The rendezvous served as a temporary trading post, allowing the trappers to exchange their furs for supplies, and to stay in the mountains year-round. It also became a festival where Indians and trappers of various backgrounds celebrated the successes of the previous year. One observer described the event as a celebration indeed:

At the yearly rendezvous the trappers seek to indemnify themselves

for the sufferings and privations of a year spent in the wilderness. With their hairy bank notes, the beaver skins, they can obtain all the luxuries of the mountains, and live for a few days like lords. Coffee and chocolate is cooked; the pipe is kept aglow day and night; the spirits circulate; and whatever is not spent in such ways the squaws coax out of them, or else it is squandered at cards.<sup>30</sup>

In July 1827 the explorer and trapper Jedediah Smith left such a rendezvous at Bear Lake en route to California in the second leg of his famous Southwest expedition. After following the Bear River upstream, Smith and his party turned southwest, apparently taking Chalk Creek downstream to its confluence with the Weber River near present-day Coalville. The group then followed the Weber River upstream into the Kamas Valley before taking the Provo River through Heber Valley toward Utah Lake.<sup>31</sup>

Although Ashley and Smith chose the Chalk Creek route to travel into and out of the territory, other trappers used Echo Canyon. A number of them carved their names into the sandstone walls of Cache Cave, a natural hollow in the walls of the canyon about eighteen miles northeast of the present community of Echo. The cave is mentioned in several journals written by trappers, explorers, and Mormon pioneers.<sup>32</sup>

The mountain man rendezvous continued to be an annual ritual in the northern Rockies until about 1840. Then, as both the demand for pelts and the numbers of beaver declined, the tradition petered out. But even today, would-be mountain men leave their air-conditioned lifestyles, dress up in animal skins, and drive their pickups to re-created rendezvous in an attempt to relive the lives of the fabled adventurers who trapped the water courses of the county.

#### ENDNOTES

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24. George Thompson, *Faded Footprints—The Lost Rhoads Mine and Other Hidden Treasures of Utah's Killer Mountains* (Salt Lake City: Roaming the West Publications, Inc., 1991), 84.

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27. George Thompson, "Mormon Money and the Lost Mines," *Park City Lodestar* (Summer 1994), 65; Gale R. Rhoades and Kerry Ross Boren, *Footprints in the Wilderness, A History of the Lost Rhoades Mine*. (Salt Lake City: Dream Garden Press, 1980), 129.

28. Thompson said Mel Fisher spent several days with him in the summer of 1994. According to Thompson, Fisher's research in Spanish archives allowed him to accurately describe the location of one old mine portal, even though he had never been near the site. Interview of Thompson with David Hampshire, spring 1995.

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## CHAPTER 4

# MORMON SETTLEMENT

“In front the eye runs down the long bright red line of Echo Canyon, and rests with astonishment upon its novel and curious features, the sublimity of its broken and jagged peaks, divided by dark abysses, and based upon huge piles of disjointed and scattered rock,” observed traveler Sir Richard Burton in the summer of 1860.<sup>1</sup>

This was a dreamscape. It was particularly a dreamscape to the Mormon pioneers, who, when they first entered Echo Canyon, were not short on dreams. For them, the wild canyons and rough desert Great Basin landscape, so unfamiliar and fantastic, were a geography of hope. Here, the Mormons believed, they would build nothing less than the Kingdom of God. Therefore, each new wonder they saw evoked poetic images and assumed heightened meaning. This was not just land; it was the setting for a great drama ready to unfold.

The problem of building new communities was therefore not purely material; in a sense, the Mormons were consciously writing their own spiritual history. Their efforts would be legible upon the land. The series of communities that sprang up like winter wheat

across the fields of Utah Territory spoke to their devotion to God, to community, and to order. These were clearly “cities upon a hill,” conscious efforts at building a new society.

As is true of all communities, these Mormon villages were shaped by geography, local society, and the process of forging a community. But they were also shaped by a systematic plan that rose from the Latter-day Saints’ larger spiritual purpose. Two years after the Mormon pioneers arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, Brigham Young began calling groups of colonists to settle in neighboring valleys. Most of these settlements lay along the Wasatch Front, but settlement also spread out from that central spine, with towns established every ten or thirty miles in most directions.

It was during the “second wave” of Mormon settlement—from the late 1850s through the 1860s—that many of the towns of Summit County were established.<sup>2</sup> The Snyderville area had already been established as a private sawmilling center in 1853; and, by 1860, Wanship, Peoa, Cluff (Spring Hollow), Unionville (Hoytsville), Coalville, Henefer, Kamas, and Rockport had been founded in the manner typical of Mormon towns, with a regular grid of roads and town lots surrounded by outlying farming and pasture lands. In 1861, Echo and Upton were settled, followed later in the decade by Grass Creek and Oakley. Using the same strategy applied elsewhere in the territory, the county’s more remote or less economically attractive areas were settled later. In the mid-1870s, Marion and Woodland were established, and the last Mormon village, Francis, was in place shortly before the turn of the century. These towns all served to build a network of services, resources, and community relationships.

### *Land Distribution*

Before 1869, the Mormons claimed their property as squatters, building their homes and plowing their fields long before they legally owned the land. Mormon bishops usually played a key role in distributing land, assigning acreage according to the number of family members, although some communities drew lots, leaving more to chance. The initial land allocation for families usually consisted of twenty acres; in addition, towns reserved considerable communal



Family in front of early log cabin near Coalville. (Brigham Young University, George Beard Collection)

grazing and agricultural land. In Summit County, however, there wasn't an abundance of arable land, and this scarcity of land limited the growth of Coalville and nearby towns.

When the Federal Land Office finally opened in Salt Lake City in 1869, church leaders encouraged members to quickly secure legal title to their property. Two federal land programs facilitated this process—the Homestead Act of 1862 and the Pre-emption Act, which required a payment of \$1.25 per acre. The Mormons, who had little cash, naturally preferred the Homestead Act.

Under provisions of the Homestead Act, settlers could gain title to as much as 160 acres if they lived on the land for a period of five years.<sup>3</sup> The distinctive Mormon culture made this a problem, however. Because Mormons believed in living in town, on small lots, it was difficult to actually live on a homestead. Some of the people in Summit County solved this problem by living in town but camping on their farm land for a few nights every six months.<sup>4</sup> In another, more creative, approach, settlers would group together in order to file for a patent for contiguous tracts of land; they then would appoint a

trustee to file for the group. Eventually, the trustee would transfer title of the various tracts to the individual owners.<sup>5</sup>

The federal government continued to control land distribution for many years. The James Bourne Rhead family claimed their land under the provisions of the Desert Land Act. When they purchased the South Fork Ranch in Chalk Creek in September of 1885, Rhead recorded the transaction in his diary: "The Robinsons had not as yet proved up on their claim, and they relinquished their homestead and desert entry claims to us. We in turn made similar entries on the same tract of 240 acres."<sup>6</sup>

### *Coalville*

The settlement pattern of Coalville was typical of Summit County's Mormon towns. The townsite was chosen by an observant freighter named William H. Smith. During the fall of 1858, Smith discovered matured wheat that had grown unattended at the Chalk Creek campground, forty-five miles northeast of Salt Lake City. Apparently, immigrants traveling through Echo Canyon and across Chalk Creek had accidentally dropped wheat, which, left to its own, had flourished. To Smith, the wheat was a sufficiently propitious sign; here was a place with great promise for settlement. He returned to his home in the Sugarhouse area of Salt Lake City and enticed three of his friends and their families with promises of fertile land and beautiful scenery. The next April, each of the men—Leonard Phillips, Andrew Williams, Alanson Norton, and Smith—moved up with their families to claim sizeable acreage. They were joined in June by Henry B. Wilde, Joseph Stallings, and Thomas B. Franklin and their families. Within months, John and Fred Wilde, Joel Lewis, Daniel H. Wells, Bryant Stringham, Stephen Taylor, Fred Birch, Andrew Johnston, John Spriggs, and Howard Livingston had all claimed land in the area.<sup>7</sup>

These original settlers were farmers intent on creating a small Mormon town at this isolated spot at the base of the mountains. Some had been called to move to Summit County; others came of their own initiative. Interestingly, a large number of this first group had been born in the British Isles; in 1870, the census reported that 43.9 percent of Coalville residents had emigrated from there.

The LDS church extended its control over the fledgling settlement by creating a branch of the church and appointing William H. Wilde branch president. As president, he performed duties beyond tending to the spiritual welfare of his flock. He oversaw the distribution of land and the organization of a system of agriculture. In times of need, Wilde distributed food from the bishop's storehouse that had been established to provide supplies both for local families and for new settlers arriving from the eastern United States and Europe. The storehouse was an apt symbol for the cooperative spirit of the town, which showed itself in many ways. Soon after they arrived with a wagon train in 1868, the Thomas Beard family received from friends and neighbors enough food and flour to enable them to survive through their first season.<sup>8</sup>

From these simple beginnings, Coalville (or Chalk Creek, as it was then known) became the county's first large town and its county seat. In its early establishment, the settlers followed a pattern which would be repeated in other county towns. First, during the initial period of survival, the pioneers built a community fort; dug a crude diversion canal to provide water for homes, crops, and livestock; and built a makeshift meetinghouse for worship and public meetings. Secondly, settlers built substantial individual homes and improved the original canal system during the next stage of community building. They also built a larger, more substantial, and impressive meetinghouse. During the third stage, settlers built rock or frame houses as well as more permanent school and public buildings.<sup>9</sup>

Chalk Creek's first generation survived briefly in tents and dugouts; but within the first year many had built log cabins. Some families doubled up, sharing living quarters until they could build their own. Thomas Beard and his wife and two children, for instance, shared their two-room log house with Thomas's two brothers and two sisters—a setup that no doubt challenged their hospitality. Life wasn't easy. The settlers endured harsh winters, with frigid air coming from nearby canyons. Temperatures frequently dropped below freezing even in June, damaging or destroying crops altogether.<sup>10</sup> The Weber River froze so hard in the winter months that wagons could safely cross it rather than make the eight-mile trip to Hoytsville, where the only bridge in the area was located.

In the early 1860s, I.D. Huffeker & Company and Samuel J. Sudbury & Company built sawmills in the area. The construction industry employed many in Coalville as the town grew and residents erected churches, schools, business buildings, and mining structures. A pottery, a blacksmith shop, and a wheelwright shop were established in the 1860s. In the early 1870s, R.H. Porter built a water-powered gristmill, later operated by Thomas "Jimmie the Miller" Welch until near the end of the century.

The settlers were, of course, encroaching on the territory of various indigenous tribes. Mormon relations with the Native Americans were complicated by Book of Mormon theology; also, Mormons saw native peoples as potential converts and attempted in some instances to "civilize" them with lessons in theology and farming. Although always tenuous at best, relations between the two groups deteriorated as each new wave of settlers further threatened the native way of life. The Native Americans saw their land being swallowed up by white settlers, their sources of food disappearing, and the world as they knew it being changed.

Each tribe reacted in its own way. The Shoshoni, semi-transient residents of Utah, remained peaceful. As the Shoshoni traveled through Echo Canyon each year to hunt buffalo on the Wyoming plains, the settlers along the Weber River often came in contact with Chief Washakie and his band of 3,000 people. Tribe members camped along the river near settlers' homes, but relations remained friendly.<sup>11</sup> The Utes, however, followed Black Hawk's call to resist the whites' continued encroachment on traditional hunting grounds.<sup>12</sup> During the Black Hawk War of 1865 to 1872, Brigham Young advised all Mormon settlements to build forts and move their homes and farm animals inside the forts for protection. So, in 1865, Bishop Wilde sent out a call for all the area's families to come together to live in a fort built on the hill above Chalk Creek. Each day, herd boys about twelve years old brought the cattle out to graze in the fields surrounding the fort, while boys and girls alike watched for Indians riding on the horizon.

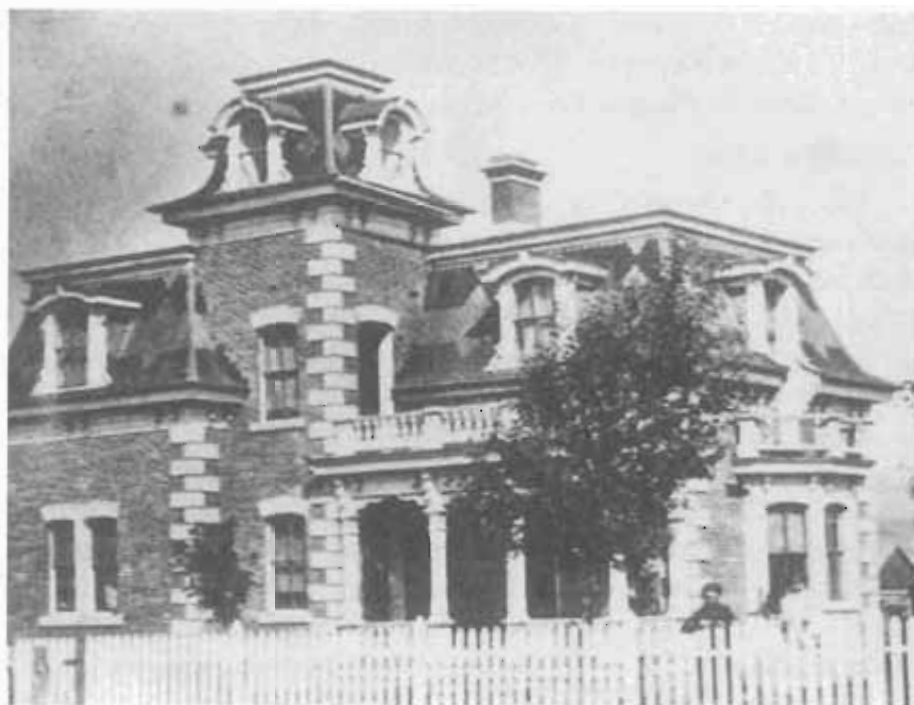
After the peace negotiations, Coalville was no longer under the threat of attack, and the only Indians seen locally were poverty-stricken women and children begging for food. This is not to say that

the cultures were at ease with each other. As late as 1894, warnings were published about Indians in town. In one instance, the newspaper warned of a "vicious-looking old Navaho" seen on the street.<sup>13</sup>

Perhaps the threat of attack by Indians provided a sense of unity that motivated the settlers of Chalk Creek to organize more formally as a town. More likely, though, the community had reached an obvious transition point. Coal had been discovered nearby and the Mormon church had opened several mines. The little community thus had seen some growth and prosperity and perhaps a vision of its future as a town. With at least some vision in mind, a committee was chosen to survey and designate town lots and to prepare a document of incorporation. In 1866, the inhabitants incorporated and, focusing on the area's most obvious resource, changed their town's name from Chalk Creek to Coalville. At the same time, more than 600 men voted for the town's first mayor and town council.

Although the mayor and council officially replaced the LDS church ward bishopric as town leaders,<sup>14</sup> the line between ecclesiastical and secular leadership remained fuzzy. The first elected group included William Wallace Cluff, mayor; with H.B. Clemens, Ira Hinckley, and John Staley, selectmen. Creighton S. Hawkins was appointed treasurer; John Boyden, recorder, assessor, and collector; Alma Eldredge, sheriff; and John White, street supervisor. To the average resident, the change didn't make much difference. Most of the population were Mormons who believed in supporting their leaders in whatever capacity they performed.

A decade after settlement, both city and county governments were up and running, providing civic services and regulating trade, community relations, and land distribution. Coalville was on its way to developing reliable water systems, a more diversified economy, and stratified society. Several civic improvements gradually brought the town into the twentieth century. In February 1896, for instance, the council appropriated funds for a boardwalk on Main Street. A city sprinkling wagon purchased in 1900 kept dusty roads under control; then, in 1910, the city installed paved sidewalks. Electricity, powered by a steam plant, arrived in 1905, eight years after the first telephones connected the area mines with the home base and Coalville with the world outside.



The W. W. Cluff home in Coalville. Cluff was the first mayor of Coalville and the first president of the L.D.S Summit Stake. (Summit County Historical Society)

At first, Coalville schoolchildren attended school in private homes. Early settlers Sarah Wilde (wife of Henry B. Wilde) and Mary Jane Asper (wife of Elias Asper) taught their own children and children from neighboring farms in their homes. Pupils paid one dollar per month for their education.<sup>15</sup> In 1860, the community erected its first log schoolhouse, which doubled as a meetinghouse, with Emmy Wilde (wife of William Wilde) as the first teacher. A more permanent rock schoolhouse replaced this modest log building in 1865.

Under Mormon church president Wilford Woodruff, the Summit LDS Stake established a private school in 1892, the Summit Stake Academy. Initially housed on the second floor of the Coalville Co-op, the I. C. Academy provided quality high school education for young men and women, as well as religious, spiritual and moral instruction. Here, a student could obtain three years of high school (called nor-



mal school at the time) for a fee of ten dollars. Out-of-town students boarded in the school itself for \$2.50. Early teachers included Valate Elbert, Nora Young, Randall I. Jones, and a Miss Hestler.

### *The Echo War*

Just a decade after the settlement of Utah Territory, the federal government sought to replace Brigham Young as territorial governor and put in his place a quorum of civic officials to replace the Mormon hierarchy in local politics. This was clearly an effort to rein in the increasingly autonomous theocratic government; it also reflected increased national awareness of the Mormon practice of plural marriage, one of the “twin relics of barbarism” identified by the newly organized Republican party. For these and other reasons, President James Buchanan, elected in 1856, decided to appoint a new governor and believed the Mormons would resist his efforts to do so.

Reports had filtered back to Washington in the 1850s about the religious fervor of the Latter-day Saints. Identified by historians as the “Reformation” of 1856–57, this religious movement was marked by rededication to the work of the Lord and heightened rhetoric about the imminent punishment of outsiders. Letters came from Indian agents, Utah Surveyor General David H. Burr, former United States mail contractor W.F.M. McGraw, and territorial supreme court justices George P. Stiles and William W. Drummond, who individually attested to the Mormons’ refusal to cooperate in the execution of the law. Their accusations included a variety of grievances centering on the dominance of Mormon power in politics, in the court system, and in economics. No single individual played a more critical role in the intensified conflict between the Mormons and the federal government than did Drummond; neither did anyone work harder to put down Brigham Young’s administration.

National emotion on the issue of Mormon Utah was typified in a comment in *Harper’s Weekly* of 25 April 1857: “The matter has, in fact, passed beyond the line of argument, and it is time at once for the Government of the United States to interpose. We do not call for fire or slaughter. No Highland clan sort of operation, no Glencoe massacre. But, at whatever cost, the United States must declare and vindicate its supremacy.” Western newspapers seemed united in their

hatred of the Mormons, largely because of Drummond's negative reports. Mormon territory was described by one as a "festering mass of corruption."<sup>16</sup>

Brigham Young reacted to this criticism with equally heated words. "The North, the South, the East, the West, the Politicians, the Priests, the Editors, and the hireling scribblers all take up the cry for blood! blood! blood! Exterminate the Mormons, that is sweep them from the Earth, go to their mountain home, lay waste their cities, destroy their crops, drive off their stock, raze their dwellings to the ground, cause an innocent people to flee for safety and then return and gloat over the misery we have caused."<sup>17</sup>

As a result of the force of public opinion and limited actual knowledge of the situation, President Buchanan appointed Alfred Cumming of Georgia the new governor of Utah Territory. In addition, Buchanan appointed General William S. Harney leader of a military force that would accompany the new governor to Utah. Secretary of War John B. Floyd, who was bitterly anti-Mormon, believed a show of military force would strengthen the federal presence in Utah and ensure that there would be no trouble over the appointment. On 28 May 1857, Floyd ordered 2,500 troops gathered at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to prepare to march to Utah. After Harney was reassigned, Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston was appointed commander of the force.

Originally, the operation was intended to be secret. However, a message from an informant made the Mormons aware of the impending crisis; they quickly prepared for war. Furthermore, the Mormons received piecemeal news about troop movements from travelers in the area. On 24 July 1857, in the midst of a Pioneer Day celebration marking the tenth anniversary of the Mormons' entrance into the Salt Lake Valley, Porter Rockwell, Abraham Owen Smoot, and Judson Stoddard, returning from a trip to the East, brought alarming news: an army of 2,500 federal troops was somewhere between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Laramie, moving toward Mormon territory.<sup>18</sup>

The next Sunday in the Mormon Tabernacle, Brigham Young told the audience of Buchanan's decision and the church's reaction to it:

James Buchanan has ordered this Expedition to appease the wrath of the angry hounds who are howling around him. But woe, woe to that man who comes here unlawfully to interfere with me and this people. . . . According to their version, I am guilty of the death of every man, woman, and child that had died between the Missouri River and the California gold mines; and they are coming here to chastise me. The idea makes me laugh; and when do you think they will get a chance? Catching is always before hanging.<sup>19</sup>

Two months later, Young wrote in his personal journal: "Fixed my determination not to let any troops enter this territory, . . . and make every preparation to give the U.S. a Sound Drubbing. I do not feel to be imposed upon any more."<sup>20</sup>

Effective organizers for colonization, the Mormons proved they were just as effective at planning for war. Young had already organized troops to defend the territory against attack by Indians. The Mormon military organization, the Nauvoo Legion, began gathering weapons and ammunition, determined to create a blockade that would keep the soldiers out. More than 5,000 new recruits enlisted in the Legion. Some towns already had local militias; virtually all soon did. Without uniforms or equipment for battle, they pulled together the guns and ammunition they used for hunting food and what extra clothing they could gather, looking like frontier troops ready for whatever conflicts would ensue. They stockpiled food and prepared it for transportation. They built fortifications. An arsenal in Salt Lake City became the gathering place for ammunition and supplies. A reporter for the *San Francisco Herald* wrote: "I visited the arsenal, found they had a fair display of artillery. I also visited their public and private workshops, saw them casting cannon-shot, and manufacturing grape and canister in great abundance, some fifty men making Colt's dragoon-size revolvers."<sup>21</sup>

On 15 September 1857, Brigham Young declared a state of military emergency and vowed that the militia would resist any invasion of Utah. His defensive strategy centered on the Echo Canyon entrance into Mormon territory, particularly the heights overlooking the canyon road. Under his direction, Porter Rockwell, Lot Smith, Robert Burton, and others led more than one hundred members of

the Nauvoo Legion to hideouts along the route through the canyon, preparing to prevent the soldiers from traveling through to the Salt Lake Valley. Their instructions were as follows:

On ascertaining the locality or route of the troops, proceed at once to annoy them in every possible way. Use every exertion to stampede their animals, and set fire to their trains. Burn the whole country before them and on their flanks. Keep them from sleeping by night surprise. Blockade the road by falling trees, or destroying the fords when you can. Watch for opportunities to set fire to the grass on their windward, so as, if possible, to envelop their trains. Leave no grass before them that can be burned. . . . Take no life, but destroy their trains, and stampede or drive their animals, at every opportunity.<sup>22</sup>

Brigham Young told the legionnaires to bring "crow bars, picks, and spades for the purpose of loosening up rocks from the tops of cliffs that may be hurled down to good effect when the signal is given for the same."<sup>23</sup> He directed them to rouse grazing herds to stampede, disturb the soldiers' sleep, and steal guns left unattended. Other instructions were almost comical in their creativity. "Find someone with a loud, powerful voice who could go to the camp," he said, and "upon the first opportunity, at about dusk of a still evening, approach within hailing distance on the windward side, and on a point or rise of ground if any, and shout something as follows: 'Attention the camp' (to be repeated, perhaps, once or twice, till attention is attracted) 'all who wish to fight the Mormons had better stay where they are; and all who do not wish to fight are advised to make for Salt Lake City at every opportunity, where they will be well treated, furnished with employment and permitted to proceed to California when they please.'"<sup>24</sup>

As it turned out, the principal battles of the "Utah War" amounted to little more than Mormon raiders creating havoc for soldiers as they prepared for the advance of the army. The Nauvoo Legion burned three supply trains, interrupted military communications, and attempted to divert the attention of the military advance parties from accomplishing their mission. Overall, there were no deaths from military action, although one infantryman reportedly



Remnants of fortifications built during the Utah War (1857-58) are still visible high above Interstate 80 in Echo Canyon. (Mike Richins)

“died of fright” after a nocturnal raid on the army’s livestock herd. However, limited action in Echo Canyon did dissuade the federal troops from traveling through the passage. They wintered instead at Fort Bridger in perilous conditions. Thus, according to one historian, “a combination of bungling on the part of the Buchanan administration, vacillating military leadership, hit-and-run raids, and inclement weather stopped the Utah Expedition a hundred miles short of its destination.”<sup>25</sup>

During the winter hiatus, cooler heads prevailed, negotiations were opened between the Mormons and government officials, and an agreement was reached whereby federal troops would be allowed to peacefully enter the territory and establish a camp away from the primary towns. Cumming and other officials would be installed, replacing Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders in various federal offices. In June 1858 Johnston’s Army (as the federal troops were popularly known) moved untroubled through the Salt Lake Valley, continuing southwest to a site in Cedar Valley. As one historian wrote: “With one broad sweep of its military fist, the federal government ended forever the Saints’ dream of implanting a millennial society on

the fringe of the frontier.”<sup>26</sup> The army post was eventually named Camp Floyd after the secretary of war who had played a prominent role in stirring up the trouble in the first place.

Today, high above the coast-to-coast interstate highway that now runs through Echo Canyon, perceptive visitors can still find remnants of the rock fortifications built by the Nauvoo Legion 140 years ago.

### *Economic Development*

During the late 1860s, several of Coalville’s young married men earned extra money by meeting groups of travelers at the terminus of the Union Pacific Railroad in Echo and offering their services as teamsters. As the men returned from Salt Lake City, goods from the “states” filtered back into town. Charles E. Griffin, for example, presented his wife with a new coal stove. Marinda Eldredge received a new stove, a looking glass, new dress patterns, and fancy collars—all of which made her stay in the harsh mountain environment more bearable.<sup>27</sup>

But as the gentile influence, with its alluring material goods, grew in Utah, Brigham Young feared that his flock would abandon their communal ideals and move toward a more individualistic and capitalistic economic society. Particularly, he foresaw that the transcontinental railroad would weaken the Mormon hold on the territory. Therefore, in 1868, he gathered together a group of civic and business leaders to form a community-owned merchandising organization. The venture, christened Zions Cooperative Mercantile Institution (ZCMI), would be dedicated to the support of home manufacturing and the sale of goods at reasonable prices. Although the mother store in Salt Lake City never became a cooperative itself, it spawned a regionwide system of local cooperatives owned and operated by the people. As part of this ZCMI system, the Coalville Co-op was organized in 1868. As was true of most co-ops in the church system, the Coalville Co-op eventually came under private ownership when local farmers and private investors bought up the shares and formed their own organization.<sup>28</sup>

In a related effort to maintain the unity and economic stability of the church, President Young encouraged the organization of United Orders, intended to foster self-sufficiency, home industry, and



The Coalville Co-op in the early 1900s. The engine at left is hauling coal from the Chalk Creek mines. (Summit County Historical Society)

united communitarian living. These United Orders, as Young set them forth, were the most current version of the early Mormon concept of consecration and stewardship. The Cluff Ward organized the Coalville United Order on 31 May 1874.<sup>29</sup>

However, the spirit of individual enterprise inevitably prevailed. The railroad was a large reason for this. Ironically, it was Young who had secured for church members the contract to grade, tunnel, and build the bridge masonry from the head of Echo Canyon to the shores of the Great Salt Lake. Thousands of Mormon men, many from Summit County, earned real pay for their work on the tracks. At completion, the railroad stimulated the development of local industries such as cattle ranching, mining, and the production of goods.

When the railroad came to Echo Canyon, Coalville had a total population of 619. In 1880, the town had grown by 47 percent, to 911. During the next ten years it grew to 1,166 people; and, by 1910, the Coalville area had 1,445 inhabitants. While it certainly hadn't become an urban area, the character of Coalville's population



Coalville, looking south, about 1915. (Brigham Young University, George Beard collection)

changed during these decades. Increased numbers of non-farmers lived in town, offering a new variety of goods and services to the local population.<sup>30</sup>

The census of 1870 listed a handful of occupations, including miner, laborer, teamster, schoolteacher, shoemaker, carpenter, store clerk, blacksmith, and shepherd. By 1900, this list had grown to include attorney, barber, carpenter, druggist, engine fireman, jeweler, mason, merchant, miller, mine superintendent, minister, postmaster, salesman, saloon keeper, section foreman, sheriff, wagonmaker, woodworking machinist, and coach wheelwright. For women, work throughout the nineteenth century was clearly gender-defined and included traditional female pursuits like housekeeper, seamstress, laundress, milliner, nurse, and schoolteacher. Most of Coalville's women did not work outside their household, and they listed their status as "at home."

As the local economy diversified and the community pursued its goal of self-sufficiency, a greater variety of goods and services gradually became available. In 1880, a gristmill started operations on Chalk

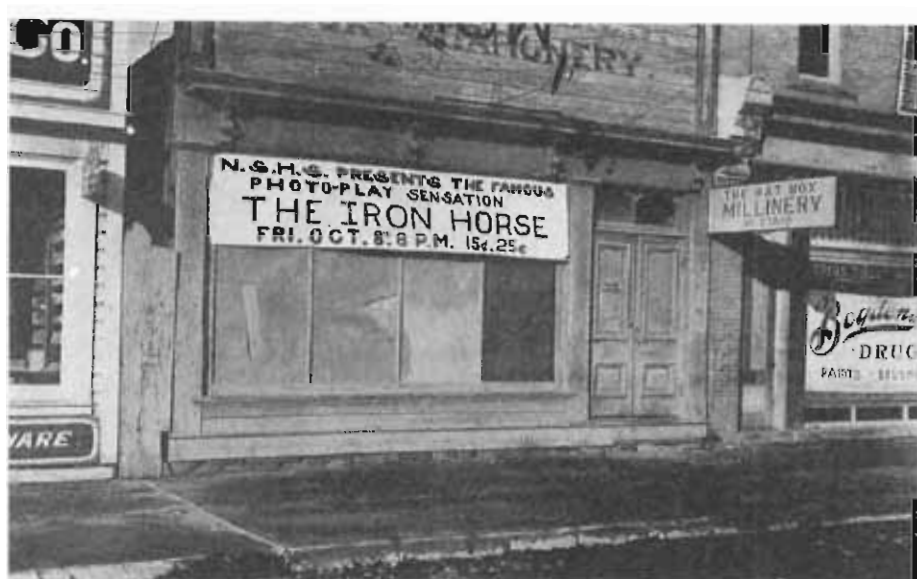




A view of Main Street storefronts in Coalville in the early 1900s. By the turn of the century, Coalville had a variety of businesses, including a newspaper. (Summit County Historical Society)

Creek. Ann Cluff opened a hotel in 1885 to house local miners and travelers. By 1892, J.H. Ball was running the Coalville House; it was advertised as having “first class accommodations” and “good stabling attached.” John Boyden opened a drugstore in 1892 in which he sold, among other things, drugs, medicines, toilet articles, and stationery. That same year, the town’s first newspaper, the *Coalville Times*, issued its first edition. The Coalville Co-op and Summit Furniture and Mercantile Company, the town’s premier merchandising institutions, offered an increasing assortment of imported goods for sale. And they also offered “taxi” service so that women living on outlying farms could come into town for a day’s shopping. This proved to be a boon to business, as isolated farm wives were brought into the life of the community.

In 1905, a second blacksmith shop opened; it would later become the local automobile and farm implement sales agency. Jacob Huffman built a sawmill in Echo Canyon.<sup>31</sup> Soon Samuel Gentry opened yet another blacksmith shop and John Allgood established a



A sign on a Coalville storefront advertising a play at North Summit High School, about 1915. (Brigham Young University, George Beard collection)

photograph gallery. Several other smaller stores lined Coalville's Main Street, including Wilkins & Deming Meat Market, the Ball and Draper saloon, Morby Brothers Lumber, C.A. Carlander's shoe shop, and Mrs. J.E. Stewart's bakery.<sup>32</sup>

Local mining stimulated Coalville's economy as well. In many ways, Coalville became a supply station of services and goods for the area's coal mines. Of course, Coalville also produced hundreds of workers for the mines. Merchants benefited from those miners' demands for housing, food, clothing, and other services. Everyone felt the impact of the mines.<sup>33</sup>

The Mormon church's coal mines at Coalville were of more than local importance. As fuel was a rare and much-needed commodity in Salt Lake City, the delivery of coal to the territorial capital became one of Brigham Young's major concerns during the last twenty years of his life. Although the Coalville coal was not of superior quality, it was far better than no fuel at all, and it had the advantage of coming from church-owned mines at a good price. Twice, Young launched

expensive campaigns aimed at getting the coal to Salt Lake City via church-built railroads. Both attempts failed.

The Mormon church so greatly valued the area mines that it tried to transfer them to private ownership to prevent them from being confiscated by the federal government after the Edmunds-Tucker Act passed in 1887.<sup>34</sup> However, the church also failed in this effort; the mines were not returned to the church until after Utah became a state in 1896. In about 1905, the church finally gave up on the mines and sold off its mineral claims.

In addition to the church mines, several privately owned coal mines operated in the county during the late nineteenth century. The first mines were located in Allen's Hollow, Spring Hollow, and Dexter's Hollow, along with those up Chalk Creek and Grass Creek. The 1870 territorial census for Coalville lists five coal mines of various sizes and quality. The J. Spriggs mine, with "1 horse, 1 car, powder and fuzes," produced 1,000 tons of coal worth \$3,000. The Wasatch Coal Mining Company and J. Roberson's mine each received only \$2,500 for 1,000 tons of coal, while the larger Crismon and Mayfield operation made \$4,500 on its 2,000 tons. J. Johnson had the smallest mine and was paid \$1,250 for his 500 tons of coal.

As was true in many mining sectors in Utah, Coalville experienced serious and widespread economic depression far earlier than the rest of the country. Markets for mining and agricultural products fell off during the 1920s, and during this time the population in and around Coalville dropped by one third. Life in Coalville had never been extravagant, but with the 1920s a period of relative prosperity gave way to hard times that would last until World War II.

#### ENDNOTES

1. Sir Richard Burton, *The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1990), 184.

2. A good reference for this period is Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968).

3. Although the Homestead Act was the law most useful to Mormon

settlers, the Timber Culture Act, the Federal Townsite Law of 1867, and the Desert Land Act were sometimes employed to obtain title to land.

4. Lawrence B. Lee, "The Homestead Act: Vision and Reality," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 30 (Summer 1962): 228.

5. George W. Rollins, "Land Policies of the United States as Applied to Utah to 1910," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 20 (July 1952): 244.

6. James Bourne Rhead, Journal, 27 September 1885, LDS Church Archives.

7. *Coalville, Utah, Centennial Souvenir, 1859–1959*, (Coalville: Coalville Literary Club, 1959), 4. See Sarah P. Frazier, untitled Daughters of Utah Pioneers (DUP) report, n.d., DUP State Office, Salt Lake City; Margaret A. Lee, untitled Daughters of Utah Pioneers report, n.d., DUP Coalville Camp.

8. *Coalville, Utah, Centennial Souvenir*, 4. Although there were plenty of fruits and vegetables grown locally, flour had to be shipped in from Salt Lake City where it was milled. J. Kenneth Davies, *George Beard, Mormon Pioneer Artist with a Camera* (Provo: J. Kenneth Davies, 1975), 23.

9. Leonard J. Arrington and Melvin A. Larkin, "The Logan Tabernacle and Temple," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Summer 1973): 302.

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12. R. Warren Metcalf, "A Reappraisal of Utah's Black Hawk War" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1989), 2, 146, 155.

13. *Coalville Times*, 12 October 1894; 25 October 1895.

14. *Centennial Souvenir*, 15.

15. *Ibid.*, 27.

16. George W. Brown, ed., *Herald of Freedom*, 4 July 1857.

17. Brigham Young to George Taylor and others, 29 June 1857, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

18. T.B.H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1873), 352.

19. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London, 1854–86; reprint, Salt Lake City, 1967), 5:77–78; *Deseret News*, 29 July 1857.

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21. *New York Times*, 15 December 1857.

22. These orders were found on Major Joseph Taylor when he was captured by government troops. See R.B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border* (New York, 1866), 270–71.

23. Brigham Young to John Sharp, 28 September 1857, Nauvoo Legion Letterbook, 115, LDS Church Archives.

24. Brigham Young to Daniel H. Wells, John Taylor, and George A. Smith, 17 October 1857, Nauvoo Legion Letterbook, 137–40.

25. Richard Poll et al., eds. *Utah's History* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 168.

26. Donald R. Moorman and Gene A. Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992), 4.

27. Margaret Marinda Merrill Eldredge, "My Life and History, a Remembrance, 1926," 171, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

28. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 338; Davies, *Mormon Pioneer Artist*, 3; Dorothy Beard Blanpied, "The Coalville Co-op," Daughters of the Utah Pioneers report, DUP Utah Office; Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976), 8, 132, 171, 320. The anti-polygamy crusade of the federal government sapped the united orders of badly needed leadership and expertise before they could become fully established.

29. Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, 414.

30. The data for this census study is taken from the federal censuses for 1870, 1880, and 1900. Also see the Ninth U.S. Census, Volume I (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1890), 404; 1900 Census Reports, Volume I, (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1900), 392; Population by Counties and Minor Civil Divisions, 1890, 1900, 1910, (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census), 531; Fourteenth Census of the United States, Volume 1, 644.

31. Bennett Blonquist Smith, "History of Summit Stake Tabernacle," (1966), page 3, copy at Utah State Historical Society Library. Jacob Huffman had a sawmill in Echo Canyon which furnished part of the lumber for the tabernacle.

32. Margaret C. Rhead, "Life in Early Coalville," Daughters of Utah Pioneers report dictated February 1956, DUP Utah State Office, 5; *Utah Gazetteer*, 1892–93 (Salt Lake City: Stenhouse & Company, 1892), 53.

33. Leonard J. Arrington, "Abundance from the Earth: The Beginnings of Commercial Mining in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 (Summer 1963): 218–19.

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34. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 362. The Edmunds-Tucker Act, aimed at punishing and eliminating polygamy, authorized confiscation of Mormon church property.

## CHAPTER 5

# THE GROWTH OF SUMMIT COUNTY'S TOWNS

Coalville became the center—practically, if not geographically—of a web of small rural settlements that sprang up along the Weber River valley and into the Kamas Valley. Although empty farmlands and rangelands separated the towns, this was a functioning network, which existed through relationships among families, neighbors, and businesses. Through this network, settlers exchanged services, resources, and goods, and shared in the task of settling the county.

Of first importance in the establishment of Summit County towns was finding a good location. Even though the towns were formed out of religious motivation, economics played the major role in the selection the townsites. Ideally, a new settlement area would have several essential characteristics, including a good supply of water, large tracts of fertile land, a favorable climate, and relatively level terrain. Useful natural resources close at hand were also important: timber for fuel, lumber, and furniture; coal for fuel; lime for mortar and plaster; stone for building; clay for pottery, adobe, and brick; and iron for industrial manufacturing. Few towns had all of

these elements, but every town had some of them. The greater number of these features an area possessed, the more attractive settlers found it as a permanent living place.

Although farming was of primary significance, many settlers quickly saw and capitalized on nonagricultural opportunities. For instance, they recognized the potential of Summit County's location as a gateway to Utah. Prior to the coming of the railroad, an estimated 80,000 people came through the county headed west, and entrepreneurs in the settlements established supply camps, way stations, general stores, blacksmith shops, hotels, and livery stables to accommodate the travelers.<sup>1</sup> Echo and Henefer in particular were created and for a time thrived because of income from the overlanders.

### *Echo*

Although early settlers recognized good ranching and farming prospects in Echo Canyon, the main advantage of the canyon was its location as a transportation route. In 1854, James E. Bromley was sent by Funk and Walker, a Missouri stage and mail company, to operate a stage stop at the mouth of Echo Canyon. As a major outpost on the road into the Salt Lake Valley, the stage station became a resting place for thousands of travelers. Actress Lotta Crabtree and her troupe stayed at the station while their carriage was repaired. Mark Twain, on his way to visit his brother in Nevada, stayed overnight at the station and described Echo Canyon in his book, *Roughing It*. To those easterners who tended to romanticize the West, the station must have seemed like the very heart of the frontier. Traveler Tom Riverton described "a large tribe of Ute Indians camped near the station, but [they] were never hostile to the whites."<sup>2</sup>

During its almost eighty years of service, the solid stone walls of the Weber Stage Station also served as a jail, a fort, and a relay point for the Pony Express.<sup>3</sup> When it was torn down in December 1931 to make way for Echo Reservoir, workmen reportedly found, hidden in a crack in the wall, a five-dollar gold piece dated 1847, a few pieces of small change, an old letter from a son and daughter to their parents dated 1873, a pair of glasses, a gun case, and a love letter written on parchment from an eastern girl to her sweetheart, a Pony Express rider.<sup>4</sup>







A view of Pulpit Rock, near Echo. This local landmark was demolished shortly after the construction of the Echo Dam. (Summit County Historical Society)

James Bromley, the station's founder, worked for the Overland Stage Company, the Pacific Wagon Road Expedition, J.M. Hockaday (a mail carrier), Johnston's Army (as a guide), and the Pony Express. The versatile Bromley described how he managed to make his living in Echo:

I was put in charge of the road; I bought the mules, built stations, fought Indians and did everything that came in the line of duty . . . until, finally, I was permanently located on the Salt Lake Division, having charge of the road from Pacific Springs to Salt Lake City, until the spring of 1864. In 1861 the Pony Express was put on. I bought the horses in Salt Lake, to stock the line to Fort Laramie and hired many of Utah's young men to ride those horses.<sup>5</sup>

*Left:* Elizabeth Stevenson Bromley, about 1915, outside the Echo post office, which she operated. She was the widow of Echo's founder, James Bromley. (Lenora Toone)



At one time this building was known as the Pacific Hotel. At the time this photograph was taken in the late 1890s, it was the Storer Hotel. The owner of the hotel, Joseph Storer, also owned the saloon next door. (Frank Cattelan)

After marrying in 1861, Bromley joined a few others in developing Echo as a small town on the emigrant trail. He sold merchandise for a time, built the first hotel at Echo, and then settled into a life of ranching. In 1868, the townsite was officially platted. That same year, Brigham Young, Jr., purchased the stone building and much of the townsite land from Bromley for \$200.<sup>6</sup> Young recognized that the tiny settlement had a big potential as a railroad town servicing the soon-to-arrive Union Pacific Railroad.

He was right. By 1868, tent saloons, gambling houses, and brothels were up and servicing the Irish railroad workers constructing the railroad.<sup>7</sup> On 20 December 1868, a *Deseret News* correspondent counted “some fifty structures,” most of them tents, where only a half-dozen buildings had stood a month before:

Under this vigorous spread of cotton luxuriate wholesale and retail groceries, dry goods, general merchandise, clothing, hardware, . . . bakeries, blacksmith and wagon shops, cheap Johns, carpenter

shops, . . . saloons, doggeries, whisky-holes, dram-barrels, gambling-hells in the boldness of effrontery, restaurants, eating places, lunch covers, pie and gin resorts, corrals, hotels under shingles and dimity "private" dwellings, whence femininity stalks out with brazen publicity.<sup>8</sup>

By the time the tracks arrived in mid-January, Echo was a rollicking place. "The quantity of whiskey that was walking around might have sufficed for a place more than ten times the size of that latest railroad burg," the *Deseret News* reported. "In fact, Echo went on a general 'drunk.' How many fights and other manifestations of the characteristics of such places occurred we have not learned." We do know, however, that seven human skeletons were later discovered in the crawlspace of one saloon. Then, as quickly as they had appeared, the tents were folded and moved on down the line. Echo's brief spasm as a railroad "mushroom town," to use the jargon of the day, was over.

But Echo City didn't fade away. It gained a role as a refueling stop for trains making the steep grade between Ogden and Evanston, Wyoming. The railroad was the economic lifeblood of the town.<sup>10</sup> A small supporting commercial district formed around such buildings as Elias Asper's one-story Asper House, which contained a hotel, store, dance hall and saloon. The more substantial brick Echo Hotel, built in 1892 by Thomas Thackery, housed a store, dance hall, dining hall, and post office. At one time, there were three saloons in town, mostly catering to the wants of railroad workers and passengers.

The more agrarian townspeople chose other occupations. An abundance of water from the Weber River and Echo Creek allowed for crops of hardy grains, potatoes, and vegetables that helped sustain the small population. William Stevensen farmed and raised horses. From 1871 to 1873 William Turpin built the first flour mill, using red pine lumber brought from a sawmill five miles up Echo Canyon. The flour mill was converted to the roller process in 1893 and remained in regular use until 1942. The building was a local landmark until 1964, when it was demolished to make way for a new interstate highway.<sup>11</sup> The town's early industries included two sawmills, a gristmill, and a blacksmith shop. In 1870, Alexander



The Echo flour mill, built on Echo Creek between 1871 and 1873, remained a local landmark until 1964, when it was demolished to make way for a new interstate highway. Marlow Jones, the last owner of the mill, was the small boy sitting in the buggy when this photograph was taken about 1897. (Marguerite Wright)

Snyder's sawmill produced 100,000 board feet of lumber valued at \$3,000. The mill facility was worth \$1,000 and used a circular saw driven by an overshot waterwheel. The Brizzle Saw Mill used a steam-powered saw to cut \$12,000 worth of lumber goods. Andrew Sanburg, the local blacksmith, kept busy doing \$600 worth of jobbing in 1870, while Young and Son operated a gristmill with an undershot wheel and a single run of millstones. Taking in local wheat, oats, barley, peas, and corn, the mill produced \$7,500 worth of ground goods. Later, George Carter and George Moore built a larger, two-story, wood-frame flour mill near the railroad track one-half mile north of town. Masonry and plastering work was done by George Dunford, a fine craftsman. Several women ran home industries, and others were teachers in the early years.

In 1880, the town paid \$3,400 for the brick Congregational church and opened it as a schoolhouse. Mary Jane Asper Weaver taught up to fifty students, for which she was paid \$4.50 per month.

Well-located near reliable sources of water and coal, and with supportive workers—many of whom lived in dormitory cars—Echo remained busy servicing the railroad from the 1880s through the 1920s. As the railroading industry declined, however, the town diminished in size and vigor. The Depression took a further toll. Then, as steam-driven engines finally gave way to diesel engines after World War II, Echo City lost its main reason for existence. In January 1956, a demolition crew tore down the Echo coal chutes.<sup>12</sup> During the 1950s and 1960s many homes and businesses were torn down to pave the way for the expansion of U.S. Highway 30-S and the construction of interstate highways.

### *Castle Rock*

Named for the castle-like sandstone cliffs on the north side of the canyon, Castle Rock was located fifteen miles east of present-day Echo. The town evolved around the Castle Rock Pony Express Station, which operated in 1860–61. Attracted by the hope of trading with travelers through the canyon, a number of families claimed land nearby and began to build a town. They constructed the first structures from logs, but within a decade they had raised more substantial buildings. The Pony Express and stage station was closed in 1867, but some residents remained, building a community that included its own school, which opened about 1872.<sup>13</sup>

When the Union Pacific Railroad ran track down Echo Canyon from 1867 to 1869, it bypassed Castle Rock in favor of a more advantageous location. However, Castle Rock remained an active, although small, community well into the twentieth century. During its lifespan, it had a depot, a section house for railroad workers, a store, a school, and a gas station. But the place was too remote and too small to sustain a sizable population. In 1929, the *Park Record* reported that the Castle Rock school had twenty-eight students.<sup>14</sup> Eight years later, the school finally closed.<sup>15</sup> The settlement is now a ghost town, with the old store, barns, and log buildings still remaining; the land is now used for cattle and sheep grazing.

### *Henefer*

The Mormon pioneers traveling west through Henefer Valley had

seen a river meandering through flats of sagebrush. It seemed a place suitable for little else but camping and perhaps grazing. Blacksmiths James and William Hennefer, however, imagined they could make a living by offering their services to overland immigrants traversing the valley. When not blacksmithing, they could raise vegetables and grain by diverting water from the Weber River. Thus, in 1853, they founded what was first called Henneferville, later known as Henefer, by erecting the first of several log houses in the area. By 1860, others had joined them.<sup>16</sup>

The town's farmers organized the Henefer Irrigation Company in 1867, with officers James Hennefer, Joseph E. Foster, William Jide, Thomas Jobe Franklin, and Charles Richins. They dug the canals from the Weber River using horses to pull scrapers and men working alongside with shovels. Soon irrigation canals lined the periphery of virtually every cultivated farm field. The settlers had established an agricultural economy that persists to the present.

After beginning as a blacksmithing and agricultural center, Henefer developed a small commercial core. The first store, a cooperative, was run by James Paskett, who was also a shoemaker. He obtained and resold goods from the LDS General Tithing Office in Salt Lake City. Later, his store became known as Bond's Store, named after William Bond, first justice of the peace and later postmaster. Because of high transportation and manufacturing costs, many everyday items were scarce in the early days. At one time there was only one sewing needle in the entire town, and this one needle was carefully guarded and passed around from home to home.<sup>17</sup>

In 1866 Eliza Tristram opened a dry-goods store. At first retailing out of the front room of her house, she later erected a sturdy frame building in the center of town. There she supplied the needs of Henefer's citizens with fluting irons, candle molds, wool carders, iron kettles, herbs for medicine, soothing syrups for sick children, and other goods needed to set up house.<sup>18</sup>

Communication between Henefer and the world outside improved with the coming of the telegraph line in 1861 and, after 1900, telephone service. The construction of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1868–69 provided work for a number of Henefer men, including Charles Richins, who became the first local supervisor of

roads. As Henefer's Mormon bishop, Richins acquired a contract to furnish poles for railroad ties. Several men brought their oxen and tools such as scrapers, picks, shovels, and wheelbarrows to help build the grades and rock abutments. They received ten dollars a day for their work, an extraordinary amount for these settlers so starved for hard cash. Farmers also benefited, hauling hay to the contractors and receiving as much as \$100 per ton, prices that, again, made the work well worth the effort.

Many men preferred to work directly for the railroad rather than for Mormon President Brigham Young, who had contracted to do the grading, tunneling, and bridge masonry from the head of Echo Canyon down Weber Canyon to the Great Salt Lake. Employment by the church was often considered a "call," and members were expected to provide their own equipment and work for minimal pay. In this cooperative, cash-poor economy, it was the church's way to get important things done without paying for the full value of the labor.<sup>19</sup>

Home industries were common during the pioneer era, especially among the women. A Mrs. Tristram kept a store in part of her log house and specialized in the selling of herbs. Doctoring was done by Mary Ann Bond and Betty Dearden, Phoebe Dawson labored as a midwife, and Louisa Richins worked as a midwife, herb doctor, and veterinarian. Stephen Foster, a physician, came to town in 1868, but didn't charge for his services. Instead, he made a living soldering buckets and kettles and taking goods in barter for his pay.<sup>20</sup> Bartering or trading was also done with the local Indians.

The construction of the transcontinental railroad through the northern section of the county helped foster evangelical proselytizing in the early 1870s by groups such as the Josephites, or Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS), which had split with the Mormons under Brigham Young after the killing of church founder Joseph Smith in 1844. E.C. "Blasting Powder" Brand, who directed the Josephites' early missionary activities in the county and elsewhere in Utah, converted about fifty residents of Henefer, Echo, Peoa, Kamas, and Wanship. Among the converts was James Hennefer, one of the two brothers earlier called by Brigham Young to settle the area. The converts formed the Wanship and Ephraim branches of the Utah District of the Rocky





The citizens of Henefer built this four-room school in 1911 at a cost of about \$8,000 (Summit County Historical Society)

Mountain Mission of the RLDS church.<sup>21</sup> However, bickering and discord among the Josephites resulted in the dissolution of the county branches of the church.

Missionary activities in the county, encouraged by the growth of mining in the Park City area, were part of a larger evangelical Protestant missionary movement in Utah. In part, the movement focused on dislodging polygamy from the territory and establishing schools free of Mormon domination. In Henefer, members of the RLDS church built a one-room school on property owned by John Bond. The New West School offered free school supplies and literature about the Josephite movement.<sup>22</sup>

At the turn of the century, farming and stock raising were the principal sources of income in Henefer. Raising sheep, in particular, had become an important industry. An 1899 story in the *Deseret News* described Henefer as the richest settlement in Summit County: "While the people of other districts were fighting the sheepmen in a vain endeavor to keep them off the ranges, the sturdy farmers of Henefer purchased sheep for themselves and used the surrounding ranges for their own flocks."<sup>23</sup>



Judd's Hall in Upton. (June W. Toole)

By 1901, Henefer had its own railroad spur, which facilitated the shipping of sheep, cattle and locally mined clay. In April of that year, the *Coalville Times* reported that "Henefer has become so prosperous these days that some of the boys there have started a saloon. It will do the town no good." The town also had its own creamery by 1904 and a dance hall by 1908.<sup>24</sup>

### *Upton*

Settled in 1860–61, Upton at first was called Huffville or Up Town. John Staley, Isaac Burton, Joseph Huff, and others came to the area intending to farm along Chalk Creek between the South Fork and Pine View. They harvested hay as their first crop, followed by a little barley, oats, and potatoes. Several miles east and upriver from Coalville, at an even higher elevation, Upton wasn't ideal for farming. Irrigation ditches dug by the settlers improved the farming conditions somewhat, but the early residents subsisted mostly by hunting

and working during the winter in nearby coal mines. Some ranchers and farmers also supplemented their incomes by working in the several area sawmills, which exported cut logs and lumber to Evanston, Park City, and Salt Lake City.

During the late 1800s, those who didn't wish to travel to Coalville for supplies could choose from three stores in Upton. The first was owned and operated by Caroline Clark; L.L. Randall built the second store; and Peter Jacobson, who sold dry goods, groceries, and gasoline out of a one-room addition to his house, had the third. Jacobson's store was damaged by fire about 1940 and never resumed operations.<sup>25</sup> At present, there are no stores or commercial establishments in the small community of Upton.

### *Hoytsville*

Hoytsville lies along both sides of the Weber River, with some houses built up on the foothills and others on the valley floor. Thomas Bradberry and his family established their home there in 1859, building a cabin from cottonwood logs. Their intent was to live off the land by farming and raising a few animals, even though the short growing season and heavy winters were immediate threats to survival. The Bradberrys called their new home Unionville.

Despite the difficult climate, the Bradberrys were soon joined by other settlers attracted by the valley's rich soil, by seemingly abundant creeks in the canyons nearby, and by the beauty of the surrounding mountains. Soon the settlers were meeting in private homes to discuss plans for future expansion and community projects. An early survey reflected the unique configuration of the land surrounding the river. Roads ran north and south on each side, with three crossroads at regular intervals. At first there was no bridge connecting the two parts of the town, only a ferry across the river, and the lack of a bridge no doubt frustrated community unity.

In response to the Black Hawk War, the townspeople dismantled their homes in 1866 and used the materials to construct a fort on William Brown's farm. Brown was happy to have it, figuring that a fort so close to his gristmill would provide added security for his enterprise. The fort itself was laid out as a square, with houses running along all four walls and corrals and stables outside the fort. It

was difficult work to build a fort and move the town inside, but the settlers didn't go about it in a half-hearted way. In a show of ingenuity and industry, they jacked up the meetinghouse and moved it with ox teams to the center of the fort. Samuel Hoyt's wife, Emily, taught school there from her wheelchair. About twenty families moved into the fort; five or six others chose to stay on their farms.<sup>26</sup>

Although the settlers were able to trade with later pioneers traveling along the old emigrant road, the little village might have struggled along at a minimal subsistence level were it not for the ambitious entrepreneurial efforts of its eventual namesake, Samuel P. Hoyt. Brigham Young had called Alonzo Winters as local branch president; to Hoyt he had said, "Go to Weber, they want and need a mill there."<sup>27</sup> Hoyt obeyed. During the spring of 1862 he began work on the mill, but not without mishap. His wagon, loaded down with heavy machinery, collapsed one of two bridges spanning the Weber River in Summit County.

Samuel P. Hoyt was born on 21 November 1807 in Chester, New Hampshire, the eldest of eleven children. In 1834 he married Emily Smith, a cousin to Joseph Smith. Hoyt came to Unionville from Fillmore, Utah's original territorial capital. There, he had started a flour mill and had assisted with the building of the state house. Now he began what might be considered one of the first of Summit County's industrial complexes. He built a flour mill, the first in the county, building it so well that the ruined stone walls can still be seen. Hoyt had traveled to the East to purchase the most up-to-date machinery, and his mill had two sets of French burrs when it was finished in 1863. Unfortunately, Hoyt apparently didn't plan as carefully for power needs. Because of its location on the valley floor, Hoyt was unable to get enough fall in the water system to give the mill sufficient power. The mill closed during the 1870s, but not before the residents of Unionville, recognizing that Utah already had a town named Union, changed the name of the town to Hoytsville in honor of Hoyt and his mill.

Hoyt also constructed a carding mill, but its machinery was never installed, also due to insufficient water power. About 1866 he began the county's most impressive residence at the time—a handsome white sandstone home. The two-story, cut-stone, Gothic Revival

structure (still in use) is a testament to his wealth and ingenuity.<sup>28</sup> In a room on the main floor, which had twelve-foot-high ceilings, he established a store to help supply the teams that hauled the rock for his buildings. In the attic he built an observatory. The *Deseret News* described Hoyt's complex in 1868 as a landmark in the valley, and noted: "But the most attractive feature of the results of eight years labor in these forbidding wilds is the dwelling house, now up above the first story."<sup>29</sup> The house cost \$35,000 to build.

The town's first post office opened on 13 March 1866. Samuel Hoyt himself ran the post office out of a log building southwest of his main house. Samuel Hoyt also ran a store where his employees could receive imported goods in exchange for labor. Although not all of Hoyt's enterprises proved successful in the long run, he was the major employer in the area. The bold investment of his personal resources seems to have inspired others to stay on when privations otherwise might have weakened their resolve.

This first generation of settlers had survival in a cold and isolated area as their primary objective. Regardless of hardships, however, many liked the beautiful place and committed themselves to staying. In contrast to Hoyt's house, most homes were simple log structures with dirt roofs and floors, and walls that let in wind and rain through cracks. In 1865, the townspeople began construction of a sawed-log meetinghouse. The logs were first squared on four sides with a broad axe and then sawed through the center by hand with a whip saw or pit saw. A schoolteacher, Charles Porter, had come to town from California in January 1864 and offered to teach the town's children in exchange for room and board. The schoolhouse, a log building sixteen feet square, was built on a hill to the north. In 1884 a brick schoolhouse replaced this more modest earlier structure. In addition, the Congregational church operated a school sponsored by the New Western Education Commission out of the upper floor of Hoyt's carding mill. The school's teachers were college graduates and the education was free. The lower floor of the mill, which never ran because of a lack of water power, was used as a dance hall.<sup>30</sup>

Although agriculture and sheep raising were the predominant occupations in the community, a few others followed Hoyt's enterprises with some of their own. A blacksmith shop owned by James



Students at Hoytsville public school about 1900. (Summit County Historical Society)

Mills and a sawmill run by Steven Stalling expanded local services and products. A coal mine opened in 1864 and a brickmaking plant started up in 1869. Many of Hoytsville's early homes were built from locally made bricks.<sup>31</sup> Hoytsville residents obtained their drinking water from their own wells. The first culinary water system was built in 1907.

The town never developed a major business center, but there were several retailers in the early days. Nephi and Amos Sargent operated one of the town's first stores in 1882–83 and also operated the first meat market in town. Another store was the ZCMI cooperative, which many of the townspeople invested in. The Hoytsville Variety Store was run by A.J. Farrell. Sarah Ann Brown Wilkinson, Charles West, and Ralph Pace had other stores. Charles H. West opened a burial monument business in 1884 from his town lot. West's monuments were constructed of sandstone obtained from the quarry up Spring Canyon. West also did decorative stone work for architectural projects like the Hooper-Eldredge Building in Salt Lake City.<sup>32</sup>

In 1882, a recreational park debuted in the fields of Hoytsville, one-half mile from the southernmost river crossing. Hosie Burton,

an officer of the Utah Eastern Railroad, ran what was called Weber Gardens during the summer months. Beneath a bowery, couples danced to music provided by brass bands. Weber Gardens was so successful that railroad cars brought crowds of people up to Hoytsville from Park City and from locations as far away as Salt Lake City.

The *Deseret News* described the development of the Weber River Valley on 29 May 1891. Based on reports from a number of visitors to the area, Summit's settlers had made important progress in community building. "The settlers are confident of success in their efforts to turn those narrow vales into fruitful fields," the article said. It was also reported that the stock range was excellent, as was the winter grazing ground. A new county bridge spanned the Weber River five or six miles below the mouth of Silver Creek. "Although not so expensive and elegant as some which have been constructed in Utah, Great Salt Lake and Weber counties, it is pronounced a substantial structure by those who have crossed it." Yet another new bridge was under construction over the river several miles upstream. Plans for the construction of several sawmills were also in process. According to the writer: "Such improvements cannot fail to operate advantageously to the development of the resources of that part of the Territory, and the rapid growth and prosperity of the settlements that have been and will be formed in that county."<sup>33</sup>

### *Wanship*

According to one contributor to the *Deseret News*, nobody thought that the land around the confluence of Silver Creek and the Weber River would ever amount to much. "The region was classed among the inhospitable—barely suited for a go-between till some better intersection should be effected uniting Parley's Park and the Weber," this correspondent wrote. A few energetic citizens of Salt Lake City had pushed into the area searching for grazing lands, he continued, "but the almost Arctic winters of those earlier years stunted the growth of enterprise, and the prospects of the Weber country as a farming district, to most persons, looked exceedingly unpromising."<sup>34</sup>

These first optimistic settlers were Mormons who moved up from older towns to start a new agricultural village. In the fall of

1859, Stephen Nixon, his daughter Margaret, and a young man named Henry Roper came to Silver Creek from Provo. They immediately set to work on a log house, finishing just before winter set in. Before long, other settlers had joined them, including Thomas Nixon, William Gardner, George Robinson, George Moore, James M. Hixson, Charles Carter, John Bates, Andrew Frazier, Warren Frazzee, and Robert Watson and their families.<sup>35</sup>

These pioneers had indeed selected a challenging location, for the valley was isolated, and its elevation at 5,880 feet ensured both late and early frosts and long, severe winters. Still, the new settlers together plowed six acres of land with the single ox team in town, cooperating for survival during the first several years. Making the best of the cold climate, the settlers were able to raise hardy crops of barley and rye, along with wild hay, vegetables, and, later, wheat and alfalfa of good quality. An early gristmill built by George Snyder was powered by the water of Silver Creek.

In 1861, Aaron Daniels built a stagecoach and mail station a half mile north of town on the west side of the river. Despite the gloomy predictions of onlookers, Wanship became important because of its location on the route between Coalville and Park City. The town soon acquired a variety of local businesses and a growing number of farm families. The *Deseret News* described the genesis of the new “metropolis.”

Soon after the successful opening of coal-beds, whence Coalville had its origins, and the completion of the Silver Creek Canyon road, a step was taken with a view of forming a nucleus for a settlement at the confluence of Silver Creek and the Weber, through the purchase, by Judge George G. Snyder, of whatever claims had accrued to others thereabouts. A survey was made by Gen. Fox and a town plot staked. From that then dreary-looking spot now radiates a glow of busy life, whose scintillations contribute to the lustre of the metropolis itself.<sup>36</sup>

The correspondent seemed impressed with the town's progress. He reported his surprise and pleasure at seeing, instead of “mud or log hovels,” “commodious frame buildings of live Yankee design,” and “good substantial barns,” which spoke of “timely care for the ‘crit-



ters.” The community gathered together for worship services in a log house and, beginning in 1866, a log schoolhouse. Wanship residents used the log schoolhouse for worship services until 1887, when they built a modest brick meetinghouse.

In the early decades, four general merchandising stores were founded in Wanship, the first established by Stephen Nixon, who sold goods out of a log cabin. In 1868 E.R. Young built a lumber store, with a dance hall and theater on the second floor. The other two stores were owned by Arthur Brown and William Reynolds. Three millinery stores were run by enterprising women—Mrs. Elizabeth Lemming, a Mrs. Long, and a Mrs. Roundy—and a dressmaking shop was run by two others, Julia Olsen and Emma Peterson. There were also two saloons, a brewery, and a small hotel.<sup>37</sup>

Late in September 1869, Brigham Young led a group of church leaders through the valleys of Summit County, stopping at each settlement to encourage the settlers in their efforts to tame the land and start new communities dedicated to the service of their God. Young, along with Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Daniel H. Wells, George Q. Cannon, and Franklin D. Richards, traveled through Marion, Kamas, Peoa, and Wanship, ending up in Coalville. The leaders reported: “Wanship and Coalville both wear an air of thrift and prosperity and must eventually, we think, become important points. . . . It will be but a few years, if the people carry out their principles, and the instructions they receive, until log houses will almost be unknown, and in their stead, will be seen elegant residences of stone.”<sup>38</sup>

Because of its central location, Wanship became Summit County’s first county seat. The county held court in a log cabin that is still standing near the center of town. The first court minutes are dated June 1866.

Wanship enjoyed its greatest prosperity between 1869 and 1885. After the completion of the transcontinental railroad and the discovery of silver in Park City in the late 1860s, Wanship became a natural way station for crews moving equipment and supplies by wagon from Echo, up Silver Creek Canyon, to the mines.<sup>39</sup> However, after the construction of two railroad spur lines between Echo and Park City in 1880, many travelers bypassed Wanship, and Park City’s dramatic



In 1866, this building served as Summit County's first courthouse in Wanship. It was still standing in 1997. (Summit County Historical Society)

development soon overshadowed Wanship as the political and industrial center of the county. According to one early settler, William Carter, "Park City got to be quite a city, and began to aspire for the county seat. There was a battle royal for it between Park City and the rest of the county. Wanship, not being able to get the required support, had to turn to either Park City or Coalville, so they gave their support to Coalville."<sup>40</sup> The county seat moved to Coalville in 1872.

Nevertheless, Wanship continued to play an important role in the county's food production. Farmers raised dairy cattle on land irrigated by the Weber River and Silver Creek. In 1889 about 8,000 acres of grain were planted and harvested in the area. By this time, Snyder's gristmill had been abandoned, and in 1892 George Carter and George Moore responded to the demand for local milling by building a large frame gristmill about a half mile north of town next to the railroad track.

### *Rockport*

The waters of Rockport Reservoir now cover what was once a town beloved by its inhabitants. Settled in 1860 by farmers hoping to

grow wheat and potatoes, the locality wasn't exactly ideal for agriculture. During at least one year, there wasn't a single frost-free week, and crops frequently failed or were of poor quality. Some sources report that potatoes never grew beyond the size of a hickory nut. Frequently, settlers were trapped in their cabins for the entire winter and traveled on snowshoes between their homes and their outbuildings to tend to their animals. Still, through the decades, a small group of hardy citizens persisted in farming the area.

Rockport was settled by three Mormon families from England who, upon camping there, decided to stay permanently rather than continuing on to Salt Lake City. The Harry Reynolds family arrived first and began building a log home. Then Edmund Horton and his family, part of Captain Franklin Brown's independent company of Mormon immigrants, were so impressed with the area that they left the wagon train to join the Reynolds family. Next, a third family from England, that of Henry Seamons, also claimed land in the area on the bank of the Weber River at the mouth of Three Mile Canyon. Within a few months the three men became the presiding officers of a fledgling Mormon congregation in a place variously named Crandall, Three-Mile Settlement, Enoch City, and finally, in the late 1860s, Rockport. Following a severe first winter, the colonists surveyed a townsite in 1861 and were joined that fall by the families of Hans H. Williamson, John Ames, John Smith, and Hans O. Young.<sup>41</sup>

The local families survived in part by supplementing their income with contract laboring. After the discovery of a deposit of "Fuller's Earth" in town, the soap-like material was exported to Provo for use in the woolen mills there. With the exception of one "Dutch John," a homeopathic doctor, and some nurses, there were no professionals in the hamlet during the nineteenth century. The town built a gristmill in 1863 which allowed the people a measure of self-sufficiency.

In 1867, the people of Enoch City built a fort for protection from Indians. The stone fort, with walls two feet thick and eight feet high, was constructed so that riflemen could guard portholes on opposite corners. The settlers must have been proud of the fort; they renamed their town Rockfort (Rockport) in its honor. However, it turned out that the fort was not particularly necessary. Although much of Utah

Territory experienced difficult relationships with nearby native peoples, in the Rockport area the local Native Americans were friendly and the settlers interacted with them on a limited social basis for trade and agriculture.

The town's first public building was a log schoolhouse, eighteen by twenty-one feet, built in 1863 of hewn logs. This building served as the scene of virtually all public activities—socials, religious services, and the education of the town's young people. In 1872 Henry Seamons opened Rockport's first store and post office in concrete buildings built from limestone kilned near Hoytsville. Farmers traded their surplus in nearby markets at Park City; others supplemented their family's income by hauling coal from Coalville to town and to Park City.<sup>42</sup>

### *Kamas*

One of the earliest descriptions of the Kamas Valley was given in a report written by Captain Howard Stansbury of the United States Army in 1849. Stansbury was in the territory at the orders of the chief of the Bureau of Topographical Engineers to survey the Salt Lake Valley and explore the surrounding environs. He came to "Camass" valley hoping to find a practical route between Weber Valley and Timpanogos Valley to the southwest. He wrote: "It may be remarked here that the Camass Prairie consists of most excellent land and can be irrigated over its whole extent with comparatively little labor. Water for stock is abundant and timber for ordinary farming is plentiful and convenient."<sup>43</sup> The word Kamas was derived from an Indian word, "chamas," which describes a bulbous-rooted plant that was a staple of the diet of Native Americans in the area. The term also was used to describe a small grassy plain among the hills, an appropriate portrait of the valley.

Kamas is located in a valley bordered by the Uinta Mountains to the east, the Wasatch Mountains to the west, the Provo River on the south, and the Weber River to the north. Beaver Creek, a tributary of the Weber, traverses the center of the valley. The area around Kamas was first known as "Rhoades Valley," named for Thomas Rhoades, the owner of the original territorial land grant. A roving prospector, hunter, and trapper, Rhoades came to the valley in 1859. Twenty

other Mormons, attracted by the green meadows and livestock grazing potential, also soon moved in and built a crude fort along a spring on the east side of the valley. These settlers included W.O. Anderson, John Turnbow, John Simpson, Morgan Lewis, Daniel Lewis, Alma Williams, Clinton Williams, Richard Venabale, Richard Pangburn, and John Lambert and their families. The walls of the log fort were sixteen feet high and formed the rear walls of the houses built inside. A log building in the center of the fort was used for a schoolhouse, meetinghouse, amusement hall, and center of government.

With some difficulty, the settlers raised some wheat in a community field. Adverse weather made farming difficult, as did conflicts with the native people who had long used the valley for hunting and were naturally reluctant to turn it over to white interlopers. When relations became tense, a number of Kamas's first settlers left their new log homes and their own fort for the safety of the fort at Peoa; and, when they left Peoa, they built their own fort in Kamas. It housed as many as thirty-two families at one time. Often the settlers stayed within the protective walls of the fort, watching helplessly as Utes, who were struggling to maintain a way of life as settlers encroached on their historic hunting grounds, took livestock from the corrals beyond the walls. Finally, in 1870, the conflict had subsided to the point that the townspeople felt they could leave the fort. It was at this time that the town of Kamas was platted; before then, squatters' rights had prevailed.

Brigham Young appointed Captain Charles Russell the first presiding elder of Rhoades Valley and of all the area that would eventually become Summit LDS Stake. After Russell moved away in 1867, Young appointed Ward E. Pack in his place. Over the next four decades several members of the Pack family served as bishops of the Kamas LDS Ward. The town was incorporated on 4 June 1912, and one of the town's first orders of business was the election of yet another Pack—James Orlan Pack—as mayor.

During the early years, the hardy residents seemed to live on the brink of survival; but they gradually created a self-sustaining economy through lumbering, dairying, stock raising, flour milling, and merchandising. Easy access to the forested Uintas made lumbering a

natural business. Settlers cut and hauled logs to Salt Lake City to trade for provisions, a trip that usually took at least four days.

John Pack built the first sawmill in 1860 on Beaver Creek a few miles east of Kamas. Richard Pangburn built a shingle mill near the town site as well. Pack's mill is the only one mentioned in the 1870 census. Located in "Rhodes Valley," it used an "upright" saw powered by an overshot wheel to produce 15,000 board-feet of lumber, worth \$650. In the same census, Lance Olson is listed as a carpenter who did \$650 worth of "jobbing," while "Hance" Olson did \$500 in blacksmith jobbing. The Lambert brothers, John Carpenter, and Joseph Williams were other millers who exported lumber to Park City and other markets. Later, the local lumbering industry was augmented by the John W. Blazzard Box Factory and Lumber Company and the Great Lake Timber Company, among others.<sup>44</sup>

Lumbering is still a major industry in the valley. However, since the mid-1970s, the sawmills have suffered from a shortage of timber caused by restrictions on cutting in the Wasatch-Cache National Forest. Those limits are being imposed by federal officials increasingly aware of another segment of the economy that depends on those forested mountains—recreation.

Stock raising has always been successful in Kamas, and dairying has been a productive industry since John Pack opened a cheese factory in 1868. The Mutual Creamery Company, later part of the Brooklawn Creamery Company chain, also flourished in the town for a time.

Since the late 1860s, Kamas has maintained a small commercial district along the main street through the center of town. The first store was a cooperative mercantile started in 1869. Alma Warr, John Carpenter, and Virgil King also ran stores. The mercantile businesses extant in the late 1940s were Hoyt Brothers Mercantile, Kamas Valley Meat and Grocery, Holt Confectionery, and Simpson Drug. Kamas State Bank was organized in 1909 and remains open at present. Hotels and boarding houses in the early days were operated out of homes, including those of Rufus Pack, Ruth Pack, and Lucy Williams, who built the Summit Hotel. Jesse Burbidge built the Cottage Hotel, which burned down in 1932.

The only flour mill built in Kamas was erected by A.O. Johnson

in 1890. A more important industry was poultry raising. Mink and fox farms emerged as new businesses in the mid-twentieth century.

Over the years Kamas kept pace with other Summit County towns in providing modern services. In 1916, an independent electric lighting system was installed by George W. Butler. Telephones, modern water systems, and improved roads came to Kamas during the first decades of the twentieth century.<sup>45</sup>

### *Peoa*

During the period of 1824–25, several notable trappers, including William Ashley and Jedediah Smith, stopped at the numerous springs around Peoa. There was much to appreciate in the area, and when Williams W. Phelps first arrived in 1857 he found plentiful game, a valley covered with trees and brush, and lush meadowland along the Weber River. The numerous springs and creeks promised abundant water for crops. Phelps staked a claim, and, in the spring of 1860, a group of Mormon settlers were called to join him and make permanent homes. Arriving in covered wagons, the group included Orin Lee, Adrian Miles, David Rideout, Lou Huffaker, Jacob M. Truman, Henry and William Boyce, Maria Barnum, Robert Slater, Austin Green, John Neel, Charlie Shippens, Abraham Marchant, George Spencer, Edmund Walker, Ola Pearson, William Milliner, and John Maxwell, and their families.<sup>46</sup>

According to legend, Phelps had found a log with the word “Peoha” carved on it, which may have been the name of some past Indian chief or tribe. The white settlers chose this name for their new settlement. David Rideout acted as presiding elder of this group of Mormon settlers. In 1862, Abraham Marchant replaced him as bishop of the southern part of the county, which included Peoa, Rockport, Wanship, and Kamas. During the Ute insurrections of the late 1860s, the people of Peoa built a fort called the Sage Bottoms Fort, located one mile south of Peoa at the bend of the Weber River. Like other forts in Summit County, a church was built in the center of a square constructed of houses. Cattle rested during the night in the safety of the southwest corner of the fort. David Rideout’s log cabin doubled as a school in 1863; later, while the group lived in the fort, they held school in the log church. Not until 1881 was the first per-



The Peoa Post Office in 1915. (Summit County Historical Society)

manent school building built, on a hill east of town. Homes also served as the scene for worship service until 1865, when a log meetinghouse was built. A more permanent rock meetinghouse was



built in 1903. Abundant local raw materials such as timber and sandstone enabled settlers to build an impressive variety of buildings.

The settlers built irrigation canals so that they could farm the rich river bottom land. In 1861, the group constructed two Sage Bottom canals; in 1868, they extended the system by building the New Field Canal. In 1887 the population of 450 persons could boast of producing 24,000 bushels of grain, 4,000 bushels of potatoes, and 1,000 tons of hay.<sup>47</sup>

Peoa was a small community, but it did attract some commercial development. The first store, owned by Abraham Marchant and Robert Slater, was built of logs. In 1892 John Marchant built a brick store, the second story of which was used as an amusement hall. His wife ran a second store in a rock building nearby. Loretta Palmer owned a lumber store, and the Peoa Co-op, owned by a group of local citizens, was the fourth store in town. For a time Peoa had a hotel—the Peoa House—and a saloon.<sup>48</sup> Over the years, various enterprises have flourished, including blacksmithing, shoemaking, cabinet making, canal building, quarrying, construction, teaching, and cattle ranching. The dairy and poultry industries also have been important and continued to thrive during the twentieth century.

### *Oakley*

The settlement of Oakley was founded along the river bottoms and lower foothills in the center of Rhoades Valley. With rich soils, water from the Weber River and its tributaries, and plenty of timber, this location easily attracted early settlers. Thomas Rhoades, responsible for much of the settlement of Kamas Valley, came to Oakley in 1853 and claimed a parcel of land for grazing his herd of cattle. In the mid-1860s, Morgan Lewis, Daniel Lewis, Alma Williams, Clint Williams, John Simpson, and Bert Peterson grazed their cattle in the area, living temporarily in crude dwellings dug out of the banks of the Weber River. Daniel Lewis remembered: “The early pioneers liked to be near water and there was also plenty of wood for winter use and more protection from the cold winter winds.”<sup>49</sup>

In 1868, the first permanent residents, William and Emma Crowder Stevens, built their home in the area. Their older children soon followed and formed the nucleus of a little farming community,

which included the families of Dan Hopkins, Tobias Rasmussen, Marion and Nancy Frazier, and Wilford Frazier. This initial group claimed the town lots and had first pick of farm lots in Oakley proper.

The second area to be settled, north of the Weber River as it emerges from the Uinta Mountains, became known as the New Field. This second wave of settlement moved into land equally as fertile and favorable for farming. These new settlers included A.G.H. Marchant, Benjamin Miles, Orin Lee, Alfred Johnson, Billie Walker, John Newman, Ola Pearson, Frank Marchant, and Alfred Burton. One of the first homes in the New Field was a simple dugout carved out of the soil. Zilphia Franson described its modest provision of shelter. "It was made by digging a hole in the ground about 14 feet by 14 feet. This was lined with logs, and willows were placed over the top. There was one door but no window, and to get inside one had to go down hill. A bunk bed was built on one side and in one end was a large fire place. The only light was a rag dipped in a dish of grease."<sup>50</sup>

Because Oakley lay in an area less prone to frost damage than other parts of the county, the earliest families were able to raise grains and other crops fairly easily. Wood was harvested from Weber Canyon as a secondary cash crop, and eventually ranches were established, especially in the mouths of canyons.

Several families chose to make their homes up Weber Canyon, where there was plenty of lumber and fuel. Settlers scoured the canyon for natural resources, and some so enjoyed the more mountainous environment that they staked a claim and farmed what fertile land they could clear. Men engaged in log drives, at which time huge logs were floated downriver to be used for railroad ties, building lumber, and cord wood for fuel. When the two local railroad lines were under construction in 1880, the area profited proportionally.

This early industry would continue to be important to the local economy, and numerous sawmills were located in nearby canyons. A sawmill was built in 1870 near the mouth of South Fork in Weber Canyon for Mormon leader John Taylor. In 1882 William Stevens built a sawmill and gristmill in Oakley, with a millpond and millrace to furnish power. Plane, lath, and shingle mills were also constructed.



The flume at William H. Stevens' grist mill, Oakley. (Patrick Cone)

A local brickmaking industry, begun by Ole Rasmussen, a blacksmith shop, and a dairy farm were opened and functioning by the 1880s.<sup>51</sup>

In time, a town center offered the variety of goods and services required to support a growing population. A number of enterprising



The William H. Stevens house in Oakley. (Patrick Cone)

settlers ran dry-goods stores out of their homes. The first store opened up in the old Sampson House. W.H. Stevens first operated from a house before erecting a little brick store. Elijah Hortin had a two-room store.

Cattle ranches became big business along the river valley. The Howell Ranch was one of the largest cattle ranches in the area, representing a conglomeration of many smaller ranches.

During the late 1880s, after land near the original settlement had all been claimed, new homesteaders began to move to yet another section of Oakley, the Boulderville area. Thus, the town developed in a gradual and scattered way. Isolated farmsteads and farms located across the valley rather than in town splintered the feeling of connectedness, and a sense of community was slow to come to Oakley. Because of the geography and the settlement patterns, finding an acceptable location for community buildings was a politically charged undertaking.

In 1877, the townspeople held a heated discussion about where to locate the first school. Finally, a compromise was reached when the citizens agreed on a location halfway between Oakley proper and the

New Field. Yet another important impediment to community unity was the fact that during the nineteenth century Oakley was part of the Peoa LDS Ward—thus, the town as an independent entity lacked the significant religious and social association of having an LDS ward of their own.

### *Marion*

Yet another agricultural community, the small hamlet of Marion, was founded between Kamas and Oakley. William Morrell built the first house there near a large spring. Marion's springs also attracted Samuel P. Hoyt of Hoytsville fame. In 1861 he constructed a house at the mouth of Hoyt's Canyon and engaged in farming and ranching there. His herd of 600 to 700 cattle was one of the largest in the territory and grazed over open range comprising most of the land known as Marion. As in Hoytsville, Hoyt's operations furnished work for many local residents.

Sheep and cattle ranching became important endeavors for residents, but citizens of Marion also founded businesses similar to those in other parts of the county. James Woolstenhulme operated the first grocery store out of a room in his house. A Mr. Watt did the same and then later built a separate store along the main road through town. George Simpson started a sawmill, and adobe brick and kiln-fired lime mortar were made locally in support of the construction industry. The town's first creamery was begun in 1896.<sup>52</sup>

Initially, Marion was called Morrell after William Morrell. Later, in recognition of the large number of Scandinavians settling there, locals called their home Denmark. For many years, settlers continued to sing their hymns in Danish. When LDS Presiding Bishop Francis Marion Lyman came to organize the first local Mormon ward in 1909, the residents chose to rename their community in his honor.

### *Woodland*

Woodland is a six-mile-long string of farmsteads on the upper Provo River in the south part of the county in a fertile, mile-wide valley. Because of its elevation at 6,850 feet, the main livelihood is dairying rather than agriculture, although timbering was important at the time of settlement in 1867. After a steam sawmill was brought to

town in 1878, lumber and railroad ties were exported to markets in Park City and Salt Lake City. As the need for lumber declined, residents found new forms of employment and created a thriving dairy industry.<sup>53</sup>

### *Francis*

John Williams, a young Englishman, is said to have built the first cabin on the bench south of Kamas Fort in the area later known as Francis. About the same year, Samuel Gines, Solen Sorensen, and Quince Alexander also settled in the vicinity. Because there was no river water available on the bench, the area developed only through a combination of small springs, wells, and irrigation canals from the Provo River. Lumbering, sawmills, and a creamery were support industries for an economy that today still relies on agriculture.

Among the few in-town businesses to operate in the town of Francis was the Pace Creamery, built in 1897 by Bill Pace. Martha Hoyt Myrick, a graduate of the agricultural college in Logan, made the butter and ran the entire establishment. Pace also ran a provisions store from his house, as well as being a salesman for the Consolidated Wagon and Machine Company. In about 1885 he built a log store at the foot of the hills on the road going to Woodland. Later, Jed Woodard ran a trading post on the corner of the lot where his home sat. In 1914, Milton Richardson and Carlos Lambert built the Francis Store.<sup>54</sup>

### *Snyderville*

Mormon apostle Parley P. Pratt visited the Snyderville Basin in the summer of 1848. He was immediately taken with the land, describing it as:

a beautiful meadow or park, nearly circular, averaging 3 miles in length and 2 miles in width, and comprising some three or four thousand acres of excellent land, clothed with grass and interspersed with wild flax and strawberry vines.

Large groves of aspen, mostly dry, were interspersed within the valley and hill sides, while ten beautiful clear streams ran through the park and formed the west branch of the Weber River.

Altogether it was the most desirable and convenient place for

stock farms I ever saw, plentiful in grass, watered as Eden and sufficiently timbered to supply hundreds of families.<sup>55</sup>

The pioneers started referring to this meadow as Parley's Park, in Pratt's honor. Two years later, Samuel C. Snyder, Heber C. Kimball, and Jedediah M. Grant secured a land grant from the territorial government to settle the valley. Snyder was the first settler and gave his name to the community that grew up in the meadow. Snyder settled on Spring Creek in 1853 and built a reservoir impounding the water from White Pine, Red Pine, and Willow Creek canyons. He also built the first gristmill and first sawmill in the county and, with his sons and brothers, also raised cattle on the lush meadow grasses. A village of log cabins emerged as others came to the area to try their luck.

The first four businesses recorded in Parley's Park were lumber-related. The 1870 census of Utah Territory reports that "Robins & Co." ran a sawmill using an "upright" saw powered by an overshot waterwheel. Valued at \$1,000, the mill produced 200,000 feet of lumber, worth \$5,000. A second, smaller, sawmill was operated by Alexander Snyder. His overshot wheel ran an upright saw that cut 60,000 board-feet of lumber, sold for \$2,500. With a small circular saw, J. H. Black produced 186 bunches of lath valued at \$1,210. Samuel Williams had a shingle mill, which was powered by an undershot waterwheel. Worth \$500, the mill produced 300 bunches of shingles valued at \$1,050.

Since agricultural pursuits were limited by the climate, Snyderville remained a timber-cutting and sawing center. At first, pine was sawed for construction lumber. Aspens were cut for fences and firewood, much of which was sent to Salt Lake City, where wood was scarce. As the mines developed in Park City, wood from Snyder's Mill was in great demand for buildings, for shoring mines, and as fuel for steam-powered pumps in the mines and for steam engines used in the mining mills.

### *Grass Creek*

Besides the many Mormon rural villages settled in Summit County, a number of towns were established around a particular industry. The mining, lumber, and railroad towns didn't conform to

the geographic or social prescriptions of the rural village; instead, each developed uniquely, in reaction to specific local needs.

The town of Grass Creek was one of these towns. When federal soldiers prospecting for minerals during the 1860s identified significant coal veins north and over the hill from Coalville, non-Mormon investors moved in to develop the mines. They named the entire canyon precinct Grass Creek, and the Grass Creek Fuel Company quickly raised a company town for its workers.<sup>56</sup> They built numerous homes on the north side of the canyon—many to house the growing number of Chinese workers—and businesses on the south. A variety of different building types, from miners' shacks to elegant Victorian houses, soon lined the streets of Grass Creek; the town had company stores, mining offices, churches, barns, and corrals.

Local settlers organized the Coalville and Echo Railroad Company to build a narrow-gauge line from Echo to the Coalville mines and up to Grass Creek. When in 1896 the new 5.6-mile spur line connected Grass Creek with the Union Pacific line, the town's prosperity seemed assured. Although the Union Pacific charged incredibly high fees to ship the coal from Echo, the railroad facilitated the transportation of coal to distant markets. The Union Pacific Railroad Company itself also invested in and developed coal mines up Grass Valley.

Grass Creek reached its peak in the period between 1910 and 1920, with a population of about 200 people. However, its mines began to lose business to other coal mining areas such as Price, Utah, and Rock Springs, Wyoming, and conditions in the Grass Creek mines themselves started to deteriorate. Many mines began to fill up with water and the sandstone roofs in some gave way. The last coal came out of Grass Creek in 1940. Now a ghost town, the area is left to ranchers, who negotiate around the one remaining old barn and the foundations of former buildings.<sup>57</sup>

### *Wahsatch*

The town of Wahsatch was another company town. Established on a stretch of flat ground near the northeast entrance to Echo Canyon, twenty-three miles east of Echo City, Wahsatch was one of many towns that developed because of the railroad. The town



became a major construction camp, supply station, and railhead between 1868 and 1869. Hundreds of workers drilling the long railroad tunnel through Echo Canyon lived there; a temporary zigzag, shoo-fly track built around the mine's periphery originated at Wahsatch and facilitated the transportation of men and supplies to the worksite.

After the tunnel's completion, Wahsatch continued to function as a railroad town. Crews and engines were changed there, equipment was serviced, and travelers could buy supplies. When the transcontinental railroad was completed in May 1869, Wahsatch became a meal station for passengers delayed by locomotive changes. Because the town was at the summit of Echo Canyon, it became the cutoff point for helper engines that brought heavy freight trains up the canyon. At Wahsatch these engines were serviced, turned around, and sent down the canyon to Echo or Ogden.

Local buildings spoke to the town's unique purpose. Besides houses, the town had a roundhouse, locomotive shops, boarding houses, and warehouses, all servicing the railroad industry. However, by 1870, nearby Evanston, Wyoming, had surpassed Wahsatch in size and offered better basic locomotive facilities. Therefore, the company changed the division point and Wahsatch was dismantled. All the buildings were razed except for the depot and loading docks and some of the maintenance buildings.<sup>58</sup>

Wahsatch was saved from ghost-town status, however, by area ranchers, who brought their livestock there in the spring from their winter range, set up camps to shear their sheep in the summer, and then loaded the animals back onto railroad cars before the first snows. "Our little burgh is having something of a boom," a Wahsatch resident told the *Coalville Times* in 1898. "Several shacks and shanties are in course of erection for use during the shearing season." In June 1903 the *Coalville Times* reported that 489 carloads of sheep had arrived at Wahsatch from their winter range.<sup>59</sup>

A new school was built at Wahsatch in 1910, and the construction of a second tunnel in 1916 gave the little "burgh" added vitality. However, as sheep ranching declined during the first half of the twentieth century, Wahsatch declined with it.

### *Mill City*

Mill City was a railroad town with a difference—the difference being that it was actually a lumber town built for the railroad industry. When the transcontinental railroad came through southern Wyoming Territory in 1867–69, tens of thousands of cross ties were needed. Logging camps were established all along the north slope of the Uinta Mountains. There, loggers cut logs to the specified lengths, adzed them flat on opposite sides, and sent them down the Bear River to Evanston, Wyoming. This was soon found to be not the most scientific way of transporting the logs, since many became lodged in the debris along the riverbanks and never made it to Evanston.

In 1872, the Hilliard Flume and Lumber Company sought to remedy the problem by building a large V-shaped flume running the thirty miles from Gold Hill to Hilliard, Wyoming, a Union Pacific town. The flume, which ran along the Hayden Fork of the Bear River, transported logs for use on the railroad tracks, in mines, and as fuel for Hilliard's thirty-two charcoal kilns. An impressive structure, the flume stood sixteen feet tall in some places and had a gradient that caused the water to run fifteen miles per hour.

Near the head of the flume northwest of Hayden Peak, the company built a log town around the sawmill and called it Mill City. From the first, it was a classic company town. Numerous bunkhouses, homes, and businesses provided housing and services for more than 500 workers during the 1880s. This was not a community formed for families but for single men working for wages and then perhaps seeking their fortunes elsewhere. After the need for lumber diminished, Mill City disappeared. Its store and houses were razed and only a few log cabins remain.<sup>60</sup>

### *Black's Fort*

Just south of the Wyoming border on a level spot along the Black's Fork River are several log structures marking the remains of Black's Fort. Its history is uncertain. Some sources call it an army commissary, saying that it supplied food, wagon repair facilities, pack animals, and equipment for soldiers patrolling the area between Fort Duchesne and possibly Fort Bridger, Wyoming; some call it a way station; and others call it a timber-company town. Whatever its begin-

nings, the town apparently grew into a timber town. Loggers and teamsters hauling wood lived there, and the population, like Mill City's, was youthful, male, and transient. Perhaps 50 to 100 people lived there at any one time.

The town's physical layout deviated dramatically from the orderly grid plans of many Utah towns. Instead, it was built in a semicircle surrounding a large barn. The center of town life was the large company building, which contained company offices, stores, eating facilities, and storage rooms. Most of the other log buildings were duplexes, boardinghouses, and large dormitories. But the town's economic purpose for existence was exhausted long ago. All that remains today are a few empty buildings.<sup>61</sup>

### *Atkinson*

In the sagebrush fields near Silver Creek Junction, a company town suddenly appeared and just as suddenly vanished. The town was the creation of a group of eastern investors, who arrived in Summit County in 1908 with the idea of recovering the valuable minerals washing down Silver Creek from Park City mines. Incorporating as the Silver Creek Mining Company, the owners built a mill and threw up flimsy housing for workers and their families. About 150 families, carried by their enthusiasm, moved from surrounding communities to the new town of Atkinson (presumably named after one of the owners) and willingly lived three or four families to a house.

It seemed that instant prosperity would come to everybody. The company owners became town heroes. At the one-room schoolhouse built in 1910, students traded their old-fashioned slates for real paper and pencils. They also started bringing their lunches not in tin lunch pails but in the far more "upscale" paper bags that their parents had brought back from shopping trips to Park City.

In 1910, the Union Pacific contributed to the feeling of plenty at Atkinson by building a depot and also three large bunkhouses to house hundreds of railway workers. Life was rosy until 1918. Then, suddenly, the principal owners took their families and all the cash, stock, and checks they could find and fled town—presumably to Mexico. Apparently, they had oversold stock in the company and

things were about to collapse. Creditors arrived to disassemble the mill, and the now-unemployed mill workers dejectedly left town. The Union Pacific also began to relocate railroad workers, until only a few farming families remained in Atkinson. Now, all that is left of the town is the old schoolhouse.<sup>62</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Despite the diversity in settlement patterns, town layouts, and populations, some common themes run through the history of settlement in Summit County. First and foremost was the fact that these towns were founded by pioneers seeking to establish new homes despite great hardships. In isolated places like the Kamas Valley, colonizing took determination and faith.

In the northern part of the county, the contribution of transportation routes to the towns can't be overemphasized. Thousands of immigrants passed through the Weber River valley on their way to somewhere else. As towns like Echo, Coalville, Henefer, and Hoytsville tried to establish irrigation systems, roads, and schools, they benefited greatly from this traffic. They also benefited when many immigrants, drawn by the beautiful mountain environment and the agricultural potential, stayed. Others returned at the suggestion of Mormon church president Brigham Young or on their own volition, lured by the promise of opportunity.

The railroad also spurred the growth of towns in the county. New jobs created by the railroad, demands for materials and supplies, and the need to feed and house railroad workers created a temporary reason for town development. As the railroad influence waned, some of these towns, so far from the territorial center, reoriented, becoming primarily agricultural towns with simpler economies and more homogenous populations.

It is striking how many families from the early settlements like Coalville or Henefer extended their interests and influence into other communities in the area. Many men placed their plural families in adjoining towns, as in the case of Samuel Hoyt, who farmed and milled in Hoytsville while he established a second home on a cattle ranch in Marion. The family relationships of these first two genera-

tions thus connected these towns in networks that were complicated and diffuse.

As Summit County moved from the nineteenth century to the twentieth, some settlements disappeared while others evolved. Because of changing economies and industries, a few towns dependent on a single industry ceased to exist. However, in those towns that endured, residents adapted to change. Populations slowly grew. Electricity and telephones transformed the way people lived and communicated; advances in agriculture and mining changed the way they worked. Especially important was the introduction of automobiles, trucks, tractors, and industrial machinery during the first decade of the new century. Eventually, most towns came to have an automotive gasoline and service station to complement the general store. Of course, with the proliferation of cars and trucks came improved roadways that enhanced commercial networking between the towns and the outside world. It became easier to import new machinery, and it also was easier to export goods and services to new markets. Reservoirs, dams, irrigation systems, water and sewer lines, power plants, new milling processes, and new fuels stimulated economies while keeping construction workers busy countywide.

Underlying these steps toward modernization, however, the work of the original settlers remained a strong force in the fabric of community. Without technology or conveniences, the men and women of the pioneering generation were remarkably resourceful, doing the work required to build their homes and businesses, to survive from year to year, and to plan for the future. During the nineteenth century, Mormon ideals and a sense of community dominated settlement efforts in Summit County.

The diversity of towns like Park City and Coalville certainly presented an interesting contrast. In terms of sheer numbers and the size of its economy, Park City's influence far outweighed that of the rest of the county. Nevertheless, county history was marked by an effort on the part of the Mormon pioneers to build in Summit County what they considered to be the Kingdom of God. The towns they established reflect their dedication to group effort, cooperation, and order. These towns are a physical symbol of the fact that this was a people who, despite all difficulties, had come to stay.

## ENDNOTES

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## CHAPTER 6

# THE SETTLEMENT OF PARK CITY

When silver was discovered in western Summit County in the late 1860s, the settlement pattern of the county suddenly shifted. A new town, Park City, sprouted, growing into a place far different from the county's quiet Mormon towns. And the town grew quickly. Developed to a large extent through outside capital, Park City's mines fueled a booming economy in a location that otherwise may not have developed for another hundred years. Boarding houses, mine buildings, and mills sprang up; houses, stores, saloons, prostitute "cribs," theaters, and stables spread through the canyons and up the hillsides. This bustling import/export economy stood in stark contrast to the self-sufficient, cooperative economies of neighboring Mormon towns. But you didn't need to go outside the town boundaries to find contrast. One of the most colorful settlements in Utah history, Park City itself was a study in diversity and in the often-symbiotic relationships between miners and merchants, Chinese and Irish people, silver magnates and impoverished prostitutes.

### *Initial Settlement*

Knowing that the mining industry—with its lure for seekers of wealth—could disrupt his vision of Zion, and inspired by his ultimate objective of territorial self-sufficiency, Brigham Young discouraged Mormons from seeking precious metals. But Young's anti-mining policies had no effect on gentile prospectors.

When Colonel Patrick Edward Connor arrived in Utah with his California Volunteers in 1862 to defend the Overland Mail route, he encouraged his soldiers to spend their free time prospecting.<sup>1</sup> Connor hoped not only for wealth but also that the resulting influx of non-Mormons would spell the end of Mormon control of the territory. Soldiers may have made the first discovery of silver, on Flagstaff Mountain, near present-day Park City, about 1868. Other discoveries followed. Then, in 1872, prospectors discovered a huge vein of silver ore in what would become the Ontario Mine in Park City. The boom began. Hundreds of prospectors flooded into Park City, setting up camp on the slopes near the mines and bringing with them new religions, fraternal organizations, and ethnic traditions. A shanty town of tents and makeshift shelters sprang up at Lake Flat, or what is now called Silver Lake in the Deer Valley development.

Finds in local mines were reported in Utah's mining periodicals. An entry from the *Utah Mining Journal* typifies the enthusiastic announcement of mining activity in the area: "New discoveries in Parley's Park. Two smelters of the monitor pattern arrived in the district yesterday and will be put up on the Hanks ranch to treat the Walker and Webster areas. Five men are at work in the McHenry mine and the Ontario mine is taking out ore and looking very good. There are about 100 men in the district."<sup>2</sup> Each find represented new wealth, new business, workers in town, and expansion.

Because Brigham Young discouraged mining among the Mormon people, the early Mormon settlement of the area centered on the agricultural and grazing potential of the land rather than on the extraction of the rich minerals beneath the land's surface. In May 1872, George G. Snyder, his wife, Rhoda, and their three children, Sylvia, Lillie and Kimball, arrived in this mountain valley from Wanship. According to local legend, the air was warm and crisp and

the fields ablaze with wildflowers. While their team of horses grazed on the abundant grasses, George turned to his wife and said, "We will call this place Park City, for it is a veritable park."<sup>3</sup> The higher valley had been known by different names, including Upper Kimball's, Upper Parley's, and Mineral City, until 4 July 1872 when the Snyders raised a flag made of a white sheet, a red flannel blanket, and a blue handkerchief and proclaimed that the new community would be known as Park City.<sup>4</sup> Snyder and his family built a two-room home near what is now the corner of Park and Heber avenues with lumber purchased at the sawmill just up the road.

### *Town Development*

By 1874, the town of Park City had started to take shape. "On the corner of what is now Park Avenue and 6th Street was the Montgomery store. On the northeast corner of Main Street and Deer Valley was a blacksmith shop," one contemporary recorded that year. "Further up the main street was a saloon and the McHenry Boarding House. South of this house was a meat market. There were four log houses and a number of tents."<sup>5</sup>

Within a few years after the first mines opened up there were more than 500 men working below the ground. The Ontario and the McHenry mines constructed bunkhouses for their workers.<sup>6</sup> Other miners lived in wooden shanties with shingled gabled roofs on the mountain slopes near the mines. One-room and larger frame houses soon replaced the shanties as the town's population increased, and several boarding houses were built to accommodate the men.<sup>7</sup>

Businessmen followed the crowds of miners to Park City. After the discovery of the Ontario Mine deposit, William Kimball offered daily stagecoach service from Salt Lake City to Parley's Park. Most Mormons obeyed Brigham Young and shied away from the mines, but they did take advantage of the situation, opening stores in town and supplying the miners with food, timber, and services, as they had done earlier with the "49ers" going to California.

Some entrepreneurs made it their business to provide recreation for the miners. One 1880 account suggested, "Because of the twenty-three saloons, there were many drunks. Judge John L. Street fined



Park City construction crew. (Utah State Historical Society)

these drunks \$30.00 or 30 days in jail. If they chose to go to jail, they were taken to the county jail in Coalville at a fast pace, tied to their horses. The drunks always chose to pay the fine.” Considered service industries, the saloons were described by the *Salt Lake Tribune* as “well kept and well patronized.”<sup>8</sup>

Miners could also choose from several brothels, or “sporting houses,” located in Deer Valley. These were carefully regulated by local authorities. Madams paid a special tax to the city; their girls were licensed by the city and examined periodically by a physician. Every month, the sheriff hauled them in and fined them, after which they returned to continue business as usual. The girls weren’t allowed in the saloons, a rule that was strictly enforced. Their names appear repeatedly in police records, including male names like “Frankie” and “Joey,” or more exotic names like “Babes,” “Ophelia,” or “Estelle.” There is no indication in the census of the time of large households of female boarders, who might have been prostitutes, nor were there many single women boarders in households at all. Clearly, part of the

population was under-recorded or unrecorded, so this significant presence in Park City was officially invisible.

Park City businesses were listed as early as 1874 in the *Utah Directory and Gazetteer*; in 1871, San Francisco's *Pacific Coast Business Directory* listed sixteen Park City businessmen and their businesses, giving them regional attention.<sup>9</sup> By 1874, these businesses included hotels, restaurants, and livery stables; a butcher shop; and a W.J. Montgomery store, "well stocked and regulated," selling groceries, notions, boots, shoes, hardware, fuses, and so forth.<sup>10</sup> That same year, the town had two Chinese laundries, a barber shop, and the Marsac Silver Mining Company stamp mill.

In 1879, the town was described in the *Salt Lake Tribune* as

rapidly approaching the size and appearance of a healthy, compact and permanent place; business appears particularly thriving, and every indication assumes the life and bustle so often reported. Town lots are selling readily, and commanding a very flattering figure. Lots that two years ago sold for \$10–\$20 are now bringing from \$100 up. The whole appearance of the place indicates thrift, and as a very industrious go-ahead class of people are in the camp, we may look soon for what is very reasonably claimed the finest camp on the Coast.<sup>11</sup>

That year, Park City had 350 buildings and, according to the *Tribune*, 3,500 inhabitants.<sup>12</sup> However, the United States Census recorded the presence of only 2,093 persons in 1880, a discrepancy due probably to the under-representation of certain populations. Of the census total, 61 percent were male and 39 percent female. Some 27 percent of the total population was under the age of eighteen and, of the 338 heads of households, twenty-four were women.<sup>13</sup>

In 1875, employees of the Ontario Mine opened a one-room log-cabin school funded partly by subscriptions and partly by the mine company.<sup>14</sup> The Ontario School elected a board of trustees that held periodic fundraising events to help pay teachers' salaries. The *Park Record* of 17 February 1883 advertised one such event:

The trustees of the Ontario District School have concluded to give a ball on the evening of St. Patrick's Day, March 17, in Miners' Union Hall. The proceeds of the ball are to be devoted to the wel-

fare of the school and as the Trustees always make them very pleasant affairs, we are sure that the money spent for tickets will be well invested. The Ontario School is a great benefit to children whose parents live near the mine, and in their noble efforts to give the children good common school education, the trustees deserve all the encouragement that can be given them.

By the mid-1880s, other schools had been established. The New West Educational Commission of the Congregational church had established a place of learning in the basement of the local church. Protestant as well as Catholic children attended St. Mary's School, operated by the Sisters of the Holy Cross in conjunction with the Parish of St. Mary of the Assumption. Children whose parents couldn't afford the tuition could attend the "Free School," supported by revenue from the territorial school fund.

The various schools met the needs of children from every social class. In 1890, Park City had 791 school-aged children. Of that number, 508 were in public schools and 181 in private academies; the other 102 were not attending school regularly. Of the total, 64 were Mormons and 727 were non-Mormons.

The swelling population caused certain problems. Farm animals roamed the streets freely; dead animals often lay for weeks decaying in the road; businesses and residents left their garbage in piles along the road. This approach to public sanitation was by no means unique to Park City, being common in nineteenth-century towns. An appreciation of the connection between sanitation and public health was beginning to grow, however. "There are numerous places on the different streets from which the most disgusting stenchs imaginable arise," the *Park Record* maintained on 5 June 1880. "Numerous complaints are made and we think the owners of such places ought to take the necessary steps for placing them in a more healthy and agreeable condition. They are endangering their own health as well as the health of their neighbors. Complaint too, of dead hogs and dogs being left near Park Avenue and Seventh streets are brought to us. If people will continue to breed disease, they must not complain if diphtheria or others carries [*sic*] off their little ones."

By the summer of 1880, local officials had organized a town sanitary committee and work had begun on a city water system.<sup>15</sup> In

1881 telephone service came to Park City and the Park City Bank opened.<sup>16</sup> That same year, Park City chartered a fire company, a particularly important move in a town filled with frame structures. Staffed with volunteers and always limited by short water supplies and inadequate equipment, Park City's fire department contended with repeated fires.

In 1884, the year Park City was legally incorporated, the *Park Record* listed the accomplishments of the first group of civic officers:

- 1) Main Street is useable even with a loaded wagon.
- 2) A sidewalk has been installed on both sides of Main Street.
- 3) Two new flumes carrying off the surplus water for the street have been installed.
- 4) Fire hydrants have been placed in convenient points.
- 5) New fire hose was purchased and provisions for its proper care have been made.
- 6) Street lamps were erected.
- 7) Drinking, rowdiness, opium smoking and shooting have decreased greatly.
- 8) A fire marshal was appointed to inspect homes and buildings for fire hazards.
- 9) Sanitary conditions are improved; consequently, the cases of diphtheria have been cut down to one fourth.<sup>17</sup>

By 1890 Park City had cement sidewalks. And, by 1892, according to the *Utah Gazetteer*, the thriving town of about 7,000 people had 119 businesses, including three blacksmiths, four shoemakers, five restaurants, and twenty saloons.<sup>18</sup>

Park City residents saw their first electric lights in the spring of 1886 when the United States Electric Lighting Company unveiled an experimental generator to light the Ontario and Marsac mills. By the fall of 1886, the Ontario Silver Mining Company had installed a hydroelectric system that city residents hoped could be enlarged to provide lighting for streets and businesses. However, when the management of the Ontario Mine showed little enthusiasm for the idea, a group of citizens organized the Park City Light, Heat & Power Company and began construction of a small power plant. "The wires, including the many branches, have been conducted to all parts of the city and in a few days all the lamps will be hung up in the various

buildings and rooms," the *Park Record* reported in March 1889. "About the end of the coming week, and probably before that, the system, which has a capacity of 1000 lights of 16 candle-power each, will be in shipshape for service." The switch was thrown for the new system on 22 March 1889.<sup>19</sup>

Politically, the most powerful local official was the marshal. The first mayor, F.W. Hayt, was paid less than one dollar per year, whereas the city paid the first marshal (who also was street commissioner) a monthly wage of \$125. Because of its diverse population, Park City was the scene of substantial crime.<sup>20</sup> Even so, Park City had no jail until 1885. The jail that was built then still exists—the "dungeon" in the basement of the old city hall.

Marshals grappled with a variety of crimes, some heinous and others ridiculous. The *Park Record* reported on 14 January 1893 that clothesline thieves "are abroad in the land and are quite bold. Last evening a little after six o'clock Mrs. Harry Weist caught a fellow stripping her line. . . . She screamed for help and the fellow drew a gun . . . and threatened to shoot her if she did not shut up. She kept screaming, however, and the thief took to his heels and carried the undershirt [he had in his hand] with him."

Crimes were frequently more serious, however. After the ambush murder of William "Plumb-bob" Walker in January 1883, the *Park Record* expressed its frustration with local law enforcement, or the lack of it:

A few years ago we deemed vigilance committees a curse to the community in which they existed. But a couple of years of life in Park City will give any one ample reason for changing their views. In two years seven men have been sent to their graves by the hands of their fellow men. And the only punishment meted out to any of them is a short term in the penitentiary, where most of them have fared better than they otherwise would have fared. We are always anxious to see the law of the land prevail, but when that fails in every instance, then let the people act!<sup>21</sup>

On 22 August 1883, one of Park City's most infamous murders occurred when miner Matt Brennan was shot in the back by "Black Jack" Murphy. At least that was the public perception. Although



Murphy was still awaiting trial in the Coalville jail, a number of citizens, including a *Park Record* reporter, had already pronounced him guilty. "Altogether, his actions were very suspicious, and those of a man who was guilty of a terrible crime, and made a very bungling effort to conceal his guilt," the paper editorialized.<sup>22</sup>

On a Saturday night at 11:30, a group of thirty Park City men forced Bob Thomas, the engineer of the Utah Eastern Railroad, to make a night run to Coalville. The two guards at the county jail were no match for a forest of rifles. The next morning, Murphy's body was found swaying from a telegraph pole on Main Street in Park City. In its next issue, only a few months after calling for the creation of "vigilance committees," the *Park Record* bemoaned this act of vigilante justice:

It is a sad thing to note that the citizens of a community should take the law into their own hands. . . . But when murder after murder is committed, and the guilty parties go scott free is it a wonder that people become impatient and do that which they would, undoubtedly, prefer to see done by the courts? . . . There are some who are disposed to complain at the action of the people in this case, but only a few, and they only on account of doubts they may entertain as to Murphy's guilt. The major part of the populace believes that murder have been of too common occurrence in this camp, and that when the people begin to mete out justice the business will quit.<sup>23</sup>

Thirty years later, another murder case threatened to turn into a repeat of the Black Jack Murphy lynching. In March 1923 a man named Peter Canno was accused of stabbing a prostitute, June St. Clair, through the heart. About 150 people showed up at the hearing, carrying a rope and offering to impose their own brand of justice. One of the ringleaders, Richard Wheat, blamed local officials for failing to enforce the law and said it was time for citizens to take care things themselves. However, the town apparently had matured in the years since the Murphy lynching. The *Park Record* urged its readers to let the law take its course, and the mob went home. Canno was executed in 1926.<sup>24</sup>

### *The Social Fabric*

The mining economy grew so strong in Park City and other places in the state that in 1883 local historian Edward Tullidge made an extravagant prediction that "Ere another quarter century shall have passed, Utah will have ceased to be spoken of as the 'Zion of the Mormons' and will have been historically famous as the greatest mining state in America."<sup>25</sup>

Both American and foreign-born miners immigrated to Park City, attracted by wages of \$2.75 to \$3.00 for a nine-hour shift. Workers came from Ireland, England, Germany, Wales, Denmark, Finland, and Canada. Some came from depleted mines in Virginia City, Nevada. Many single men came from Rossie, New York, to work in local mines and build homes on what became known as Rossie Hill. One town booster bragged in 1875, "As proof of our good times, we can boast not having an idle man in the camp."<sup>26</sup> Unlike those transient miners who moved into a mining town to make what money they could and move on, many of these miners chose to stay in Park City and build homes, save money, send for families, and join a growing community.

Between 1870 and 1890, two-thirds of all newcomers were between the ages of fifteen and forty, and most were male. Before 1890, more than 70 percent of foreign immigrants came from northern and western Europe; between 1900 and 1930, immigration patterns had changed and the majority of laboring immigrants to the Utah mines came from southern and eastern Europe.<sup>27</sup>

Most of Park City's English immigrants came from Cornwall's Cornish tin mines or from Scottish coal mines. The Cornish miners, who found conditions in Park City mines similar to those in their native mines, were highly skilled. They brought with them sophisticated mining techniques, such as a process for sinking a shaft or tunnel through hard or dangerous ground. The area's Scots, like most other ethnic groups, lived and worked together. Since most of the Scots spoke in Gaelic dialect and preferred to remain among their own, they segregated themselves in a camp south of the city near Lake Flat near the McHenry Mine where they worked.

Park City's Irish workers were primarily unskilled mine workers,

although the *Gazetteer* suggests that others also worked in saloons. Names such as Cupit's Saloon, Pape and Bowman's Saloon, and Morrison and Riley's Saloon illustrate the early Irish involvement in local commerce. Scandinavian immigrants worked at a variety of mine jobs, in sawmills, and in other businesses.

Significant cultural and religious differences also helped segregate various ethnic groups into neighborhoods. Cultural groups often were distinguished by their types or classes of jobs, marriage patterns, and membership in political parties. But cultural ethnic differences didn't create such severe problems as did racial differences. Especially in the case of the Chinese, racial bigotry was blatant and vicious.

Chinese laborers came to Summit County as early as 1869, during the construction of the transcontinental railroad. When the Union Pacific constructed a spur line from Echo to Park City to transport coal to Park City in 1880, Chinese laborers laid rails, hewed timber, and serviced the teams of workers. At the completion of the railroad, some unemployed laborers settled in Park City to earn their living working as servants in local boarding houses, as launderers, and in other menial jobs. The Chinese built homes on the banks of Silver Creek, in the relatively undesirable gully between Rossie Hill and Park City's west side.

Repeatedly, the *Park Record* lamented the presence of Chinese workers in town. Included in an 1886 column entitled "What We Would Like to See" was this item: "All the Chinese made to leave Park City and their places supplied by competent and worthy white men."<sup>28</sup> In 1888 the paper reported: "John Chinaman is once more becoming numerous on Main Street. A new wash house opposite the Record office and a store further up the street have recently opened for business."<sup>29</sup>

The *Park Record* columns are probably an accurate indicator of local attitudes and behaviors. The edition of 11 September 1886 included this item:

That Chinaman may be an artisan at laundry work and cookery, but the heathens' painting job at his washee house opposite the City Hall is a positive botch and a failure. . . . Two Chinese laundries have been established on Main Street in addition to the number already in existence. The City Council should pass an

ordinance to compel the heathens to keep their dens of filth in Chinatown. At best a Chinese wash house on Main Street is an eyesore to the public.<sup>30</sup>

A business announcement included this assurance: "Mr. F. Fischel of Park City Hotel wishes his patrons to know that he has succeeded in securing a complete force of white employees and that all who patronize him can be certain that they will be served in first class manner and that no heathen Chinese will have a hand in cooking victuals."<sup>31</sup>

Prejudice also pervades newspaper stories of crimes involving Chinese people:

On Monday evening last, about eleven o'clock, Officer Shields armed with a warrant and accompanied by night watchman Clements proceeded to Chinatown to arrest a Chinese woman on the charge of stealing a watch. Arriving at the place, they found the woman they were after, but one Chinaman refused to let her go, taking hold of her and holding back. Shields tried to wrest the woman away from the man that was holding her, but being unable to do this he drew his gun and used it as a club on the head of the Chinaman. While he was doing this Clements yelled to him to look out, that another Chinaman was going to shoot him. He immediately turned around, just in time to strike the Chinaman's gun away, which went off, giving the Chinaman a wound from which he died the next day. After the shooting Shields says he knocked the Chinaman down and stepped on his wrist, taking the revolver away, but he did not arrest the Chinaman. Only one witness besides the officers was present and it is impossible to obtain any intelligent account of the affair from the Chinaman present, but what he does tell is entirely different from the statement the officers made.<sup>32</sup>

Upon the death by shooting of another Chinese man, the following notice maligned the victim: "The dead body of the one whose soul found exit through the aperture made in his body by the leaden bullet was lying in state in a six by eight foot room with tapers burning near his head and feet. . . . When the dead Chinaman was placed in a coffin several pieces of coin were scattered alongside his body, but as Chinamen do not possess a spirit of liberality, it is safe to pre-

sume that the exhumation of the body after interment would not be a profitable job for grave robbers.”<sup>33</sup>

Bigotry wasn't unique to Park City, of course; it had followed the Chinese throughout the western United States. Sadly, if not ironically, some of the most discriminatory groups included those—the Irish, the Scottish, and the Cornish—who had themselves experienced intolerance.

Isolated as they were from the rest of the community, the Chinese formed their own society and social order. The U.S. census of the time suggests that Chinese people emigrated in groups from particular provinces and lived in households with other immigrants from the same provinces. In many ways, the Chinese population was typical of Park City's early male working population. The workers were far from their native land, without their families, and they fully intended to someday return home. The census report lists fifty Chinese in Park City in 1880, eighty-six Chinese in 1890, and fifty-five in 1900. It is likely that the census under-counted the Chinese, however. Oral tradition suggests that more than 300 Chinese workers lived in Park City during these decades.

Some Chinese immigrants stayed long enough and behaved in a manner that earned the acceptance of the community. An obituary in the *Park Record* for D.L.H. (Dong Ling Hing) Grover on 12 March 1926 indicates that Grover was actually well respected. Grover lived in Park City for thirty-two years, returning to China three times for visits. During his lifetime he amassed large real estate holdings and had apparently converted to Christianity. After his death from pneumonia, the friends and acquaintances of Grover filled the Community Church to capacity for his funeral. The crowd included about twenty Chinese. “His character was irreproachable; men knew Grover was a respectable, clean-living citizen,” said Rev. Fred N. Clark in the funeral sermon. “His aim was the Master's request, that he live peaceably with all men. His spirit was exemplary. The community of Park City mourns the loss of a man like D.L.H. Grover.”<sup>34</sup>

Class differences in Park City were at once dramatic and complex. While status in rural Mormon communities was often a subtle thing, marked by church position, political office, and financial holdings, in Park City one person's class status might vary drastically from

another's. There, a host of factors contributed to class standing: economic status, occupation, ethnicity, religious affiliation, location of residency, and membership in fraternal orders.

Churches were particularly interesting contributors to the class structure in Park City. Besides providing a sense of exclusive community and a set of common values, Park City's churches were important challengers to the Mormon hegemony. In this one town at least, the thriving variety of churches was able to challenge the moral authority of the state's dominant church and provide an alternative. In 1881, the same year citizens of the town joined together to build the fire department and first bank, Park City built its first church, the Catholic St. Mary's of the Assumption. Park City's religious community became strikingly diverse, and included Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and Buddhists. There were more Protestants in town than Catholics, but they were divided among several groups, including Methodist, Congregationalist, Lutheran, and Episcopalian denominations. Some of the first non-Mormon church buildings in Utah were built in Park City to serve the miners. The various denominations competed for members; however, when confronted with a challenge from the Mormon church, Catholics and Protestants of all types joined together in opposing and criticizing this religion.

When a Park City Mormon branch opened in Park City, the *Park Record* of 31 July 1886 expressed the common sentiments. The title of the piece gives a sense of the paper's point of view:

#### A Branch of the Octopus is Planted in Our Midst

For a long time past it has been generally known that several score of the adherents to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints resided in the Park but many of them took good care to conceal the fact. Recently the Saints who were evidently ashamed of their faith, have been properly "sized up" by the community in general, and since the Lord has given them more strength an open declaration has been made by the servants of God. The Saints say that God, through his mouthpiece, is declaring Himself; He must be heard; His enemies put to flight; and His Kingdom built up in Park City, the only Gentile town in Utah. . . . The Priesthood is the ruling power . . . among the brethren and sisters. . . . The Holy Spirit

flows freely, and, of course, the elders get an occasional testimony of the truth of the mystic work.<sup>35</sup>

Given such attitudes, the Mormon church struggled in Park City. It wasn't until 1904 that its members were able to establish a regular ward in the town.

Much of the anti-Mormon sentiment, as well as class differences, played out in Park City's several fraternal organizations. These organizations provided a way for men to come together for social activities and mutual aid, to engage in philanthropic activities, and to contribute a sense of stability to the community. In the 1870s, a large group of Protestant Freemasons and their families moved from Michigan to Park City. These Michigan transplants, who included E.P. Ferry, D.C. McLaughlin, J.W. Mason and F.A. Nims, became supervisors, mine managers, and merchants.<sup>36</sup> Another group of men had come from Nevada to work in the Ontario Mine. Although they were miners and common laborers, many of these former Nevadans were also Masons.<sup>37</sup> These two disparate groups formed a common lodge, meeting in the Ontario District schoolhouse building.

Park City's first Masonic association was formed on 25 June 1878. Originally, their petition to the organization's Grand Lodge had been denied because of previous failed attempts to organize lodges among transient mining populations in other mining towns. However, Masonic historian Sam H. Goodwin writes in *Freemasonry in Utah* that the Grand Lodge finally relented and made an exception for Park City:

The brethren met for instruction and to keep informed on the work as well as for mutual benefit and to extend relief and assistance when required. . . . They did much good in helping transient brothers—at least feeding and lodging them, and in many instances getting them employment in the camp. In one instance they buried a sojourning brother with Masonic honors and paid the funeral expenses. In these and other ways this association attracted the attention and carried the commendation of the Grand Lodge and so formed the way for the formation of the Uintah Lodge.<sup>38</sup>

Other fraternal organizations in the town included the Benevolent

Protective Order of the Elks and the Odd Fellows. Park City's nineteen fraternal lodges had more than 1,100 members. The Uintah Lodge No. 7 included seventy-six members. Odd Fellows Park City No. 7 was chartered 31 January 1881. Ninety members organized Olive Branch No. 8 in January 1883. Knights of Pythias, Park Lodge, No. 4 was formed in July 1882 with 114 members. Patriotic Sons of America, Washington Camp No. 3, organized in May 1890 had a healthy treasury and eighty members. Company B, first regiment of the Patri-Guard 1892, had forty members. Ancient Order United Workmen-Ontario Lodge No. 1 was created September 1881 with 196 members. Enterprise Lodge No. 27 was established June 1892 with members "being continually added." Ancient Order of Hibernians, Park City Lodge, was founded in 1885 with 80 members. The order was a benevolent one, organized and conducted for "the sole purpose of doing good and alleviating genuine suffering and distress."

### *Women in Park City*

The establishment of lodges and churches in Park City was a sure sign that the town was becoming a true community. At first, Park City's population was mostly made up of male laborers who lacked a sense of commitment to the future, and the town populace was highly transient. But when men brought with them their wives and children, it was likely they were coming to stay. Once they did this, they began to look differently at local politics and at the community's cultural and social life. This place became their place, and they cared about local matters in a different way.

Between 1870 and 1900, Park City's population increased by 40 percent. The number of households doubled. In 1880 the census recorded that the average household size was six persons (indicating a number of boarding situations); in 1900 it was reduced to four persons per household. During the same decades, the percentage of children had increased from 27 to 37 percent of the town's population and the percentage of women grew from 39 to 45 percent, which suggests both more families and a more stable community. The majority of these women were listed as "at home" or "homemakers," and the children were either at home or at school.<sup>39</sup>



The women who arrived in Park City during the nineteenth century did culturally defined women's work. There were only a handful of female jobs listed in the census: women tended house, worked in millinery shops, or worked as dressmakers. Women did not manage the mines or supervise crews of mine workers; they were not even allowed in the mines as observers. In fact, Utah's 1896 statute prohibiting women from engaging in mine work was the state's first protective legislation. Nor did women hold public office or run the railroads. There was a distinct sense of what women's work was: it was domestic, even when it occurred in public. A woman's status in Park City was determined by her husband's status.

When only a few women lived in Park City, Chinese immigrants often performed the traditional female jobs. But as women moved into town, they quickly assumed these jobs at the bottom of the economic ladder. As was true of most mining towns, Park City had a population of youthful female workers who worked in saloons, boarding houses, and in houses of prostitution, all, in a manner of speaking, domestic endeavors. One particularly poignant story was found in the pages of the *Park Record*.

"Eva Wilson," an alleged prostitute, died at 2:00 P.M. on a Sunday in May 1897. The cause of death was described as "violent palpitation of the heart, resulting from fatty degeneration." Eva, whose real name was Kate McQuaid, had come to Park City from Salt Lake City a few months previously. At one time her father had been an employee of the Daly Company and was well known to old-timers. However, no one knew the whereabouts of the family at the time of Kate's death. Kate was raised in the Catholic faith. According to the *Park Record*, she graduated from the Sacred Heart Academy in Ogden, and "Park City ladies who attended school with her . . . assert that she was a model young lady and possessed qualities of mind and heart that endeared her to her companions. 'But at last came the tempter, and trusting, she fell.' . . . Her age was given at 21, but she was probably somewhat older than that. Her erring sisters took up a collection to defray the funeral expenses."<sup>40</sup>

Within the week, the Sacred Heart Academy wrote a letter condemning the *Record's* accounting of her life. Dated 25 May 1897 it read:

## Editor Record:

Will you kindly give place to the following: Kate McQuaid spent less than two years at Sacred Heart Academy, being about fourteen (14) years of age, and in a primary class; consequently did not graduate. While at the academy she showed neither the qualities of mind nor heart capable of being improved; in fact, she seemed destitute of the ordinary good sense of girls of her age. As her disposition did not encourage her instructors to hope that their influence on the formation of her character, either by example or advice, would be lasting, she was not a member of the Catholic or of any church, and showed no disposition to embrace any faith.

We trust you will give this card as conspicuous a place in your valued paper as the article in last Saturday's issue, which does such an injustice to our school in announcing this poor unfortunate woman was a graduate of our institution.

Very respectfully,

Sisters of the Holy Cross

As more families became established, the general sphere of women's labor shifted from the boarding houses to single-family homes. Here they performed essentially the same labors, but in the private sphere. As was true of certain ethnic groups and economic classes, women's lives in Park City were particularly precarious. Married women, due to their role in the family economic unit, had a fairly clear sense of how they would survive from year to year. But single women, particularly single mothers, struggled to survive and often required outside help to do so. In 1881 the city rallied to the aid of one destitute single mother:

Great efforts are being made to complete arrangements for the dance of Wednesday evening next for the benefit of Mrs. Josephine Yaw. This lady has three children to support, and notwithstanding the aid she has heretofore received from the ladies, and friends of Park City, she finds it impossible with the washing she does almost daily, to support herself and the children during the winter months. . . . We trust every individual who can spare \$1.50 will purchase a ticket whether they attend or not, and thus aid a worthy object of charity.<sup>41</sup>

The next year, the town raised funds to build a home for a Mrs. Nagle, whose husband had recently died of consumption. According to a newspaper report: "Mrs. Nagle has four small children depending on her for support and Mr. Creek, whose generous impulses were awakened by the knowledge of the fact, circulated a petition among our citizens and succeeded in raising \$269. The lumber is now on the ground and carpenters are at work on the house. May his good work continue. The house will be 12 x 22, with a wing on the east, and is being built on one of the lots owned by her father, Mr. G.L. Moulding."<sup>42</sup> The next year a dance was held at Miners' Union Hall for the benefit of a Mrs. Hallet, the mother of six children, whose husband was in a mental institution.<sup>43</sup>

### *Fortunes, Made and Lost*

If Park City was a place where class distinctions were particularly sharp, it was also a place where some could move from class to class. One's fortunes could rise and fall several times during a single lifetime. One woman—Susanna Bransford Emery Holmes Delitch Engalitcheff—who came to live in Park City, became Park City's "Silver Queen," the high end of the social scale. But Susanna didn't begin at the top. She started out near the bottom, working as a milliner. At age twenty-five, she married Albion B. Emery, Park City's postmaster, who went on to become speaker of the Utah House of Representatives and Grand Master of Utah's Masons. Perhaps even more important, Emery was a mining partner of Thomas Kearns and David Keith. When Emery died in 1894, Susanna inherited stock in the Silver King Mine. She worked those stocks, and eventually through creative investments amassed a fortune. She also amassed a number of husbands, including a prince, and lived in a variety of locations around the world.<sup>44</sup>

A number of men also made their fortunes from the mineral riches of Park City's mountains. Shortly before his assassination, President Abraham Lincoln had commented to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Schuyler Colfax, that "Utah [would] become the treasure house of the nation." The homes built by wealthy mining magnates on Salt Lake City's South Temple Street seemed to corroborate Lincoln's prediction. In fact, most of the big money

made in Park City's mines ended up elsewhere, benefiting Salt Lake City more than it did Park City. Thomas Kearns built the Kearns Building; David Keith constructed the Keith Building, the Brooks Arcade, and the Keith O'Brien Company building in Sugar House—all with money made from Park City mines. Park City councilman and ore freighter Ezra Thompson built the Tribune Building, and Colonel and Mrs. William Ferry, who were Presbyterians, donated the land in Salt Lake City on which Westminster College was built and also funded Ferry Hall.

The rise and fall of fortunes was an often-repeated story in Park City. So too was the story of missed fortunes. Solon Spiro was a German Jewish emigrant from New York City who came to Park City to work at his uncle's mercantile store at the age of twenty-one. When he came to Park City in 1894, he could not speak any English. After saving some money, Spiro invested in local mines but became best known for an ill-fated tunnel built to drain water and facilitate the movement of ore out of the mines. It was only after Spiro sold the tunnel to the Silver King that the new owners discovered a silver lode there that eventually yielded three million dollars worth of high-grade silver. The Silver King became the premier mine in the area, and partners Thomas Kearns, David Keith, James Ivers, and A.B. Emery accumulated an enormous amount of wealth.

Thomas Kearns epitomized the rags-to-riches story. His parents left the poverty of the Irish countryside for Ontario, Canada, where Kearns was born in 1862. The family later moved to Nebraska, where Kearns got his first taste of mining in the Black Hills. He later moved to Utah, eventually settling in Park City in 1883. He was only twenty-eight years old when the Silver King struck it big. The mansion he built on South Temple Street in Salt Lake City is of the Chateausque Revival style, with thirty-two rooms, six marble bathrooms, a billiard room, three silver vaults, a bowling alley in the basement, and a ball-room in the attic. A broad-minded philanthropist, Kearns donated a considerable amount of money to the Salt Lake community, funding in part the Roman Catholic Cathedral of the Madeleine, St. Ann's Orphanage, and the Children's Aid Society.<sup>45</sup>

In 1872, mining entrepreneur George Hearst paid \$27,000 for the Ontario Mine, which was considered by many to have the richest ore

beds. The Ontario operation was hugely successful, due in part to the massive Cornish pump installed in 1881 to pump water from the mine. Designed in San Francisco by W.R. Eckart and Son and built in Philadelphia by J.P. Morris and Company, the pump cost \$10,000. Installation of the pump, however, cost \$125,000. The pump rod was 1,060 feet in length and was constructed from Oregon pine. The rod was sixteen inches square, and had the potential to lift water to a height of 400 feet at a rate of 2,560 gallons per minute, or 3,606,400 gallons per day.<sup>46</sup>

But the financial success experienced by Kearns and Hearst was far from typical; Park City was a community where success was enjoyed by a few and supported by many. In the federal census, a strikingly large number of men reported their occupations as “common labor;” “miner” is the most frequently listed occupation, and “mill worker,” “laborer,” “wood chopper,” “machinist,” and “carpenter” were frequently recorded. The large variety of occupations speaks to the social complexity of this mountain town and to how each of the different industries was dependent on the others.

### *The Fire of 1898*

Park City’s history has been marked by a number of spectacular fires. The close proximity of the buildings to one another, and the large number of wood-frame structures, have always been an invitation for fire to spread. Never was this more apparent than in June 1898.

At 4:00 A.M. on Sunday morning, 19 June 1898, the inhabitants of Park City were roused from their sleep by three shots from Sheriff Thomas Walden’s pistol. Fire was ravaging the wooden buildings of Main Street. An hour later, the Marsac Mill sounded an emergency alarm; however, by then, the canyon had created a draft that sent the flames a hundred feet into the air. The volunteer fire department hurried to the scene while residents and business owners threw belongings and merchandise into the street, hoping to salvage something. But the fire department was no match for the conflagration.

Earl J. Glade, former mayor of Salt Lake City and former resident of Park City, remembered his father running from the house to fight the fire. “Father left home early in the morning and was busy fight-



The aftermath of the Park City fire, June 1898. City Hall (center) was rebuilt. The Marsac Mill (left) survived the fire. (Brigham Young University, George Beard collection)

ing the fire until noon when he came home for a few minutes. His mustache had been burned off and his hair was also scorched,” Glade wrote. “Later we learned that father had been to the church alone and saved some of the furniture and a beautiful sacrament set. He also, alone, had moved an organ weighing several hundred pounds out of the church, one block down the street and one block up a hill, to get it out of the fire’s path.”<sup>47</sup>

In desperation, men dynamited homes and businesses in the hopes of stopping the fire and saving adjoining buildings. But the fire could not be stopped. Five hours after it began, sixty percent of the town was in flames; within two more hours firefighters had finally contained the flames, but three-quarters of the town was ruined. Estimates placed damage at more than a million dollars. About 120 businesses were destroyed in the fire. More than 140 residences were severely burned; twenty-two homes in Chinatown, the China Bridge, five hotels, two dozen stores and markets, more than a dozen saloons, four churches, and two bank buildings also had to be razed.



Looking down Main Street in Park City shortly after the fire of 1898. (Brigham Young University, George Beard collection)

The front pages of national newspapers put news of the fire alongside stories of the Spanish-American War. Although the *Park Record*'s building was destroyed and many of the paper's printing presses and supplies were lost, the owners pitched a tent near the site and produced a newspaper filled with accounts of the fire. The *Deseret News* of 30 June 1898 reported the fire's damage:

Park City, Utah's proud and prosperous mining camp has practically been wiped out of existence, being visited yesterday by the most disastrous conflagration in the history of Utah. It may be that the city will be rebuilt and rise again from the ruins that now cover the canyon where it once stood, but it will be years before it can fully recover, if recovery is at all possible under the circumstances from the terrible visitation.

Even more remarkable than the fire itself was the herculean rebuilding effort that commenced almost immediately. Supplies, materials, food, money, and other forms of relief flooded into the



Upper Main Street in Park City about 1910. (Summit County Historical Society)

stricken city. Unfortunately, in their haste to rebuild, many Main Street businesses replaced solid masonry buildings—such as the Park City Bank and the Grand Opera House—with flimsy wooden structures that were even more vulnerable to fire and the crushing weight of snow. In 1902, the editor of the *Coalville Times* argued that the hazard posed by these “temporary” wooden structures would make Park City a poor location for a county courthouse.<sup>18</sup>

Park City’s fortunes would rise and fall during the following decades, but throughout its tumultuous history it would never lose its diversity. Nor would it cease to be an exception to the norm—precisely what Brigham Young *didn’t* want—in this Mormon-founded state.

#### ENDNOTES

1. The Uintah Mining District was formed in November 1868 and its boundaries set: “Beginning where the Salt Lake and Wanship wagon Road crosses the Divide between Parleys Park and Parleys Canon thence running



Easts to Silver Creek thence South to Dividing line between Wasatch and Summit Counties thence West to Dividing line between Summit and Salt Lake Counties thence North to Point of Beginning." Uintah Mining District Records, Book A, Summit County Clerk's office, Coalville, Utah, 1.

2. *Utah Mining Journal*, 8 August 1872.
3. Noal C. Newbold and Bea Kummer, *Silver and Snow: The Story of Park City* (Salt Lake City: Parliament Publishers, 1968), 15.
4. Peterson, *Echoes of Yesterday*, 312.
5. Ibid.
6. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 14 October 1872.
7. Boutwell, *Geology and Ore Deposits*, 20.
8. Peterson, *Echoes of Yesterday*, 316; *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 October 1874.
9. *The Pacific Coast Business Directory for 1871–73* (San Francisco: Henry G. Langley, 1871), 415, Utah State Historical Society.
10. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 October 1874, 9 August 1874, 12 November 1874.
11. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 25 October 1879.
12. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1 January 1880.
13. United States Census, 1880, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of the Census).
14. *Park Record*, 8 May 1886
15. *Park Record*, 19 June 1880, 7 August 1880
16. The *Park Record* newspaper published "Directions to Subscribers" on 20 August 1881. "1) Always listen at the telephone before calling or conversing, to see if another is using the line. The disregard of this direction is a source of daily annoyance on our wires. Never interrupt others who are conversing. 2) In calling, repeat distinctly and not rapidly the signal for the message. 3) Answer a call by giving your own signal, then listen for the message. 4) Remember that distinct articulation, in an ordinary or low tone of voice, is more easily heard than a rapid speech in a high key. If you have but one instrument, after speaking, transfer the telephone from the mouth to the ear very promptly. When replying to a communication from another, do not speak too quickly; be sure that your correspondent has finished speaking, and give him time to transfer, as much trouble is noticed from both parties speaking at the same time. In using a transmitter speak from eight to twelve inches from the instrument and do not raise the voice when asked to repeat a message. 5) In asking for communication with a party on another wire, keep the telephone at the ear until he is called by the operator at the Central Office and you hear the voice in reply. 6) Always have an

order repeated back, and recall the party receiving it, if he fails to attend to this. . . . The signal 'all right' or its equivalent should always be given and received before leaving the telephone. 7) Anyone finding the current broken will tighten all screws on the instrument to make sure that no cause of trouble exists with them. 8) No danger need be feared from electricity on the wire during a thunder shower, as the ground wire will carry off any discharge without injury to surroundings."

17. *Park Record*, 19 April 1884.

18. *Utah Gazetteer* (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Litho. & Publishing Company, 1892).

19. *Park Record*, 10 April 1886, 22 January 1887, 18 August 1888, 5 January 1889, 16 March 1889; George A. Thonipson and Fraser Buck, *Treasure Mountain Home, Park City Revisited* (Salt Lake City: Dream Garden Press, 1981), 71; John McCormick, *The Power to Make Good Things Happen: The History of Utah Power & Light Company* (Salt Lake City: Utah Power & Light Company, 1990), 13. McCormick says that power from the Ontario's hydroelectric plant was used to light businesses in Park City. However, stories in the the *Park Record* suggest that this was not done on a large scale, if at all.

20. Kristen Rogers, "Days of Gore," *Park City Lodestar* 12 (Winter 1989): 78.

21. *Park Record*, 27 January 1883.

22. *Park Record*, 24 August 1883.

23. *Park Record*, 31 August 1883.

24. Rogers, "Days of Gore," 90.

25. Edward Tullidge, *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine* (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Company, 1883), 493–505.

26. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1 January 1875.

27. United States censuses for 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1930 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of the Census).

28. *Park Record*, 15 May 1886.

29. *Park Record*, 6 October 1888.

30. *Park Record*, 11 September 1886.

31. *Park Record*, 14 February 1885.

32. *Park Record*, 22 September 1883. Marshal Ireland arrested Shields on 27 October 1883 for murdering the Chinese man.

33. *Park Record*, 10 June 1882.

34. *Park Record*, 12 March 1926.

35. *Park Record*, 31 July 1886.

36. Thompson and Buck, *Treasure Mountain Home*, 18. They built their homes along Park Avenue and Woodside Avenue and later in Salt Lake City.

37. See Samuel H. Goodwin, *Freemasonry in Utah: Uintah Lodge No. 7, F.&A.M.* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1930), pamphlet 387, Utah State Historical Society. The miners who came to Utah from Nevada were known as the "hot-water boys," a name derived from the 170 degree Fahrenheit water in the Yellow Jacket Mine in Nevada. At times, these men worked there only fifteen minutes at a time because of the intense temperatures. Virginia City mines peaked out in 1877; then litigation, fires, and low stock yields forced the miners out.

38. Goodwin, *Freemasonry in Utah*, 6.

39. United States Census, 1990.

40. *Park Record*, 20 May 1897.

41. *Park Record*, 26 November 1881.

42. *Park Record*, 15 April 1882.

43. *Park Record*, 13 January 1883, 20 January 1883.

44. Judy Dykman, "Utah's Silver Queen and the 'Era of the Great Splurge,'" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 64 (Winter 1996): 1, 4. Some accounts have estimated the Silver Queen's fortune to be as large as \$100 million; however, Dykman concludes that her assets in 1895 following the death of Albion Emery amounted to about \$350,000.

45. Kent Sheldon Larsen, "The Life of Thomas Kearns," (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1964), 151; *Salt Lake Tribune*, 19 October 1918.

46. Thompson and Buck, *Treasure Mountain Home*, 30–31.

47. Mabel Glade, "Earl Joseph Glade," family history in the possession of the authors.

48. *Coalville Times*, 31 October 1902.

## CHAPTER 7

# TRANSPORTATION

Today, motorists on Interstate 80 dash past the two-story sandstone building without giving it a thought. But in the 1860s it was a welcome sight for westbound travelers weary from the jarring stagecoach ride up Silver Creek Canyon. Built in 1862 by William H. Kimball, eldest son of Heber C. Kimball, counselor to Brigham Young, Kimball's Hotel has been a witness to great changes in transportation. Standing near the head of the canyon on the Overland Stage route—between today's Silver Creek and Kimball Junction freeway exits—the eleven-room sandstone structure is said to have welcomed such famous guests as Horace Greeley, Walt Whitman, and Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain). The hotel was renowned for its dinners of trout, wild duck, sage hen, beef, and mutton.

About two decades after its construction, Robert Taylor Burton used the hotel for his headquarters during the construction of the Utah Eastern Railroad. And, when the Lincoln Highway Association chose a route for the first transcontinental highway in 1913, it selected the old Overland Stage route, right past the front door of the old sandstone hotel. Later, during the 1960s, the construction of

Interstate 80 was almost the end of the line for Kimball's Hotel; but the route was changed and the building was spared.

Today, the hotel is one of the few remaining original stations on the Overland Stage route—and may be the oldest intact structure in Summit County.<sup>1</sup> It has outlived the stagecoach, the Lincoln Highway, the Utah Eastern Railroad, and the Park City branch of the Union Pacific. It stands with its back to the westbound lanes of Interstate 80, near its junction with U.S. 40, as if indifferent to the current mode of transportation. "This, too, will pass," the building seems to say.

Who can say what future mode of transportation will replace Interstate 80? One thing appears certain: If the past 150 years are any indication, whatever it is, it will have an impact on Summit County.

### *Early Trails*

Captain Francis Bishop, traveling through Echo Canyon on the way to Salt Lake City in 1870, exclaimed of the canyon, "It is one of nature's masterpieces of wild grandeur. Here grand old rocks lift their stately heads, giving weird shapes."<sup>2</sup> A natural corridor that has been in use for centuries, the canyon does provide a spectacular entry into Summit County—and into Utah itself. Since long before the arrival of the first European settlers, Echo Canyon has served as a natural funnel for human beings and other creatures heading east and west through the Uinta Mountains, including elk, deer, and buffalo herds. Trapper William Ashley reported that northeastern Utah was "well supplied with buffaloe," and early settlers found buffalo skulls in the canyon, a hint that these animals may have passed through the canyon on their way to or from the shores of the Great Salt Lake.<sup>3</sup> However, the buffalo apparently had disappeared from northern Utah by the time the Mormon pioneers arrived in 1847.<sup>4</sup>

Other game animals remained, however, and early settlers capitalized on the presence of this ready source of meat, hunting for deer and elk in the canyon. One early settler, Priddy Meeks, recorded in his journal his frequent hunting expeditions in Echo Canyon hunting food for the settlers in Salt Lake Valley.<sup>5</sup>

Centuries ago, very early Native Americans probably also used the canyon. The journals of trappers and early settlers are sprinkled with references to trails made by Shoshoni Indians and other Native

American tribes. Usually, the trappers and pioneers used these same trails.

By the early 1840s, emigrant trains in increasing numbers were making their way across the Great Plains and through the Rocky Mountains to California and Oregon. Most followed the Oregon Trail via Fort Bridger and Soda Springs, passing north of the Great Salt Lake to the Humboldt River. The leader of one of those groups in 1842 was Lansford W. Hastings, whose observations became the basis of a book, *The Emigrants Guide to Oregon and California*. In that book, published in Cincinnati in 1845, Hastings suggested that travelers could save time by leaving the Oregon Trail at Fort Bridger and heading southwest, around the south shore of the Great Salt Lake.

By 1846, Hastings had begun personally advising groups to take this largely untested route, which followed Echo Canyon to the Weber River and then descended Weber Canyon to present-day Ogden. However, the lower part of Weber Canyon proved so rough for wagons that, later in 1846, Hastings advised a group to leave the Weber River near present-day Henefer and cross the Wasatch Mountains via East and Emigration canyons.

That group, known as the Donner-Reed party, with great difficulty blazed a new trail through present-day Summit, Morgan, and Salt Lake counties. Although their decision to take the “shortcut” ended in disaster as they met early snows in the Sierra Nevada, the route the Donner-Reed party blazed set the pattern for thousands of other emigrants, including the first Mormon pioneers in 1847.<sup>6</sup>

The Mormon pioneers entered Utah—and Summit County—at the head of Echo Canyon on 13 July 1847. They entered Weber Canyon near the present community of Echo and, after sending an advance party to scout the lower part of the canyon, decided to follow the tracks of the Donner-Reed party across the mountains. While in Echo Canyon, many apparently picked up a mysterious disease that some modern historians believe was Colorado tick fever. After that, the pioneers spread out while traveling down the canyon, perhaps to avoid passing the illness from person to person. Thanks to the trailwork done by their predecessors, the Mormons moved much more quickly than the ill-fated 1846 party. By 22 July, the advance party had reached the valley; the last wagons, including the one car-



Cache Cave in Echo Canyon was a regular resting place for fur traders and early settlers from the 1820s to the 1870s. Its soft sandstone walls still carry the names of more than 135 of these 19th-century travelers. (Patrick Cone)

rying ailing Brigham Young, pulled out of Emigration Canyon on 24 July.

For about fifteen years, most Mormon immigrants to Great Salt Lake City took the same route through Echo Canyon, moving down the canyon's south side to Cache Cave, then veering to the south and crossing through the Yellow Creek area. By 1860, thousands had passed over this trail on their way west. The rock walls of Echo Canyon evoked fantasy images that became signposts for the wagon trains coming down through the mountains into the Salt Lake Valley. Travelers eager to arrive at their destination looked for prominent rock formations like Castle Rock and Cache Cave to mark their location.<sup>7</sup>

Orson Pratt described Cache Cave in his journal entry for 12 July 1847. "Here is the mouth of a curious cave. . . . The opening resembles very much the doors attached to an outdoor cellar. . . . We called it Redden's Cave, a man by that name being one of the first in our company who visited it."<sup>8</sup> More than 135 pioneers recorded their names on the walls of Cache Cave, and hundreds of others left

behind supplies or treasures, fully intending to return to reclaim their goods. Between 1855 and 1856, the Mormons used Cache Cave to store supplies for the Mormon handcart companies coming through the canyon on their way to the Salt Lake Valley. Later, outlaws frequently used Cache Cave as a hideout or as a place to store their loot. Charles Wilson and Isaac Potter, both later shot near Coalville, hid stolen grain in Cache Cave during the 1860s.<sup>9</sup>

At the junction of Echo and Weber canyons, a place known as Wilhelmina Pass, Pulpit Rock stood guard, a familiar image to the Mormons. Echo Canyon itself was also known as the “Valley of Red Forks.” Howard W. Stansbury, surveying the area for the United States government in 1850, identified it as “Red Fork Canyon” because of the rich warm colors of the canyon walls; he called the stream that meandered through the canyon “Echo Creek.”<sup>10</sup>

Ninety-five wagons were met today, containing the advance of the Mormon emigration to the valley of the Salt Lake. Two large flocks of sheep were driven before the train, and geese and turkeys had been conveyed in coops, the whole distance, without apparent harm. One old gander poked his head out of his box and hissed at every passer-by, as if to show that his spirit was still unbroken, notwithstanding his long and uncomfortable confinement. The appearance of this train was good, most of the wagons having from three to five yoke of cattle, and all in fine condition. The wagons swarmed with women and children, and I estimated the train at one thousand head of cattle, one hundred sheep, and five hundred human souls.<sup>11</sup>

### *Roads for the Pioneers*

To the settlers of Salt Lake Valley, the surrounding canyons were gateways to the mountains, with their riches of game and timber. However, early church and civil authorities didn't have the funds to build roads into these canyons; therefore, they began a practice of awarding franchises to private individuals, who would develop the roads and then charge tolls to people using them.<sup>12</sup>

One of the first franchises went to Parley P. Pratt. In 1848, Pratt had explored east up Emigration Canyon, down into Big Canyon (since renamed Parleys Canyon in his honor), over the summit, down





In 1997, a group of modern-day “pioneers” celebrated the sesquicentennial of the original Mormon wagon train by following the same route from eastern Nebraska to northern Utah. (Patrick Cone)

into a meadow that became known as Parley's Park, and east as far as the head of Silver Creek Canyon. When he returned to Great Salt Lake City, he told Mormon authorities that "a wagon road may be made in that direction, so as to intersect the present emigrant road in the neighborhood of Bear River, and be much nearer while at the same time it avoids all the mountains and canyons."<sup>13</sup>

Impressed by Pratt's report, church authorities sent Pratt and two other men back into Parley's Park in July. But this time, instead of taking Emigration Canyon, they traveled the length of Big Canyon. Upon reaching Parley's Park, they headed south, along the route now followed by U.S. Highway 40, to the Provo River. They followed the Provo River upstream into the Kamas Valley, then crossed into the Weber River drainage and traveled downstream to the mouth of Echo Canyon. Their return trip took them to the mouth of Silver Creek Canyon. Pratt's journal described the trip through the canyon:

Thursday the 6th, passed up the Canyon of Silver Creek and home where we arrived at sundown weary and worn, and some of us without shoes, and nearly without pantaloons. The Canyon having robbed us of these in a great measure, and of much of our flesh and skin, the first inorning of our ride.<sup>14</sup>

Notwithstanding the rigors of the trip, Pratt was convinced that he had found a superior route for emigrants traveling from Echo Canyon to Great Salt Lake City. Turning that route into a negotiable wagon road was another matter. The lower four or five miles of Big Canyon, Pratt reported, were "extremely rugged, narrow and brushy."<sup>15</sup> In July 1849, Pratt and a crew began clearing the canyon. They stopped in November for the winter, then resumed work the following March. By summer the road was ready. Pratt announced the grand opening of the new road, which he christened the Golden Pass, in the *Deseret News* of 29 June 1850:

Travelers between the States and California are respectfully informed that a new road will be opened on and after the 4th of July, between the Weber River and the Great Salt Lake Valley—distance about 40 miles, avoiding the two great mountains, and most of the Kanyons so troublesome on the old route. The road is somewhat rough and unfinished; but is being made better every day.<sup>16</sup>

According to Pratt's reports, he collected about \$1,500 in tolls that first season.<sup>17</sup> However, emigrants were slow to choose the Golden Pass over the original Mormon Trail. Part of the problem was that Pratt had been unable, or unwilling, to open a road through Silver Creek Canyon. He chose, instead, a path of less resistance through Threemile Canyon, the next canyon to the south. All told, Pratt's route from Great Salt Lake City to the mouth of Echo Canyon was about ten miles longer than the Mormon Trail, according to Albert Carrington, who traveled the route with Captain Howard Stansbury of the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers in 1850. To reduce that disparity, Carrington urged the building of a road in Silver Creek Canyon. "[A]nd should the new road be worked down Silver Creek, as it ought by all means, if it should continue to be used, it would not probably be over about 4 miles the longest," Carrington estimated.<sup>18</sup>

Stansbury had come to Utah Territory at the request of the federal government to explore the region of the Great Salt Lake, reconnoiter possible military fort sites, explore routes for roads and transcontinental railroads, and perhaps check on the Mormons. In 1858, another member of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, Captain J.H. Simpson, followed in Stansbury's footsteps but chose to take Silver Creek Canyon rather than the easier route to the south. Riding down the canyon, Simpson concluded that a road could be built through the first mile with relative ease. However, he observed that, for the remaining 5.75 miles, the canyon was "quite narrow, side hills up close to stream which is full of Beaver dams, forcing us along left slope up bank, along an Indian Trail—The route is scarcely admissable for packs, & is entirely out of the question as a wagon route—The labor to make it would be immense, & the greater part of it is rocky."<sup>19</sup>

It took government intervention to surmount this challenge. In 1860, the territorial government designated the Big Canyon road a territorial toll road, cancelled the private franchise, and instructed the territorial road commissioner to choose a road from Salt Lake City "by way of Big Canyon Creek to the Valley of the Weber on the most feasible route to Bridger."<sup>20</sup>

The legislature allocated \$2,000 to fund the improvements,

hardly an enormous sum even considering the value of dollars in 1860. But the territorial government had another card to play: the poll tax. First passed in 1852, the poll tax demanded that every able-bodied male over eighteen years of age donate ten hours work per year to the improvement of roads or highways or pay \$1.50 in lieu of labor. In 1862 the poll tax was amended to demand two days' labor or a three-dollar payment.<sup>21</sup> For a time, this poll tax played an important role in the construction of roads in Summit County.<sup>22</sup>

In 1860, despite Captain Simpson's warning, crews went to work in earnest on a road through Silver Creek Canyon, an effort that was apparently spurred on by the recent discovery of coal near Chalk Creek.<sup>23</sup> Workers installed a toll gate about five miles up the canyon from where the town of Wanship now stands, giving rise to the name Toll Gate Canyon.<sup>24</sup> When the road was finished, emigrants were apparently glad to pay the charge of one dollar per wagon; and by 1862 the Parleys Canyon-Silver Creek route was in general use.<sup>25</sup>

However, the route could be called a road by only the most liberal of definitions. In April 1862, Col. Robert Taylor Burton of the Utah militia, assigned to guard an eastbound passenger/mail shipment from Indian attacks, described the road between Parley's Park and Echo:

At 5 o'clock (we) broke camp and traveled until ten o'clock and by very hard labor in lifting waggons out of the snow, mules out of the mud, succeeded in making 6 miles and camped. At the head of Silver Creek Kanyon were three large land slides that made the road almost impassable. The first one we came to we got round it very well by taking the bed of the creek for a short distance. The other two had to be passed over which, after much labor, was accomplished without any serious accidents. . . . At half past 12 rolled out again and traveled until half after 5 and camped 1/2 mile up Echo. Found the road down Weber to be very good but Silver Creek Kanyon could not be worse and got over it at all.<sup>26</sup>

The territorial government relied on private enterprise to build many of the bridges necessary where wagon roads and rivers intersected. In 1865, the Summit County Court (Commission) granted Henry W. Brizee and Henry S. Alexander a franchise to build a

bridge, or bridges, across the Weber River near Wanship and authorized them to charge a toll (one dollar for a vehicle drawn by animal; two dollars for a vehicle drawn by two animals, etc.). In Parley's Park, a similar franchise went to William H. Kimball.<sup>27</sup>

As roads improved, stage stops sprang up along the route. The first in Summit County was the Weber Stage Station, built at the mouth of Echo Canyon in 1854, when most traffic was still using the old route through East and Emigration canyons. In 1857–58, the U.S. Congress funded the Overland Mail route, which in 1860 ran through Echo Canyon up the Weber River to Rockport and then through Three Mile Canyon. By the next year, the Silver Creek route was opened; and about 1862 William Henry Kimball built his sandstone hotel and stage stop on his ranch at the head of Silver Creek Canyon. Russell, Majors and Waddell, one of the companies that ran a stage line bringing mail and passengers from Leavenworth, Kansas, to Salt Lake City, employed local people to operate the Utah section of the line, including driving the mule-drawn mail coaches. At the same time, the fledgling communications industry was employing workers to erect telegraph lines.

The Pony Express also employed local men as riders and station managers during its eighteen-month operation between 3 April 1860 and 24 October 1861. The route went down Echo Canyon, along the Weber River to Henefer, and up Big Mountain, following the Mormon Trail. Riders received \$125 to \$150 per month before the operation went bankrupt. However, the influence of the Pony Express was enduring. Besides catching the imagination of the American public, the Pony Express demonstrated that the central overland route was a fast and efficient link between east and west. With the Civil War raging, this route took much of the traffic which would have otherwise used the southern Butterfield route.<sup>28</sup>

Roads in general—and the Salt Lake City to Wanship road in particular—continued to be a high priority of the territorial government between 1860 and 1870. Roughly \$224,000 went to roads between 1860 and 1870, about 56 percent of all government appropriations. And, of that amount, as much as \$50,000 went to the Salt Lake City-to-Wanship road.<sup>29</sup> Even with so many resources poured into it, the road continued to be a problem. "That road has never

been so bad since the settlement of the Territory," Samuel W. Richards told his brother Franklin in a letter in December 1866. "Teams double to come down the summit through the mud, and the new toll road through Parley's Park, they say, has no bottom"<sup>30</sup>

"The road from this city, through Parley's Park to the Weber river, is the avenue through which passes the greater portions of the imports for the Territory," Governor Charles Durkee told the Utah Territorial Assembly on 10 December 1866. "The road is an extremely difficult one, and, although much labor has been expended up on it, it is still, for much of the year, almost impassable. The action . . . under the law passed at your last session, has failed to meet the requirements of the public, and some further legislation would seem desirable, either in the way of additional appropriations, or a revision of the law."<sup>31</sup>

The following January, the assembly voted to double the tolls that had been specified a year earlier. The road superintendent also tapped an additional source of cheap labor by using prisoners from the territorial penitentiary to repair the road.<sup>32</sup> Then, at the end of the decade, something happened which took the Salt Lake to Wanship road out of the headlines. The transcontinental railroad arrived in Utah.

### *The Golden Years of the Railroad*

In January 1869, the westbound Union Pacific transcontinental railroad forged a path down Echo Canyon en route to its historic rendezvous with the Central Pacific Railroad at Promontory Summit. However, rather than follow the traditional wagon route through Wanship and Parley's Park, the Union Pacific track continued down Weber Canyon, past Henefer and Morgan, to Ogden, and then around the north shore of the Great Salt Lake.

The arrival of the railroad had an immediate impact on Summit County and Utah Territory. For years the construction of a transcontinental railroad through the territory had been discussed. With the passage of the Pacific Railroad Act by Congress in 1862, a railroad through Utah was assured. For Summit County, the railroad provided improved means of shipping locally mined coal to the Great

Salt Lake Valley. It also provided paying jobs for many of the county's settlers.

Indirectly, the transcontinental railroad prompted Brigham Young to promote a stronger planned social and economic system known as the cooperative movement, or United Order. The intent was to have a well-organized, centrally planned, self-sufficient economy, as independent of the nation's market economy as possible. By the mid-1870s, more than two hundred united orders were functioning, including those established in Summit County.

The construction of the railroad and the creation of railroad towns such as Corinne, Utah, together with the expansion of mining in Salt Lake, Tooele, and western Summit counties attracted more non-Mormons to Utah and prompted the establishment of a rival political party in the territory, the Liberal party.

Laying track through Echo and Weber canyons presented formidable engineering and construction obstacles. In fact, this stretch was more difficult to build than any other faced by the Union Pacific Railroad Company. The company also was competing against the Central Pacific Railroad Company, which was pushing east from Sacramento, to lay the most track.

The Union Pacific needed workers; the settlers of the territory needed hard cash. So, in May 1868, the company signed a \$2,125,000 construction contract with the Mormon church. Brigham Young, acting on behalf of the church, agreed to do all the grading, tunneling, and bridge construction from the head of Echo Canyon through Weber Canyon to the the north shore of the Great Salt Lake, a distance of about 150 miles. Each of the 5,000 Mormon workers was to be paid two dollars a day. Work was to be completed by early November 1868.<sup>33</sup> A non-Mormon construction company, Joseph F. Nounan and Company, also received a construction contract to grade fifty miles between the head of Echo Canyon and Bridger, Wyoming.

During the summer of 1868, several thousand workers from the territory—including many from Summit County—and several hundred teams and wagons worked in Echo and Weber canyons, making cuts through the mountains, filling small canyons, building bridges, and digging tunnels. "Most of the Coalville men are at work on the railroad," a *Deseret News* correspondent wrote on 29 September

1868.<sup>34</sup> Work, particularly on the tunnels and bridges, continued into the winter months. Robert Bodily, who lived in Weber and Davis counties in the late 1860s, later recalled working on the railroad in Summit County:

My Father bought 3 pairs of mules myself and one of the younger boys took and payed for them so Father gave one pair of them to me in the spring of 1868 the Union Pacific Railroad from the East and the Central Pacific from the west were getting close to us we put in the crop and raised a good crop and after the crop was gathered I took my mules and wagon and worked on the Union Pacific Railroad at the upper end of Weber Valley all winter it sure was a terrible cold place I hauled rouck down to Devils Gate and some-thimes it would be hauling lumber from the saw mill some time I was hauling anything that was landed at the mouth of Echo Canyon as that was the terminus at that time for the Chief Engineer Wm. Bates. Groceries and all manner of stuff I worked stady until the 20th day of January i quit and went home having previously aranged to get married in Feb. I had cleared 600 dollars.<sup>35</sup>

In July 1868, the *Deseret News* reported that there were "some forty-five" construction camps in Echo Canyon. Some of the camps were named for subcontractors such as P.P. Pratt, B. Driggs, and Bishop Hickenlooper. Other names revealed the origin of the workers; for example, the "Coalville boys," "A Daniels', Wanship," and "Coalville and Chalk Creek."<sup>36</sup>

During the railroad construction, Echo City enjoyed a brief but intense boom. Even after the railroad was completed, the town was an important location on the main line. Brigham Young quickly involved Echo in a plan to supply the Wasatch Front with coal from the canyons around Coalville. Young decided that the Mormon church should facilitate the building of a five-mile narrow-gauge railroad from Coalville to the Union Pacific line at Echo. From there, the Union Pacific would carry Summit County coal to Ogden.

Under Young's direction, the Coalville and Echo Railroad Company was formed in the fall of 1869. The people of Summit County agreed to prepare the roadbed and supply the ties; a church-owned railroad company struck a deal with the Union Pacific to





A covered wagon in Echo Canyon, early 1900s. The smoke is coming from a train on the right side of the photograph. (Brigham Young University, George Beard collection)

acquire enough rails and rolling stock (cars and engines) to supply the new spur line.<sup>37</sup> An issue of \$250,000 in stock was offered. Much of that was promised to the people who worked on the project, some was offered for sale, and the rest would go to the church as payment for the rails and rolling stock.<sup>38</sup>

Work began in late October under the director of Coalville LDS bishop W.W. Cluff. By the middle of January, the men had virtually completed the roadbed preparation, and so had held up their end of the bargain.<sup>39</sup> However, the Union Pacific didn't; it failed to live up to its agreement to provide iron for the tracks and work had to be suspended. Mormon authorities decided not to look elsewhere for the rails and rolling stock because competition to supply coal to the territory was getting tougher. Large deposits of higher-quality coal had been found on Union Pacific land near Rock Springs, Wyoming. The railroad had only to load it into its own cars for direct shipment to Ogden. As a result, work on the spur line came to a halt, leaving Cluff's Coalville crew without compensation for their work. Shortly

afterwards, Cluff left for a church mission to Scandinavia. Coalville-area coal continued to travel by wagon—north to the Union Pacific line at Echo or down Parleys Canyon to Salt Lake City.”<sup>40</sup>

The Union Pacific held most of the power in the competitive transportation and coal markets. And, in the eyes of Utah citizens, the UP exploited its position, manipulating its freight prices to prevent the Coalville mines from competing with the company’s own mines. In October 1871 a letter to the *Ogden Junction* complained: “I want to know, and the people want to know the reason why they will ship coal from Rock Springs, and from Evanston for less than they will from Echo; and why they ship coal consigned to Salt Lake, for \$18 to \$20 per car, and charge \$31 for coal consigned to Ogden.”<sup>41</sup>

At around this same time, ore was starting to roll out of the silver mines at the southern end of Parley’s Park. The mining companies were in desperate need of cheap transportation to haul the ore to mills in the Salt Lake City area. Thus, in 1871, plans for a local railroad were resurrected. Joseph A. Young, son of Brigham Young, and several other Mormon businessmen formed the Summit County Railroad Company. W.W. Cluff, who was back from Scandinavia, agreed to return to the project as superintendent.<sup>42</sup> This time the plan was more ambitious: the track would extend south from Echo through Coalville to Wanship, up Silver Creek Canyon, and on to the Parley’s Park mines.<sup>43</sup>

The company acquired the old Coalville-Echo roadbed through an exchange of stock, and again recruited local citizens as laborers. By mid-June 1873 the track was complete as far as Coalville, a 2.5-mile spur had been built to reach the mines in Chalk Creek, and coal was moving from the mines to Echo.<sup>44</sup> However, the Union Pacific still controlled the track between Echo and Ogden, and in June 1874 it increased the rate it charged to carry coal between those two points from \$1.50 to \$3.76 per ton. It took howls of protest from Wasatch Front citizens before the company relented, reducing the rate to \$1.75.<sup>45</sup>

Those howls also encouraged two separate groups to make plans to break the Union Pacific monopoly by completing the railroad link from Salt Lake City to Coalville via Parleys Canyon and the Park City Mining District. Both filed incorporation papers in June 1874. The

stockholders of one were primarily Mormon businessmen; the backers of the other railroad were primarily non-Mormons. The Mormon group was composed of George W. Thatcher, Jabez G. Sutherland, Hiram B. Clawson, George C. Bates, Heber P. Kimball, John N. Pike, Enoch Reese, William Clayton, Hiram B. Clawson Jr. and Nicholas Groesbeck. The gentile group included Hugh White, C.W. Scofield, B.W. Morgan, William Welles, John W. Kerr, B.M. DuRell, Warren Hussey, Joab Lawrence, George M. Scott, Frank Fuller and J.M. Burkett.<sup>46</sup> There appeared to be strong competition between the two groups.

Neither group succeeded. The Mormon-owned enterprise apparently collapsed from the lack of capital, and the *Salt Lake Tribune* accused Brigham Young of interceding to prevent the non-Mormon company from building its line: "Had they not been interrupted by the Prophetic fraud, our citizens would have received coal at \$5 per ton this winter, delivered at their doors."<sup>47</sup>

In February 1876 the Union Pacific again aroused the anger of Coalville residents by cutting off the supply of cars needed to haul coal from Echo to Ogden, thus forcing huge layoffs at the mines. "About two thirds of the people of our city are thrown out of employment, as the U.P.R.R. will not let us have any more cars to take away our coal," a Coalville resident wrote in a letter to the editor of the *Deseret News*. "We all feel indignant at this act on their part, but can find no remedy, only in building a railroad through the Park from here to Salt Lake City."<sup>48</sup>

Although this crisis ended when the Union Pacific relented a few days later and resupplied railcars to the mines, the cry for an independent railroad linking Coalville directly with Salt Lake City went up again in November when the Union Pacific once more placed limits on the number of cars it would provide to move coal out of Echo. "It is not merely the difference of one, two or three dollars more in the price of a ton of coal, but it is to a very great extent a question of how our bread and dinner shall come, and a nearly total loss to us of the hundreds of thousands of dollars we have expended in the opening up of the mines," a Coalville citizen explained in an eloquent letter to the editor of the *Deseret News*. "It affects our honies, that have



Men working in the coal chutes, Echo, early 1900s. The man on the left is Alfred R. Jones. The man on the right is his brother, John S. Jones. (Marguerite Wright)

cost us so many years of hard labor to make. In fact it is everything, both socially and politically, with us.”<sup>49</sup>

Then, as the year came to a close, the *Salt Lake Tribune* announced that the Union Pacific had acquired Brigham Young’s

interest in the Summit County Railroad and bought the Mormon church-owned coal mines at Chalk Creek. According to the newspaper: "The price paid was \$30,000, which gives the Union Pacific the controlling interest in the road. This completes the monopoly which the people of Coalville have been struggling to avoid, and the beauty of it is, the final blow was dealt the little community on the Weber by their own Prophet."<sup>50</sup>

Having acquired the Summit County Railroad, the Union Pacific then coerced the area's independent mine owners into signing a contract by threatening to close the railroad. Under terms of that contract, the Union Pacific agreed to buy all the coal produced by the mines, provided that the mine owners agreed not to sell coal to anyone else. The contract also allowed the Union Pacific to further reduce coal shipments from the area. By July 1878 the independent mines were producing only about fifty tons of coal a week.<sup>51</sup>

Meanwhile, there was still no track south of Coalville, and ore from the silver mines at Park City continued to travel the time-tested way, via horse and wagon. As frustration grew, so did the call for a locally owned alternative to the Union Pacific, one that would link Coalville, Park City, and Salt Lake City. In December 1879 a group of Park City mine operators and Mormon businessmen joined forces to form the Utah Eastern Railroad. The plan was to build a narrow-gauge line from Salt Lake City to Park City and Coalville.<sup>52</sup> In a move designed to head off a possible takeover by the Union Pacific, the stockholders decided to elect three trustees and assign them voting power over a majority of the stock for fifteen years, whether or not the stock was sold in the meantime.<sup>53</sup>

With the backing of Mormon leaders and the Salt Lake City newspapers, the Utah Eastern Railroad Company sold enough stock to begin grading the roadbed between Wanship and Coalville in May 1880. But the Union Pacific, unwilling to concede the Park City market to the new railroad, announced plans to build its own spur line by extending the tracks of the Summit County Railroad, which it controlled. About a month later, it too started preparing a roadbed south out of Coalville to Park City.<sup>54</sup>

During the summer of 1880, construction crews raced side by side through Wanship and up Silver Creek Canyon, battling each

other and the calendar. However, Utah Eastern officials soon ran into a snag. They hadn't raised enough money through the sale of stock to buy sufficient rails and rolling stock. The Ontario Mining Company came to the rescue, advancing the Utah Eastern \$186,000 in the form of a loan secured by mortgage bonds.<sup>55</sup> That transaction eventually came back to haunt the Utah Eastern; however, in the short term, it allowed officials to buy rails, two engines, and ten cars from a defunct Nevada railroad company.

The delays meant that the first Utah Eastern track wasn't laid until about 4 November; the first winter storm hit five days later. Crews had to clear the grade with shovels before they could lay the track. Helping supervise that portion of the project was Robert T. Burton, the same man who had described the dismal conditions on the wagon road in Silver Creek Canyon eighteen years earlier. Burton's journals tell of equally miserable conditions during the construction of the railroad: blowing and drifting snow and bitter cold. "Snowing and blowing hard but still continue work," said one entry. "No train through, blocked in snow," recorded another.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, crews managed to lay rails past Kimball's Hotel and then turned southward toward Park City. They reached the city limits on 11 December 1880, a few hours ahead of their Union Pacific counterparts.<sup>57</sup> "In honor of first getting into Park City precinct, a number of the Parkites went down and set up the beer for the Utah Eastern boys, and gave three cheers for the little road," the *Salt Lake Daily Herald* reported. Coal started moving into town the following day.<sup>58</sup>

Several stories in the Salt Lake City newspapers led local residents to believe that the Utah Eastern would be extending its line down Parleys Canyon in the spring. And, in fact, the *Park Record* reported in July 1881 that two hundred men were working in Parleys Canyon, preparing a grade for the line.<sup>59</sup> But, much to the dismay of some Utah Eastern stockholders, laying track to Salt Lake City didn't seem to be a high priority. The *Salt Lake Herald* wrote:

Much has been said of late in our local papers about new lines of railroads being put through this season in different parts of the territory, but the Utah Eastern, in which the inhabitants of Salt Lake

City and County, in particular, are most interested, is seldom mentioned, and no particular effort seems to be even talked about, much less adopted, to bring that road from Kimball's to this city, a distance of twenty-five miles, and which, if completed, would give us a direct communication with three of the most reliable coal mines in Coalville.<sup>60</sup>

The little Utah Eastern Railroad held its own against the Union Pacific for almost three years. Much of the Utah Eastern's revenue came from a contract with the Ontario Mine, which burned coal to run its mill and the pumps used to remove water from the mines. However, the line to Salt Lake City remained unfinished beyond Kimball Junction; coal destined for the city had to be transferred to horse-drawn wagons for the remaining twenty-five miles of the trip.

Then, in the summer of 1883, rumors began to circulate that the Union Pacific was trying to acquire the little local line. Within a few months, those rumors had become fact. It turned out that, in order to obtain the \$186,000 needed to buy rails and rolling stock, R.C. Chambers, superintendent of the Ontario Mine, had quietly transferred 2,232 shares of Utah Eastern "bonus" stock to the San Francisco firm of Haggin and Tevis. The transaction, apparently handled without the knowledge of the three trustees, had given Haggin and Tevis a controlling interest in the railroad. In the fall of 1883 the Union Pacific secretly bought those shares and, at the Utah Eastern stockholders meeting on 19 November 1883, elected its own board of directors. By the end of the year, the new directors had transferred the lucrative mine traffic to its own line and shut down the Utah Eastern Railroad.

Some stockholders, many of whom were Mormon church leaders, planned a lawsuit to challenge the Union Pacific's right to vote the bonus stock. However, at the same time, Utah Mormons found their attention diverted by another issue: the drive by the federal government to stamp out polygamy. The suit was never pursued.<sup>61</sup>

For another three years, the Utah Eastern's rails and rolling stock were left to rust. Then, in February 1887, the remaining assets were sold at auction for \$25,000. The only bidder was a representative of the Union Pacific. "Such is the fate of the Utah Eastern, a road built for purposes beneficial to the community in good faith, but the big



During the steam-train era, Echo had a succession of coal chutes. The last ones were torn down in 1956 following the switch from coal to diesel fuel. (Summit County Historical Society)

fish, the U.P., finally gobbled it up," the *Park Record* eulogized.<sup>62</sup> By the end of the year, the Utah Eastern tracks were gone.

However, the Union Pacific's monopoly in Summit County was short-lived. By the fall of 1888, work had begun on a narrow-gauge line, the Salt Lake & Eastern Railway, from Salt Lake City up Parleys Canyon. The president of the new rail line was John W. Young, another son of Brigham Young. In his search for financial backers, Young was put in touch with a New York businessman of Spanish heritage, one E. Gorgorza, who apparently helped negotiate a \$100,000 loan to help finance the railroad. In a letter dated 12 October 1889, Young expressed his appreciation. "I shall be most happy to place you in the Directory of the road as soon as possible," he wrote, "and the best station between Salt Lake and Park City will be called Gorgorza." Thus, after the line was built, a tiny locomotive refueling station on the eastern side of the summit became known as Gorgorza.<sup>63</sup>

By the time the new rail line reached Park City in April 1890, it



had become part of the reorganized Utah Central Railway. Plans called for the line to extend south to Heber and east over Wolf Creek Pass into the Uinta Basin. Park City residents were delighted. Besides giving the Union Pacific some competition, the Salt Lake & Eastern Railroad cut passenger travel time to Salt Lake City in half—from four hours to two. It also sparked a brief passenger rate war between the two railroads. But, in spite of the enthusiasm in Park City, the new line struggled to make money. Within a few months it was having trouble making its payroll.<sup>64</sup> In 1901, an industry analyst explained the financial woes of the Salt Lake & Eastern:

It has proven an exceeding difficult and expensive line to operate, the projectors seeming to place but little value on a road built for economical operation. Besides the excessive grades, there has always been much expense in contending with the deep snows every winter. It never was a profitable line, and in 1893 went into the hands of a receiver.<sup>65</sup>

Early in 1898 the line became part of the Rio Grande Western Railway. The new owners managed to boost revenues, which prompted them to convert the line to standard gauge. Crews began work in December 1899 and finished the following July. The job involved more than simply widening the rails. In some sections on the western side of the summit, grades on the narrow-gauge railroad bed exceeded 6 percent, far too steep for standard-gauge locomotives. Engineers were forced to choose a longer, more gradual route, with a maximum grade of 4 percent. To span gulches and creekbeds, they built three new trestles between 248 and 300 feet long. At the summit, they carved a 1,116-foot tunnel through the mountain, thus reducing the climb by 106 feet.<sup>66</sup>

In 1908, the Rio Grande Western became the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad, and the local spur became its Park City branch. For the next thirty-eight years it competed against the Union Pacific's Park City branch for passengers and for the products of Summit County's mines and forests.

### *The Arrival of the Automobile*

If the railroads could be said to have relegated wagon roads to the back seat in Utah in the 1870s, then certainly the rise in the popular-

ity of the automobile returned the favor. The arrival of the automobile also forced state and local governments to place a higher priority on the maintenance of the bumpy old wagon roads. As early as 1908, Utah vehicle owners were banding together in a call for better roads. "Good roads in Utah from now on are to be demanded with a vigor heretofore little known," said the *Deseret News* on 9 July 1908. "Instead of just an oratorical sentiment, every county commissioner is to have filed before him a map showing exactly where the bad bumps are and the deep chuck holes, and the poorly built stretches of highway with a boulder bottom and a cobblestone top."<sup>67</sup>

In 1909, the Utah Legislature passed a series of laws that created a state road system, created a county road commissioner in each county, and authorized county commissioners to create special districts to improve state and county roads.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, auto owners and local service clubs took an active role in road construction and maintenance well into the next decade. In May 1913, members of the Automobile Club and the Salt Lake County Commission took a trip up Parleys Canyon to study a route for a new road.<sup>69</sup>

In July of that year, a national organization, the Lincoln Highway Association, was formed in Detroit to plan a route for the first transcontinental highway.<sup>70</sup> By September, the group had announced its choice of a route. West of the Mississippi it would follow the Overland Trail route, entering Summit Count at the mouth of Echo Canyon and then taking the old wagon route through Silver Creek Canyon and Parleys Canyon to Salt Lake City.<sup>71</sup> In Utah, service clubs and business groups took up the cry, pledging manpower to upgrade the route and plotting ways to entice travelers into their communities.

The Park City Commercial Club recognized the potential of having a major automobile route through the county. "A move toward getting transcontinental tourists on the Lincoln highway to come by way of this great camp, was taken at the regular meeting of the Park City Commercial club Tuesday evening, the idea being to have a large sign board built at the mouth of Echo canyon setting forth the great saving in distance and the advantages of this route," the *Park Record* reported. "In connection with this, W.D. Lewis suggested that something should be done to protect the road in Silver Creek canyon from

the damage done by the numerous sheep herds passing through during the season.”<sup>72</sup> (Until the 1950s, Parleys and Silver Creek canyons were important sheep driveways, linking winter grazing grounds in the west desert with the summer grounds in the Uinta and Wasatch mountains.)

In April 1915, an army of about 1,000 volunteers under the direction of the Rotary Club’s good roads committee met in Salt Lake City, then spread out east and west “to do valiant battle against hills, hollows, stones and other impediments in the way of travel over the Lincoln highway in Summit, Salt Lake and Tooele counties.”<sup>73</sup> In August 1915, the following sign was erected at the point where the road to Park City intersected the Lincoln Highway:

ONLY SEVEN MILES TO PARK CITY, UTAH’S GREATEST SILVER-LEAD MINING CAMP. ELEVATION, 7,000 FEET. POPULATION 4,500. TOTAL MINERAL PRODUCTION \$150,000,000. DIVIDENDS PAID TO STOCKHOLDERS OVER \$45,000,000. SEE THE WONDERFUL MINES, BIG PRODUCTION MILLS AND A MODERN CITY.<sup>74</sup>

Its first major ski resort was still almost fifty years away, but Park City was already wooing tourists.

Of course, designating a road as a transcontinental highway didn’t magically transform it into high-speed pavement. It took another twelve years before the first asphalt was applied to the Lincoln Highway in Summit County. The highway was paved in sections over a six-year period between 1927 and 1932. During this time, the construction of the Echo Dam also required in 1929 the reconstruction of the Lincoln Highway east of the new reservoir between Echo and Coalville.

### *Railroad Use Declines*

As automotive use increased, the railroads started to feel the pinch. In June 1925, the Union Pacific asked the Utah Public Utilities Commission for permission to discontinue daily passenger service between Coalville and Echo. One scheduled train, No. 223, carried only one passenger during the twelve months from 1 April 1924 to 1 April 1925, according to the Union Pacific. The other train, No. 224, earned only \$404 by carrying passengers that year. The railroad told

the commission that practically everybody who lived along the line was traveling by automobile.<sup>75</sup> The commission granted the request, noting that the railroad was spending almost \$30,000 a year for revenues of about \$400. If people still wanted to ride the train, they could take the "mixed" (passenger and freight) trains running between Echo and Park City.

Two years later, the Denver & Rio Grande Western received permission to combine its daily passenger and freight service into one daily train between Salt Lake City and Park City.<sup>76</sup> As a regular service, passenger trains in Summit County were on their way out. But as a novelty they still had their place, as the Salt Lake Junior Chamber of Commerce discovered on a Sunday morning in February 1936:

Nearly 500 enthusiastic outdoor sportsmen carrying all makes and manner of skis and equipment were on hand by 8:30 A.M. yesterday, when the second of two sections of Salt Lake's first snow train pulled out of the [Denver & Rio Grande Western] station. . . . That the train took nearly four hours to cover the few miles of super steep grade between Salt Lake and the site of the day's outing in Deer Valley was rather appreciated than deplored by the sportsmen, for the sport on the train was worth the price of the outing in itself. . . . The Salt Lake contingent was joined by 200 additional skiers from Park City at the Deer Valley destination and the steep hillside suddenly looked as though a forest had sprung up by magic, as 700 skiers dotted its surface. . . . The Junior Chamber of Commerce has planned to make the snow train an annual affair, but so hearty was the response to the initial effort that it is highly possible that the excursion may be repeated one or many times this winter.<sup>77</sup>

Thus began a thirty-six-year tradition of the "Snow Trains." After the Parleys Canyon track was abandoned in 1946, the Snow Trains were routed through Ogden and Weber Canyon; however, the passengers made the most of the extra time en route. In fact, the travel part became so popular that, in the mid-1960s, those who wanted to party but not ski organized a train of their own—the Hootspa train from Salt Lake City to Park City. In 1989, Robert Woody, *Salt Lake Tribune* business editor, recalled:

Law allowed on the rails what the state of Utah did not allow on the ground, liquor by the drink. Thus, portable bars were scattered here and there along the length of the train. . . . In the baggage car, a rock band beat out Beatles and Rolling Stones tunes.

Thus, by the time the train was making languid passage through Coalville, it was [a] moving, throbbing, pulsating combination of Mardi Gras and Saturnalia.

In Park City, the mob was disgorged for an evening on a town just beginning to savor good times after so many years of bad times.<sup>78</sup>

The last Hootspa/Snow Train rolled into Park City in February 1971. But there are some, like Woody, who still remember them with fondness. "Certainly, the new generation of Park City—circumspect and serious—would not happily entertain the prospect of the return of Hootspa," he wrote. "But those who took a ticket to ride can only chuckle."<sup>79</sup>

Not only did the numbers of railroad passengers decline, so also did the demand for freight service. By 1946, traffic on the Parleys Canyon line had dwindled to about one train a week; trucks were handling much of the freight that once traveled by rail. And the once-prosperous Park City mines were producing only a fraction of the ore that they once had. That year, the Denver & Rio Grande Western asked the Interstate Commerce Commission for permission to abandon the line.

The commission found that the chief freight handled over [the] Park City branch is ore, outbound and coal inbound for Park City. The decline in the volume of ore shipments according to testimony at the hearing likely is to continue. As for inbound coal it can be handled by the Union Pacific or by trucks.<sup>80</sup>

In approving the railroad's request, the commission noted that the abandonment would pave the way for another project in Parleys Canyon—the proposed widening of the old Lincoln Highway, U.S. 40.

### *Trimming the Park City Branch*

Meanwhile, the fortunes of the Echo and Park City Railway, reorganized as the Park City branch of the Union Pacific, also reflected the falling fortunes of its major customers, the mines. Like the prun-

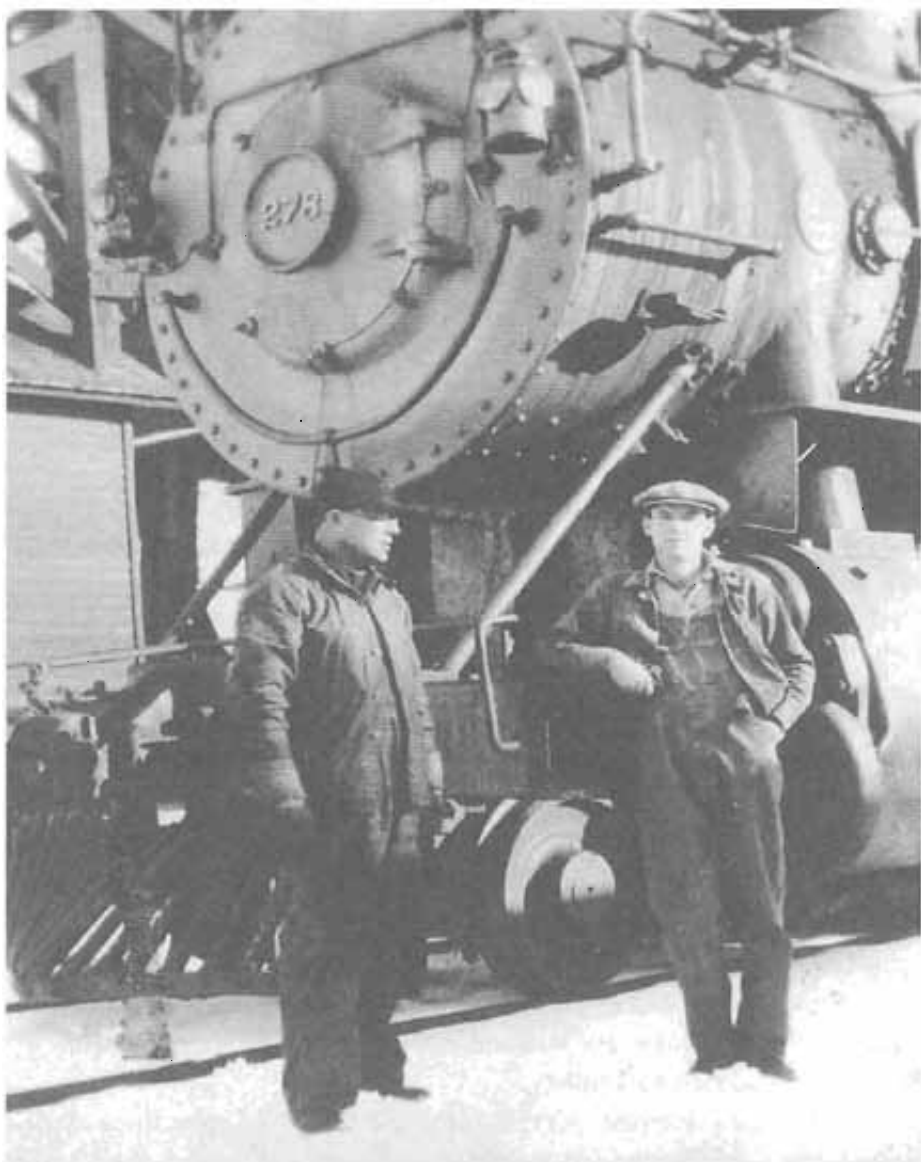


Union Pacific's engine no. 1178, shown here near Echo about 1900, served as a "switcher" between the main line and spur lines to the cement plant at Devil's Slide and the mines at Park City, Coalville and Grass Creek. (Summit County Historical Society)

ing of a tree, the Union Pacific began to trim the ends of the branch. In 1941 the company abandoned the 5.6-mile Grass Creek spur, built in 1895–96 to carry coal from the Grass Creek area north of Coalville.<sup>81</sup> In 1948 it abandoned the 2.6-mile spur that ran along Chalk Creek to the Weber mines.<sup>82</sup> In 1976 it asked the Interstate Commerce Commission for permission to abandon a 1.1-mile spur running east of Park Avenue to the historic depot at the bottom of Main Street.<sup>83</sup> And in 1977 it partially abandoned the Ontario branch, built in 1923 to take ore from the Ontario Mine drain tunnel at Keetley in Wasatch County.<sup>84</sup>

With local passenger service long gone and the spur lines abandoned, the community depots became obsolete. However, the Union Pacific gave the Echo and Keetley depots second lives by donating them to senior citizen organizations in Coalville and Park City.<sup>85</sup> The 1886-era Park City depot, after being heavily damaged in a 1985 fire, was restored and reopened as a restaurant.<sup>86</sup>

By the mid-1980s, the last Park City silver mine had suspended production and most other local cargo was moving by truck.<sup>87</sup> The



Engineer Bob Woods and his son, Ed, in front of one of the Union Pacific's old steam-powered workhorses. (Summit County Historical Society)

local railroad's last major customer was Chevron Chemical Corporation, which used what remained of the Ontario branch to ship phosphate from a processing plant and loading station in



In the early 1950s, diesel-powered engines replaced steam engines. (Summit County Historical Society)

Wasatch County, just south of the Summit County line. Then, in July 1986, Chevron closed the loading station, marking an end to regular service on the line. Abandonment was inevitable.<sup>88</sup>





During a 106-year span, Echo had three train depots. The third one, pictured here in the 1960s, served from 1913 until 1975, when it was closed and moved to Coalville to become the new senior citizens' center. Greek immigrant Mike Tsoukatos (left foreground) maintained a small park in front of the depot as part of his job for the Union Pacific Railroad. (Michael Richins)

A group of officials from Summit and Wasatch counties contacted the Union Pacific about acquiring the line for a possible scenic tourist train. Variations of that plan continued to circulate for another two years. However, the negotiations stalled, perhaps because of Union Pacific's asking price, reported to be \$11 million.<sup>89</sup>

In December 1988, Union Pacific asked the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) for permission to abandon what was left of the line: the 27.6-mile Park City branch between Echo and Park City and the remaining 2.5 miles of the Ontario branch serving the phosphate loading station in Wasatch County. In its arguments, the company noted that the economy of the area depended on recreation and small business rather than on activities that typically use rail service, such as heavy industry and agriculture.<sup>90</sup>

However, rather than abandon the right-of-way entirely, the Union Pacific agreed to an arrangement through which the old rail

bed could be converted into a public trail. The process, known as rail banking, was authorized by Congress in 1983 through an amendment to the National Trails System Act. Rail banking allowed unused rail beds to be turned into public trails, with the understanding that they could be converted back to transportation corridors if the need arose.<sup>91</sup>

### *Historic Union Pacific Rail Trail*

Under the leadership of Myles Rademan, Park City public affairs director, an agreement was hammered out between the Union Pacific, the Utah Division of Parks and Recreation, and A & K Railroad Materials Inc., a Salt Lake City-based salvage company that had purchased the spur line for the ties and rails.<sup>92</sup> The salvage company agreed to donate the right-of-way to the state after the rails and ties had been removed, and the state agreed to administer it as a public trail.

However, the switch from a railroad right-of-way to a recreational trail was easier said than done. "What became apparent to us early on was it's a much more difficult process than we originally assumed," Rademan said in a 1989 television interview. "There's no doubt in my mind now, unless you are a Herculean personality, that you could not possibly do this alone, that it takes really a multi-disciplinary team."<sup>93</sup> Among those involved were county commissioners, attorneys, and U.S. senators, along with state and local officials.

In June 1989, crews from A & K Railroad Materials started to dismantle the rails, reversing the process begun by other crews more than a century before. "As they were ripping up the tracks and the ties, there were people literally running right behind where they were doing it," Rademan said in 1989. "I mean, the demand is there already."<sup>94</sup> The job of upgrading the bridges went to the Flame In Goes, a group of state prisoners better known for their fire-fighting activities. The 112th Engineering Company of the Utah National Guard performed the grading and earth work, and soil to cover heavy metals along the route was donated by the Bureau of Reclamation, which was building the Jordanelle Reservoir in Wasatch County a few miles to the south.<sup>95</sup> On 3 October 1992, the right-of-way was offi-

cially dedicated as a public trail for cyclists, equestrians, pedestrians, and cross-country skiers.

As park facilities are developed around the Jordanelle Reservoir, officials and citizens hope to see the rail-trail become part of a multi-county trail network. In January 1994, the Department of Parks and Recreation sponsored a public meeting in Wasatch County to discuss the options. Among those in attendance was Steve Carpenter, manager of Jordanelle State Park. According to a newspaper reporter:

Carpenter said the real value of Jordanelle is its potential for connecting Rail-Trail, Deer Creek, Wasatch Mountain and other state parks in a long-distance network offering more opportunities for the recreationist. He said the proposed trail system is expected to serve multiple uses, including hiking, biking, cross country skiing and equestrian use.<sup>96</sup>

### *The Postwar Highways*

As the rails disappeared, highways grew to handle the increased automobile traffic. In the early 1940s, a six-mile stretch of U.S. 40 between Parleys Summit and Kimball Junction was expanded to four lanes.<sup>97</sup> Among the casualties of that project was the Well Come Inn, a gathering place for skiers and others run by the Rasmussen family near the famed Ecker Hill ski jump.

Despite the improvements to U.S. 40 in Summit County, little was done to improve the narrow, winding road in Parleys Canyon. Consequently, ore was shipped from Park City to the smelters in the Salt Lake Valley by truck through Emigration Canyon. At the same time, residents at the northern end of Summit County were feeling the disruption caused by another highway construction project. The state had announced plans to rebuild the Weber Canyon highway (U.S. 30-S) from Echo to Ogden, starting with a 4.6-mile stretch between Echo and Henefer. The state's plans called for the strip running through Echo to be widened to four lanes. For this tiny roadside community, already hurt by the change from steam engines to diesels in the early 1950s, the news was devastating. It meant that about a dozen homes and businesses in the heart of town had to be moved or demolished. Among them were the old Kozy Cafe, the Carman and Hulme mercantile store, and the Echo Garage.<sup>98</sup> Some residents, like

Mr. and Mrs. Willard Dillree of the Kozy Cafe, rebuilt their businesses out of reach of the bulldozers. Others gave up and moved away.

The people who stayed faced a barrage of dust and noise. "We Echo people are fast gaining a sympathetic understanding for the folks in the dust bowl areas," lamented the town's correspondent to the *Summit County Bee*. "I doubt they can compare with our noise. No one complains of the trains, trucks and buses any more, they are a relief after those jerking, pounding carry-alls from 6:30 A.M. until 5 P.M. and a few cats thrown in for good measure."<sup>99</sup>

By August 1956, crews had paved the new road and, for the remaining residents of Echo, the background noise returned to its normal level of trucks and trains. But, as it turned out, the widening of U.S. 30-S was only a preview of what was to come. That same year, Congress passed the Federal-aid Highway Act, which allocated large sums for highway construction, including almost \$25 billion for the "National System of Interstate and Defense Highways" over the next thirteen years.<sup>100</sup> An east-west "superhighway" following the Lincoln Highway route through Summit County had been under discussion since 1947. However, the infusion of federal money suddenly gave the project a higher priority. In addition, on 21 October 1957, the route of the Weber Canyon highway from Echo to Ogden was added to the Interstate system at the request of local officials.<sup>101</sup>

In November 1957, a group of county citizens met with U.S. Congressman Henry A. Dixon and Francis Felch of the Utah Road Commission to discuss the route of the proposed superhighway between Echo and Wanship. They were concerned about preliminary reports that the new road would cut through the center of the valley, following the existing railroad right-of-way. Coming on the heels of the construction of Rockport Dam, the new highway threatened the loss of even more valuable agricultural land. "The group mentioned the fact that about 3,100 acres of the county's best land is now used for reservoirs—Echo and Wanship," the *Summit County Bee* reported. "This is a loss of taxable land to the county. The town of Rockport is now gone and its 23 families."<sup>102</sup> The group, led by Hoytsville dairy farmer Lyle Brown, called for the highway to go through rangeland and dry farms on the west side of the Weber River instead of through the irrigated farmland in the heart of the valley.

Throughout 1958 and into 1959 Brown and other group members continued to campaign for the western route. They met with Utah governor George D. Clyde in March 1958 and heard assurances that the western route would be surveyed. In an interview with the *Summit County Bee* in January 1959, Brown said that the middle-of-the-valley route would cut up more than twenty farms, making portions of them either inaccessible or so small that they could not be farmed profitably. "Right in my neighborhood, between my place and David Brown's place, there are 13 farms that will be made practically nonexistent, and unable to produce a livelihood for the families which they now support," Brown said. "Several operators of these farms will simply have to move out."<sup>103</sup> However, when a county public hearing was held on the project in March 1959, it became clear that support for the western route was far from unanimous. A group of Coalville businessmen, represented by M.L. Patterson, pushed for the highway to pass as close to town as possible. "Varied Wishes Make Cooperative Choice of Highway Site Impossible," proclaimed the headline in the *Summit County Bee*.<sup>104</sup>

By early 1961, it was apparent that the Utah Highway Commission had chosen the route through the center of the valley. On 30 January state officials unveiled their "tentative" proposal at a hearing in the North Summit High School auditorium. The hearing covered both Interstate 80 from Echo to Wanship and Interstate 80-N from Echo to Morgan. The story in the *Summit County Bee* suggested that few area residents were enthusiastic about the route of the highway. "Summit County farmers expressed regret at the loss of so much fertile meadow lands. Coalville business men sense a 25 percent loss in revenue from tourist trade because the highway will leave the Main Street," the *Bee* reported.<sup>105</sup>

Summit County Clerk Emerson Staples warned against the loss of additional taxable land coming on the heels of that lost for the construction of Rockport Lake and Echo Reservoir. Coalville Mayor D.L. Johnson pointed out the inequity of compensating landowners but not local businessmen for lost revenues. Blaine Moore of Henefer lamented the potential loss of meadowland to Interstate 80-N between Echo and Henefer. And, according to the *Bee*, "Willard Dillree, whose cafe and motel at Echo have already been moved once

and who now faces a complete shut-out, suggested mildly that it would be nice if he could have an inlet and outlet for trucks and traffic.”<sup>106</sup>

Echo, which had been devastated by the widening of the Weber Canyon highway only five years previously, braced for another blow. The new superhighway not only would bypass the town completely but would follow a different route than the old road, ripping through more homes and farms as well as the Echo flour mill, built in 1873.

In the meantime, construction along other stretches of Interstate 80 was well underway. In 1959, work began on a 6.8-mile stretch between Wahsatch and Castle Rock in Echo Canyon. And, in 1960, construction began on the eastbound lanes of the highway on an 8.6-mile stretch between Silver Creek Junction and Wanship. The town of Wanship also felt the bite of the bulldozer during the highway project. In addition to the farms impacted, five homes were moved or demolished.<sup>107</sup>

By the spring of 1965, construction was in full swing on several sections of the road. “As we look around the county we see the completion of several highway projects, including the one cutting a wide swath through the Hoytsville Valley,” said the *Summit County Bee* as 1966 came to a close. “The local feeling about this project was summed up by the erection of a sign stating: ‘Reason? There is no reason, it’s highway policy!’”<sup>108</sup>

Even as work proceeded, the planned route of Interstate 80-N between Echo and Henefer was challenged again. Although hearings had been held seven years previously, landowners and other interested citizens reopened the issue because, they said, the planned route would interfere with the Weber River channel. They asked instead for the road to be built on the benches around the valley. The debate attracted a wide audience when KSL, a Salt Lake City radio station, broadcast a “Town Meeting of the Air” from the Henefer Fire Station. As in Coalville in 1961, opposition was far from unanimous. A poll taken by the Henefer Town Board showed that fourteen of the twenty-one landowners along the route preferred the river-bottom alternative. At the same time, Ogden-area businesses were pushing for construction to proceed without delay. The Utah Road

Commission concurred, arguing that the alternate route would increase costs by about \$2.8 million.<sup>109</sup>

As 1969 came to an end, the *Summit County Bee* wondered rhetorically what the biggest story of the 1960s had been. "Highway construction could probably be the one bringing the most long-range effect on the county. The construction of the Interstate took huge sections of productive farmland and left a resentment which will take many years to relieve."<sup>110</sup>

Whatever the consequences, as the decade closed, motorists did have a completed freeway between the Wyoming state line and Silver Creek Junction, with the exception of a seven-mile section from Emory to Castle Rock. However, construction continued in Weber Canyon and through Parley's Park to Salt Lake City. On 1 October 1969, traffic through lower Parleys Canyon was routed through Emigration Canyon. By the following July, work in Parleys Canyon was far enough along to allow traffic to return, not a moment too soon for Park City's fragile tourist industry. Some business owners calculated that the detour had cost them half their income.<sup>111</sup>

Their headaches were far from over. In the summer of 1971, work began on the link between Lamb's Canyon and Kimball Junction, a project that was expected to take about two years but ultimately took three. Finally, in September 1974, representatives from Park City and Salt Lake City officially opened the road.

With the swing of paint rollers—dry because somebody forgot the paint—highway and civic officials symbolically [*sic*] "painted" the last median stripe Monday to officially open the last segment of I-80 in Parleys Canyon.

The \$7.3 million, six-mile-long segment was opened 124 years after Parley P. Pratt opened the canyon toll road. In his first year he earned \$1,500. The \$1,500 now would pay for 6.6 feet of the current road.<sup>112</sup>

By this time, workmen also had put the finishing touches on Interstate 80-N (since renamed Interstate 84) between Echo and Ogden. The only piece of interstate highway left to finish in Summit County was the seven-mile stretch between Emory and Castle Rock in Echo Canyon; it was completed in 1976.

While the two-lane roads fostered tourist businesses in several Summit County towns, the interstate highways had an entirely different impact. In bypassing the towns that had thrived on revenue from travelers, the interstates affected the very nature of those communities. On the other hand, tourist destinations such as Park City have clearly benefited from the easy access provided by the freeways. The Park City Chamber/Bureau continues to lure out-of-state skiers by emphasizing the easy trip from the Salt Lake International Airport.

The completion of the interstate highways also has brought a new type of resident to Summit County—the individual who would rather take a quick trip down Parleys Canyon or Weber Canyon to a Wasatch Front job than live in the weather-inversion-plagued lower valley. Officials anticipated this trend as early as the mid-1960s, as this 1966 newspaper story indicates:

Some are predicting that Morgan, Summit and Wasatch are destined to become “bedroom counties” for the densely populated Wasatch front counties—Weber, Davis, Salt Lake and Utah.

Pressures of population growth in the “front” counties already have stimulated considerable building activity, particularly in Morgan and Summit counties, it is pointed out by Lynn M. Thatcher, director of the Division of Environmental Health, State Health Department. . . .

Mr. Thatcher believes that residential construction in the three counties east of the Wasatch will be stimulated with the completion of new freeways.<sup>13</sup>

It may have taken longer than Thatcher expected, but Summit County is indeed becoming a bedroom community for the Wasatch Front. By 1990, more than 26 percent of the county’s labor force was traveling to work in Salt Lake County.<sup>14</sup>

#### ENDNOTES

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3. Frank G. Roe, *The North American Buffalo. A Critical Study of the*



*Species in Its Wild State* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951), 181; Peterson, *Echoes of Yesterday*, 10.

4. Karen D. Lupo, "The Historical Occurrence and Demise of Bison in Northern Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 64 (Spring 1996): 168. Lupo writes that the evidence seems to indicate that buffalo were probably never very dense in northern Utah and that the introduction of horses and firearms helped drive them to extinction by 1832.

5. J. Cecil Alter, ed., "Journal of Priddy Meeks," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 10 (1942): 168–69.

6. See Peter H. DeLafosse, ed., *Trailing the Pioneers: A Guide to Utah's Emigrant Trails, 1829–1869* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1994).

7. Peterson, *Echoes of Yesterday*, 9, 22–23. Fur trappers and explorers stored their supplies in Cache Cave long before the Mormon pioneers traveled through the area. It became a prominent landmark on the old Mormon Trail and became known as the "register of the desert" because of the many names written on it. Perhaps the nineteenth-century equivalent of graffiti, these names speak to the number of emigrants who passed through the canyon on their way to new homes.

8. Stan Taggart, "Cache Cave Bows to Vandals, Time," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 5 February 1961, 5.

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14. Ibid., 228. Korn quotes from the report of the second exploration submitted by Pratt and his two companions.

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18. Albert Carrington, letter to Brigham Young, 9 September 1850, LDS Church Archives.

19. Korn, "Golden Pass Road," 230. Korn quotes excerpts from Simpson's manuscript journals in the records of the War Department, Corps of Topographical Engineers, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

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54. Reeder, "History of Utah's Railroads," 343.

55. *Salt Lake Herald*, 18 November 1884.

56. Seegmiller, *Be Kind to the Poor*, 338.

57. Leonard Arrington contends that the Union Pacific line didn't arrive in Park City until January. However, references in both the *Park Record* and the *Salt Lake Tribune* indicate that the track was in use by about the middle of December.

58. *Salt Lake Herald*, 16 December 1880.

59. *Park Record*, 23 July 1881

60. *Salt Lake Herald*, 28 April 1881.

61. Arrington, "Utah's Coal Road," 55–58; *Salt Lake Herald*, 18 November 1884, 5 February 1885.

62. *Park Record*, 26 February 1886.

63. Charles L. Keller, "Gorgorza and Gorgorza: Fact and Fiction," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 64 (Spring 1996): 181. Keller cites correspondence between John W. Young and E. Gorgorza. The author also investigates the corruption of the name "Gorgorza" into "Gorgorza" and traces it to the third

edition of *Origins of Utah Place Names*, published in 1938 by the Works Progress Administration. That publication claimed that “Gorgoza” was named after Rodriquez Velasquez de la Gorgozada, a Spaniard who supposedly agreed to invest almost \$1 million in the railroad after John Young drew a picture of a large city and offered to name it after him. That story has since been repeated in several other local histories. The name “Gorgoza” was later attached to a small local ski area, an area water company, and a street in the Jeremy Ranch subdivision. However, Keller has found nothing to support that version of the story.

64. *Park Record*, 5 April 1890, 7 June 1890, 6 September 1890.

65. W.P. Hardesty, “The Reconstruction of the Utah Central Railway,” *Engineering News and American Railway Journal* 45 (17 January 1901): 44–47.

66. *Ibid.* The track into Park City followed the route now taken by Utah State Road 224. The depot stood on the east side of Park Avenue, just north of the site now occupied by the lower terminal of Park City Mountain Resort’s Town Lift chair. A corrugated metal building once used by the railway still stood on the site in 1997.

67. *Deseret News*, 9 July 1908.

68. Knowlton, *History of Highway Development*, 138–41.

69. *Park Record*, 13 May 1913.

70. Drake Hokanson, *The Lincoln Highway* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1988), 10.

71. *Salt Lake Telegram*, 15 September 1913.

72. *Park Record*, 16 January 1915.

73. *Deseret News*, 28 April 1915.

74. *Park Record*, 26 June 1915.

75. Report of the Public Utilities Commission of Utah to the Governor, Case No. 799 (Salt Lake City: Public Utilities Commission of Utah, 1925), 281.

76. Report of the Public Utilities Commission of Utah to the Governor, Case No. 964 (Salt Lake City: Public Utilities Commission of Utah, 1927), 174.

77. *Deseret News*, 17 February 1936.

78. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 10 August 1989.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 September 1946.

81. Report of the Public Utilities Commission of Utah to the Governor, Case No. 2381 (Salt Lake City: Public Utilities Commission of Utah, 1940).

82. H.B. Durrant, Union Pacific chief engineer, letter to Michael P. Richins, 6 April 1984, copy in David Hampshire's files.
83. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 9 November 1976.
84. Minutes of UDOT Planning Meeting, South Summit High School, 20 October 1977, Utah Department of Transportation files, Salt Lake City.
85. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 8 May 1975.
86. *Park Record*, 25 April 1985.
87. *The Newspaper* (Park City), 4 February and 11 March 1982.
88. *Pacific Rail News*, July 1986, 25–26.
89. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1 November 1986.
90. Application before the Interstate Commerce Commission, Docket No. AB-33 (Sub-No. 55), 29 December 1988.
91. Personal interview of Peter Harnik, Rails-to-Trails Conservancy, with David Hampshire, 18 April 1994.
92. *Park Record*, 22 June 1989.
93. David Hampshire, "Rail-Life Stories," *Park City Lodestar* (Summer 1992).
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. *Summit County Bee*, 21 January 1994.
97. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 23 April 1941.
98. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 8 April 1955; *Summit County Bee*, 27 October 1955.
99. *Summit County Bee*, 26 April 1956.
100. Knowlton, *History of Highway Development*, 544.
101. Ibid., 596.
102. *Summit County Bee*, 14 November 1957. The number of families displaced by Rockport Reservoir has been variously enumerated as 23, 24, and 27.
103. *Summit County Bee*, 29 January 1959.
104. *Summit County Bee*, 2 April 1959.
105. *Summit County Bee*, 2 February 1961.
106. Ibid.
107. *Summit County Bee*, 28 January 1960.
108. *Summit County Bee*, 29 December 1966.
109. *Summit County Bee*, 28 March 1968, 4 April 1968, 18 April 1968.
110. *Summit County Bee*, 25 December 1969.
111. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 July 1970.

112. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 24 September 1974.

113. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 24 April 1966.

114. 1990 Census data, as reported in Summit County, Utah: Selected Demographic, Labor Market and Economic Characteristics, prepared by Mark S. Knold, Utah Department of Employment Security, Labor Market Information & Research, November 1994, p. 7, Utah Department of Employment Security, Salt Lake City.

## CHAPTER 8

# ARCHITECTURE AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

We spend most of our time in or around buildings, but people don't usually think of them as a means to understanding the past. The truth is, however, human-built structures can tell us much about history—although in a different language than books. It is possible to wander through any Summit County town and get a sense of why it was created, how it evolved, who lives there, and what its religious, social, and cultural characteristics are.

If we take a close look at the buildings, we can determine when the town was founded, when it was growing quickly or not growing at all, and how the residents made their livings. When we come to understand why each structure was built—in response to the real needs of real people—we can see how those people used ingenuity, craftsmanship, design, and technology to fill those needs and create their society. And we can see that each element in a structure communicates something about its creators.

*Mormon Towns: Designing the Real with an Eye to the Ideal*

No matter where they are, how old they are, or how big they are,

Mormon towns in Summit County share similar physical characteristics. Each town was usually neatly organized in regular square blocks. Oriented to the cardinal points of the compass, a larger town might be four blocks wide and eight blocks long, with a "Main" street running lengthwise down the middle (usually north to south) and a "Center" street running east-west.<sup>1</sup> Other smaller hamlets, however, were developed more haphazardly, most along a single road, as in Hoytsville, Rockport, Woodland, Upton, Marion, and Francis.

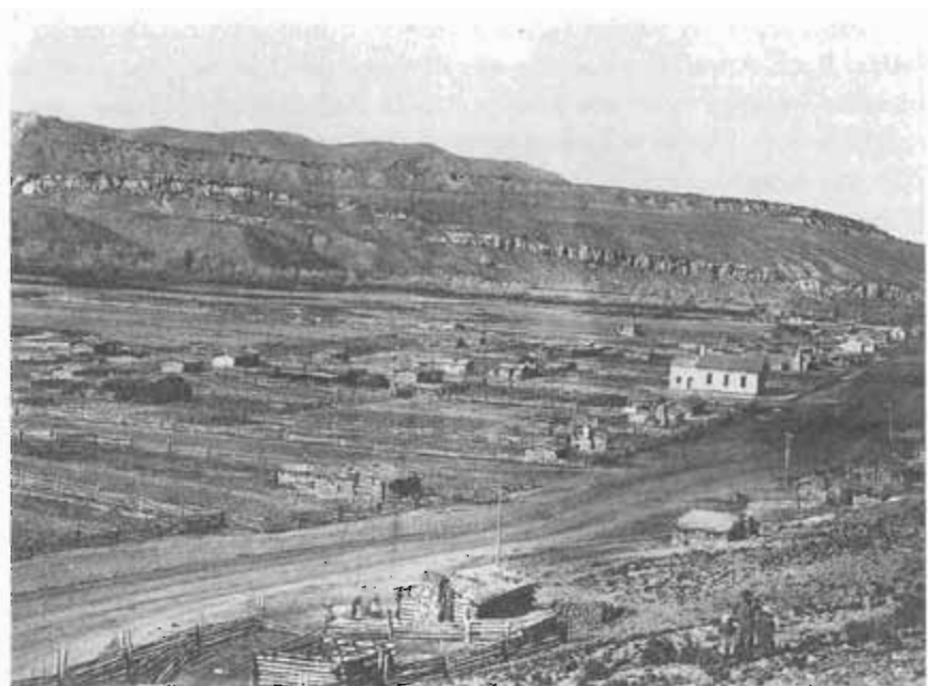
Settlers had an ideal in mind when they planned their communities, based on a town plan drawn out by Mormon church founder Joseph Smith in 1833. This idealized plan, called the "Plat for the City of Zion," called for a square core of religious and public buildings in the very center of the town, a surrounding middle core of commercial buildings, and an outlying residential area. Residents were to live close together in town, not on scattered farms; the farmlands were located outside of town. The plan—and the towns based on it—demonstrated physically the importance of theocratic government and community to the Mormons. In addition, the plan embodied Joseph Smith's belief that small towns create a more spiritually and physically healthy living environment than do large cities.

In reality, however, the towns in Summit County were only rough approximations of Smith's 1833 plan, which assumed a flat, uniform townsite.<sup>2</sup> Not much of the land in Summit County fits that profile, so each group of colonists had to deal with the practical realities of their individual site. The presence of a river (Wanship) or hillside (Coalville) was enough to disrupt any attempt at perfect symmetry.

In addition to these anomalies, existing trails or roads often became a major factor influencing town development. The configuration of towns located on the main emigrant trail differed subtly from those of other Mormon towns. Rather than strictly following the Plat of Zion, trail towns stretched along the road. The main street functioned as highway, as supply station for travelers, and as the center of trade and community life. Regular gridded streets then usually grew out from this center line.

For many years, chief territorial surveyor Jesse Fox dealt with each town's unique features when he traveled from Salt Lake City to Summit County to draw up the town plans. Although the towns he





Coalville, about 1870. In the early stages of the community, the centrally located masonry meetinghouse, regular blocks, and fenced lots suggest an emerging Mormon village. (Utah State Historical Society)

platted often varied significantly from Joseph Smith's ideal, they did capture the essence of the Plat of Zion, embodying order, regularity, and relative homogeneity.

In addition to the arrangement of streets, Mormon towns had several features that distinguished them from neighboring mining or railroad towns; these included irrigation ditches, certain styles of fences and hay derricks, a centrally located meetinghouse used for church, school, and social functions, and typical house types and architectural styles. One hundred thirty years later, many of these characteristic nineteenth-century features remain; many others have been lost, however.

The first group of colonists of a town chose lots for themselves. Then, as new settlers arrived, additional lots were distributed around the central core, and the town would expand in a fairly organized and easily controlled fashion.

### *Mining Towns: Form (Quickly) Follows Function*

The development of the county's mining towns was different, Park City being the primary example. These boom towns grew in a much more haphazard manner. From the first, Park City was owned and developed by many independent persons and groups rather than by a single governing entity. That is not to say there was no organizing principle behind the city's layout. Historic photographs show that Park City grew from a single street (Main Street) running down the center of Empire Canyon, becoming a town a few blocks wide on either side of Main Street. The earliest town maps show a long, narrow grid of streets with small lots, typically measuring 25 by 75 feet. Despite alterations and additions, these original streets and lot sizes survive to the present.

As growth continued, the town lengthened and widened, spreading along the canyon. From the original regular plat, streets veered off at angles and curved up adjacent canyons and hillsides. Some of these twisting roads once led to mines and giant milling structures that no longer exist.

### *Railroad Towns: Single Function Utility*

Like the railroad tracks running through them, towns created to service or take special advantage of the railroad were typically linear in layout. The small town of Echo is a good example of this pattern, as was Wahsatch before its demise. Echo is long and narrow, extending at most two blocks eastward and a block more or less westward from the railroad lines that provided the town's *raison d'être*. As the importance of the railroad decreased over time, Echo itself shrank to the present fraction of its historic size. In 1975 the old Echo train depot was moved to Coalville to be used as a senior citizens' center.

In addition to the actual railroad towns, there were also smaller "sidings" or mini-stations at irregular intervals along the railroad route, at places such as Atkinson, Castle Rock, Henefer, and Wahsatch. Some of these featured small frame buildings used to service trains.

### *Resort Communities, Subdivisions, and Planned Unit Developments: Accommodating Modern Living Needs*

As they expanded, towns of all types added new plats or subdivisions to the original plat (typically called Plat "A"). In the nineteenth century, newer plats often repeated the rhythms of the original plat. That is, Plat "B" might add ten more blocks of the same size and arrangement to the east side of Plat "A." In the twentieth century, however, new planning philosophies often rejected the traditional gridded plans in favor of plans thought to be more creative, diverse, and psychologically satisfying. From the air, many newer subdivisions have an organic, cellular appearance, with shorter, curving streets, cul de sacs, areas of planting, and built landscaping features. These late-twentieth-century developments are mostly irregular and asymmetrical in street layout, reflecting the varied contours of the terrain. Unincorporated developments in Summit Park, Pinebrook, Silver Springs, Jeremy Ranch, and elsewhere share these characteristics.

### *Building Materials: Literally Living Off the Land*

During the critical first years of colonization, settlers needed shelter that could be built quickly and cheaply using native materials. Although in many early Utah settlements builders used adobe, Summit County's rich stands of old-growth timber gave settlers another choice, and they often chose logs.

The earliest known photograph of Coalville shows a town of all log structures, with the exception of a small stone meetinghouse. Although they were inevitably replaced by less rustic materials, logs enjoyed a revival during the years between the world wars, when the U.S. Forest Service and Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) built log structures in the Wasatch and Uinta Mountains. Following World War II, "log kit" houses were built in Park City and some of the recreation areas, and in recent decades log construction has become very popular for ski lodges, condominiums, and custom houses. Used in walls, posts, beams, and railings, logs retain their appeal partly because of their visual compatibility with nearby forests and partly because "rustic" styling has become fashionable.

Sawmills quickly appeared along waterways in the county, and it wasn't long before cut and sawn wood became readily available to res-



The only commercial building in Henefer is this turn-of-the-century, wood-framed, wood-sided structure. (Allen Roberts)

idents and to mining and railroad companies. The first sawmill in Summit County was built by Samuel C. Snyder in Parley's Park in 1853. In the 1860s and 1870s, I.D. Huffeker & Co. and Samuel J. Sudbury & Co. operated sawmills using water power from the Weber River and from Chalk Creek. John Taylor and Henry Stevens built mills in Oakley. In the Kamas area, sawmills were operated by the Pack Brothers, Lambert Brothers, John Carpenter, and Joseph Williams.<sup>3</sup>

For complicated or large construction projects such as mining structures, bridges, railroad ties, cribbing, and any multistoried buildings, dimensioned milled lumber was, and has continued to be, the building material of choice. In fact, only in the last decade have metal framing units become competitive with wood on the basis of structural, economic, and fire-safety criteria.

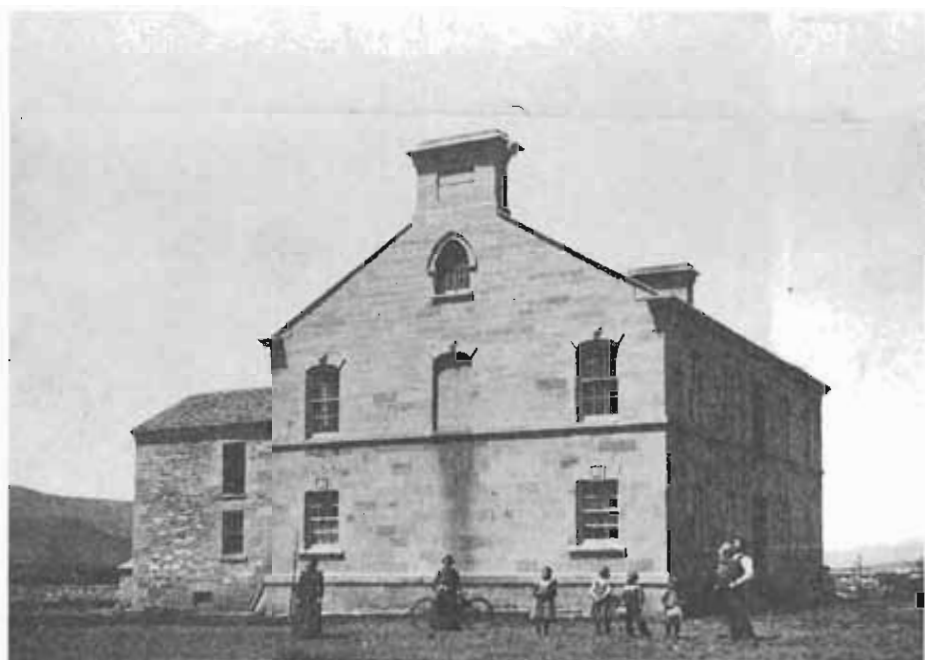
From the earliest years, pragmatic pioneer builders used stone for foundations, retaining walls, bridge piers, road cribbing, and structural walls. Local outcroppings of sandstone and limestone provided "soft" stone, which could be easily quarried, cut, and trimmed. This stone has been used as the main architectural material in several important public structures: schools (for example, the Washington



The ruins of the 1861-1862 Samuel Hoyt Flour Mill are still standing in Hoytsville. Both smooth and rough cut stone were used. (Utah State Historical Society)

School in Park City), churches (St. Mary's Catholic Church and School in Park City), and government buildings (the Summit County Courthouse in Coalville). Local stone was also used for the Coalville LDS meetinghouse, built in 1864-65 and later moved to the "Pioneer Village" at Lagoon Resort in Farmington; the Kimball Stage Station along I-80 northeast of Park City; the Samuel Hoyt residence and flour mill in Hoytsville; and several houses along the old hillside road from Wanship to West Hoytsville. Compared to brick or adobe, stone is difficult to quarry and work. Still, several of the county's rock quarries have remained in operation, producing stone for both local use and export.

Adobe did find its way into some Summit County buildings, often because settlers moving into Summit County from older Mormon towns brought with them their knowledge of adobe construction. Adobe blocks, or "bricks," made of mud and a binder such as sand, small pebbles, straw, or animal hair, were literally "dirt cheap" to make. Mud of the proper consistency was prepared in



Samuel Hoyt's Gothic-influenced home, begun in 1866 on the same site as the mill, employs finely cut stone and high-style architecture. (Utah State Historical Society)

adobe pits and mixed with a human- or animal-drawn auger, or "screw." The mud would then be packed into wooden frames—usually measuring 4 by 5 by 12 inches—and placed on flat ground to dry in the sun. Depending on the temperature and wetness of the mud, "dobies" would take from a few days to a week to dry or cure to a hardness usable as a masonry unit. A simple adobe house could then be erected in as little as two or three weeks, a much shorter time than it took to build a structure of stone or brick. Exterior and interior plaster helped protect against moisture and created a more finished appearance.

The house of Edward Richins, built near Echo in 1865, was made of adobe brick. A secondary historical account records that the settlers' houses in Henefer "were built of logs or adobe, with barred shutters. The doors were of heavy plank and the floors were made of firmly packed clay blocks which were laid as close together as possible. The roofs were built of heavy mud, and dried. Another coat of



From the first years of settlement, builders depended on construction supply companies for their tools and materials. The Morrison-Merrill & Co. Store (Later Utah Coal and Lumber), still stands in Park City. (Summit County Historical Society)

dry dirt was put on to keep the mud from cracking, but during the rainy seasons, they would leak!”<sup>4</sup>

Kiln-fired brick was not available in Utah until the mid-1860s, about the time that Summit County was being seriously settled. By 1869, Summit County kilns were producing a good quality of brick. In that year several men in Hoytsville began brickmaking using the following process:

James Chandler, Obediah Frost and Albert Chandler used dirt and water in the pug mill, which was turned by a horse. When this was mixed to a proper thickness it was pressed into a mold which was sanded before the bricks were put in. The first mold held twelve bricks. These were laid out and covered with burlap for three days so that they would not dry out too quickly as that caused them to crack. When they had enough brick to make a kiln, they would make it 3 feet high, before making a round roof over it. After the kiln was made the outside was plastered with mud to keep the heat in. Chancey and Edwin Crittenden hauled wood out of the hills with oxen; and chopped it into four foot lengths for Mr. Mills to burn in the kiln. Two men worked to keep the fire going night and



Built in 1876, the church in Echo has a stone foundation, brick walls, and simple ornamental trim and a belfry of wood. (Summit County Historical Society)





The Coalville tabernacle as it looked in the early 1900s. (Brigham Young University, George Beard collection)

day for ten days. One hundred and fifty thousand bricks were baked at a time.<sup>5</sup>

Local brick also was used to build the diminutive church that still stands at the head of so-called Temple Lane in Echo. Built for a Protestant denomination in 1876, the building was deeded over to the Echo School District in 1880. In 1913, when a new school was built in town, the LDS church bought the old building. It was remodeled in 1927 and again in 1940. In recent years, the building has been lovingly maintained by a local preservation group.<sup>6</sup> Other buildings made from this local red and salmon brick remain standing throughout the county, including the old Park City city hall.

After the arrival of the railroad, a greater variety of brick and other building materials became available locally. This conveniently corresponded with the onset of Victorian architecture, which called for a wide variety of materials, colors, and textures to achieve the



Vacant, but a candidate for restoration, this house in Francis has walls of uniformly red-orange brick. (Allen Roberts)

desired flamboyant effect. Later buildings from the early twentieth century to the present have used a variety of imported bricks, including multicolored, striated, rock-faced, and oversized brick.

As the county moved out of the early pioneer period, so too did the buildings. Materials became more varied. Around the turn of the century, cast iron was used both as a structural metal and for exterior ornamentation, especially in commercial storefronts. Among the handful of metal facades found on the county's main streets is a fine pressed-metal facade—imported via train through a Mesker Brothers mail-order catalogue—on the front of the building at 438 Main Street in Park City that presently houses the Szechwan Chinese Restaurant. Concrete block and poured concrete, employed in the Memorial Hall and Elks Club buildings in Park City, were occasion-



This new commercial building on the main street of Kamas features multi-colored brick and is architecturally compatible with its historic neighbors. (Allen Roberts)

ally used, as was rock-faced block simulating stone, used in some houses and churches, including the meetinghouse built in Marion between 1910 and 1914.

As a result of the world wars, new materials and technologies were developed which eventually found their ways into the building construction industry. These materials have been used in new construction, but they also have been used in alterations to historic structures, where they have too often damaged the character of those buildings.

### *Building Types: For Every Function, a Different Building*

Among the oldest surviving structures in the county are the “Old Mormon Breastworks” in East Canyon and the fortifications in Echo Canyon. Now in ruins, these stone walls and cribbings were built as defensive embattlements against United States Army troops (“Johnston’s Army”) during the so-called Utah War of 1857–58. A member of Johnston’s party observed on 21 June 1858:

We . . . continue our march through Echo Cañon. Arriving, after a pretty toilsome stretch, within about three miles from the farther mouth of the cañon we come upon the ruins of fortifications attempted by the Mormons in the design to bar our progress. . . . There was, upon a neat rise at the left, an earthwork of decidedly respectable pretensions, while in the gulch, or sub-cañon at the right, a wall extended which would have been out of range from the front and difficult to carry. A tolerable defense was thrown across the grand cañon, connecting the work at the left with other points, and at front of this also it was intended the bottom should have been flooded by the waters of the creek, dammed for the purpose.<sup>7</sup>

Not much remains of these hastily built structures to tell of their role in this important “war” between the Mormons and the U.S. government—a war in which no shots were fired but which significantly changed the development of the territory.

Of the several town forts that later were built by the Mormons as defensive structures during the Black Hawk War, none remain. In 1866 the people of Henefer constructed a fort of logs along the Weber River. It enclosed about an acre and consisted of “log houses facing the center with the outside walls, having port holes through them, serving as a protection.”<sup>8</sup> Also in 1866, the settlers of Hoytsville actually tore down their cabins and reused the materials to build a square fort, with the houses facing the interior towards the church meeting-house in the center. Along the outside of the perimeter walls were the stables and corrals for livestock.<sup>9</sup> Similar forts were built in Coalville, Kamas, Peoa, and Rockport during the mid-1860s. As conflicts with Native Americans subsided, the forts were dismantled and their salvageable materials were reused in building foundations, walls, and fences.

The first residential structures were of necessity temporary dugouts and primitive log cabins. Edmund Rees and his family, who moved to Coalville in 1859, built a dugout as a makeshift shelter. Charles and Louisa Richins and their one child, having moved to Henefer in 1860, lived in two tents before inhabiting three dugouts for more than a year. According to a report, “Then they built two rooms of adobe brick over the dugouts. The following year three



A mixture of vernacular stone masonry and Greek Revival trim is found in the Kimball Stage Station. Built in the early 1860s, it may be the county's oldest surviving building. (Utah State Historical Society)

more additions were made. Year after year this continued until, when the house was finished, it contained fifteen rooms. It was known as the 'Big House' by everyone in the valley. This house was the first one built out of material other than logs."<sup>10</sup>

As means allowed, settlers built larger homes, some using floor plans borrowed from books they had brought across the plains. The first multiroom Mormon residences had "hall-parlor" floor plans with symmetrical, broadside facades and two rooms of unequal size. Many examples of this house type, built of log, lumber, stone, or brick, remain in the county. The first "style" in the county was the Greek Revival, brought by pioneers from Nauvoo and eastern U.S. cities. The oldest extant example is the early 1860s Kimball Stage Station, possibly the county's oldest building.

During the 1880s and especially from 1890 through 1910, Victorian architecture became the rage. The county has several Queen Anne and Victorian Eclectic houses, including a fine group of wood-frame cottages in the Marion area. After Victorian architecture faded into the background, residents continued to copy the styles popular in the rest of the country. The bungalow style was beloved during the



Standing in isolation along the road north of Echo, this Victorian Eclectic house has a double-crosswing plan, brick walls, shingled gables, and scroll-cut "gingerbread" trim. (Allen Roberts)

early twentieth century, and many of the homes built in Park City after the 1898 fire are in that style. Throughout the century, cabins and second homes also have tended to mirror trends elsewhere.

Multifamily housing has been around for a long time in Summit County, whether to house polygamists' families or single-men workers. Early boarding houses—four of which have been preserved in Park City—double houses, and duplexes all have been built. But the real boom in multifamily housing occurred when the recreation industry took off in Park City, producing scores of hotels, lodges, and condominiums. One of the earliest—Utah's first condominium project, in fact—is Treasure Mountain Inn, a box-like building near the top of Main Street. The inn was built before Park City adopted design guidelines. More recent projects have been more varied in plan, form, size, and overall design quality.

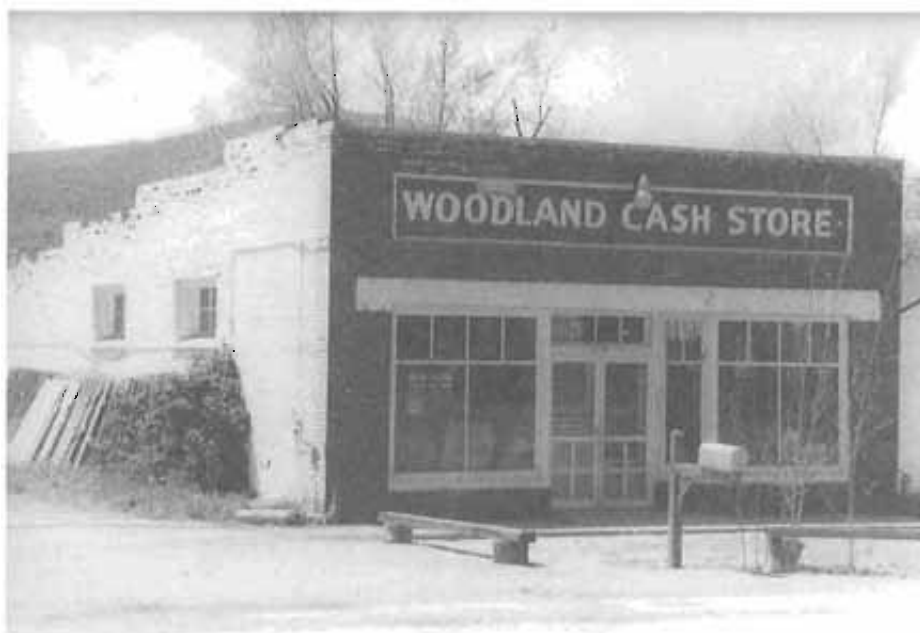
Religious and public meetinghouses were a high priority in the early years of Mormon towns. The first churches were generally simple in plan, with a single large room and a gabled roof—not much different from the residences of the time. These early churches



Picturesque, flamboyant styling was created with a tower, bay window, porch, and fancy trim in this Victorian dwelling in Coalville. (Allen Roberts)

were fairly quickly replaced by larger edifices. Replacing an earlier log structure, the second meetinghouse in Henefer was built in 1872; it was a one-room, red-brick building measuring 28 by 54 feet. The second church in Hoytsville was built of white sandstone in 1882–83. After burning down for lack of a chimney, it was rebuilt in 1887.

A single chapel or sanctuary with a front entry vestry was a common religious building type for Mormons, Protestants, and Catholics during the late nineteenth century. The former LDS meetinghouse in Coalville, since relocated to Lagoon Resort in Davis County, is a good example, as are the few small but elegant Catholic and Protestant churches on Park Avenue in Park City. Among them are St. Mary's of the Assumption Old Town Chapel and school, the former St. John's Lutheran Church, the former Community Church, and St. Luke's Chapel. A frame LDS chapel, now the Blue Church Lodge, also sits on Park Avenue. However, in the past decade, several denominations have built large new churches on State Road 224 northwest of Park City. These buildings generally have taken good advantage of native materials and impressive site views, and large windows invite natural light into the buildings.



The Woodland Cash Store, built about 1920, is a simple but well-preserved commercial structure typical of rural communities. (Allen Roberts)

As the Mormon communities grew, so did their buildings. At the same time, some communities built smaller buildings alongside the meetinghouses: these included tithing offices and bishop's storehouses, Relief Society halls, and granaries. Typical of these were the tithing barn and granary built during Bishop George Sargent's tenure in Hoytsville. The women of Hoytsville built a Relief Society Hall in 1882.

Easily the most outstanding Mormon landmark in the county was the Coalville Tabernacle. The organization of the Summit Stake of Zion on 8–9 July 1877 gave birth to the tabernacle project. A central house of worship, or "stake center," was needed for large assemblies of Mormon faithful from all of Summit County and western Wyoming. A committee composed of architect/builder Thomas L. Allen, George Dumfore, Andrew Hobon, Charles Richins, and Chester Staley was appointed to secure plans as well as estimates of materials and cost.<sup>11</sup>

Thomas Allen is often credited with designing the building, but it





Erected at great effort over a twenty-year period from 1879-99, the cathedral-like Summit Stake Tabernacle in Coalville was a monument to the devotion and skill of its builders. (Utah State Historical Society)

seems apparent that the plan and architectural expression were derived from architect Obed Taylor's design of the Assembly Hall built recently on Temple Square in Salt Lake City. However, that building was made of blocks of quartzite (granite), while the tabernacle in Coalville had a superstructure of brick trimmed with sandstone. It is likely that Allen served as the local supervising architect

and that he modified the design to distinguish the one building from the other. The design revisions were successful. The Coalville church proved to be the more elegant, ethereal, and Gothic of the two related buildings.

The committee's aspirations for the tabernacle were highly ambitious and would tax the human and financial resources of Summit County Mormons for two decades. The floor plan called for a main structure 45 by 90 feet, with transepts of 8 by 25 feet on the two sides and west end, and a 22-by-25-foot vestry on the east end. Upon the review and approval of construction documents by church architects and stake leaders, the site was secured. Groundbreaking occurred in the spring of 1879, and the cornerstone was laid by Apostle Franklin D. Richards on 7 August 1879.<sup>12</sup>

The tabernacle was sufficiently completed to host the LDS church's semiannual conference in October 1886. Finishing touches were added over the next thirteen years and the building was finally dedicated on 14 May 1899 by the same Mormon apostle who had dedicated the cornerstone twenty years earlier.<sup>13</sup>

Rising like a cathedral above the town's surrounding smaller buildings, the tabernacle featured a decorative vocabulary of finely crafted Gothic Revival ornament, including a 117-foot-tall central tower, massive pointed-arch windows with art glass from Belgium, and buttresses topped by tall pinnacles and spires. Inside, the sanctuary space soared vertically to a vaulted ceiling on which portraits of all the Mormon prophets were painted. The tabernacle was completed at a cost of \$55,000, most of it contributed in materials and labor by the men, women, and children of the area. The building, used as both a stake center and ward meetinghouse, was remodeled in 1940–41 to accommodate the area's growing LDS population. Ironically, it was the addition of a second floor, lowering the ceiling height of the chapel room, that provided a justification to those who planned the building's destruction thirty years later. The tabernacle had lost its architectural integrity, and, besides, there was another one like it in Salt Lake City, so there is no need to save the one here, they rationalized.

In the pre-dawn hours of 5 March 1971, Coalville townspeople were awakened by the rumble of bulldozers, the cracking of giant



In the pre-dawn hours of 5 March 1971, the Summit Stake Tabernacle was demolished by wrecking balls and bulldozers as townspeople watched. (Utah State Historical Society)

timbers, and the falling of brick and stone. By daybreak, the tower of the tabernacle, which had been visible for miles around as a symbol of the Mormon presence, lay shattered.

The tabernacle was torn down more than a quarter of a century ago, but it was an event still keenly remembered by many today (1997). It is impossible to calculate the impact of the tabernacle's destruction. Small numbers of historic buildings are destroyed every year, despite protests from preservationists, but the Coalville incident was greater in magnitude. It was a singular event that received not just local and state but national news coverage.

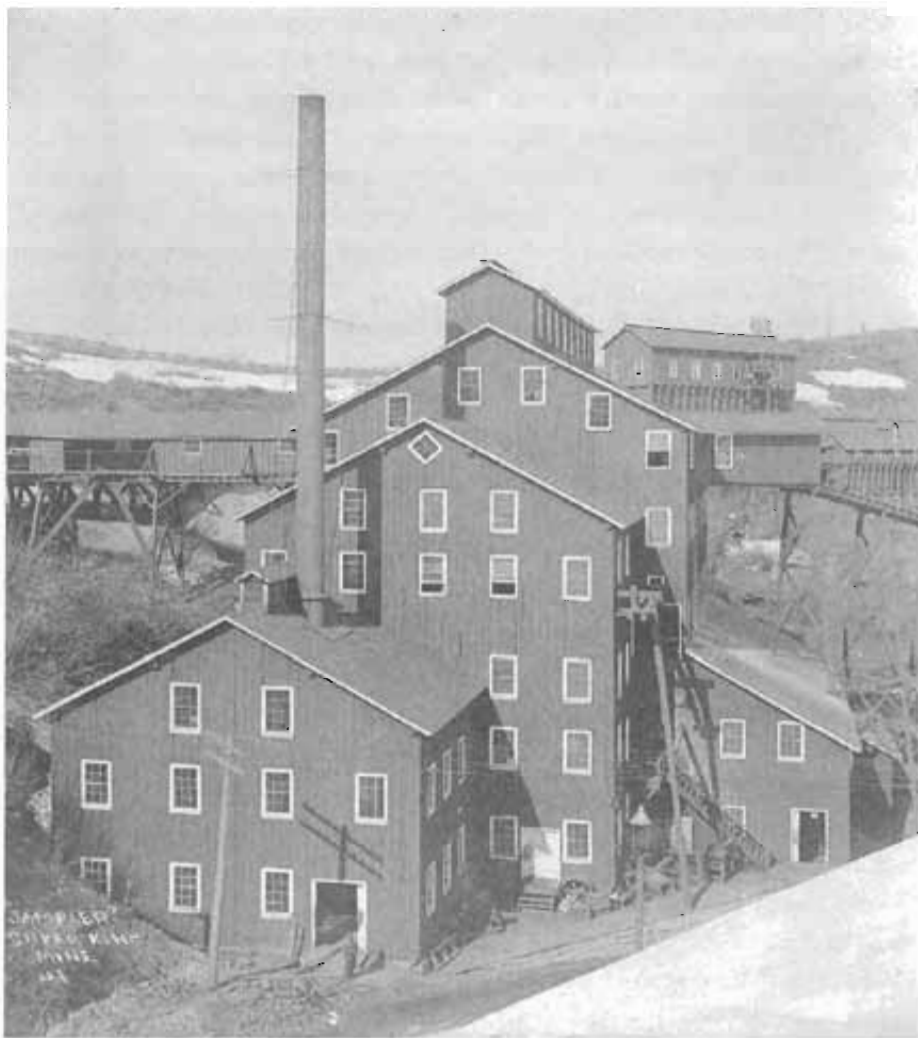
In an attempt to prevent its destruction, preservationists made several visits to the highest-ranking LDS church officials in Salt Lake City. Lawsuits were threatened. Attempts were made to buy the building. A "roundtable" of three analytical articles on the subject appeared in the scholarly publication *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*.<sup>14</sup> A history of the Wright family of Coalville contains a

thirty-four-page section on the tabernacle's demise. In Provo, the chairman of Brigham Young University's Environmental Design Department was fired and the entire department was dismantled after the chairman attempted to organize an on-site protest of the proposed demolition.<sup>15</sup> The tabernacle's destruction caused one man to spend the next five years researching and writing an inventory of historic Mormon architecture.<sup>16</sup> The adverse consequences of the loss in Coalville, along with uproar over the later gutting and modernizing of the interior of the Logan LDS Temple, may have been positive factors in the saving and restoring of the splendid Manti LDS Temple and several significant LDS tabernacles, including those in Brigham City, Provo, Logan, Manti, Randolph, Vernal, and Malad, Idaho. However, this silver lining was not much of a consolation to many in the Summit LDS Stake.

Not everyone was distressed. Local old-timer C.B. Copley, born in Coalville in 1898, the year before the building's dedication, said that his grief subsided after seeing that the replacement stake center was functionally superior to the historic one.<sup>17</sup> But others who agreed on the need for a new facility wished the old one had been put to some other community use. When asked recently to identify the most important event of the last fifty years, longtime Coalville area resident Mae W. Moore responded without hesitation, "tearing down the tabernacle—it broke a lot of hearts."<sup>18</sup>

In more recent decades, the LDS church has built conventional meetinghouses of much more standard plans to replace older, smaller buildings. The present buildings feature large, dominating roofs, short exterior walls, and few or no windows bringing light into the chapels.<sup>19</sup>

Within a few years of their founding, most towns had acquired a handful of stores, saloons, laundries, banks, groceries, clothiers, and other commercial establishments. At first, these buildings tended to be simple, one-room, stone, log, adobe, or wood-frame structures, usually with gables or shed roofs and often with balloon-framed false fronts. Coalville's J. S. Salmon & Co. store (built in 1882–83) and the Johnston Jewelry Store (circa 1905), were both single-room, wood-frame, false-front buildings. Toward the end of the century, as wealth and population increased, two- and three-story commercial struc-



Like other milling structures, the massive, varied forms of the wood-frame Silver King "Sampler" are now only a memory. (Utah State Historical Society)

tures were built using stone, brick, or both. Many of these remain in area towns today. The two-story, brick, stone-trimmed Coalville Co-op is one of many good examples. Less prosperous businesses continued to erect larger frame structures, evident especially in Park City but also found in Coalville and other towns.

Commercial architecture changed slightly over time, but larger

commercial structures weren't built in the county until the 1960s. The newest development is the mushrooming of malls, fast-food restaurants, and discount stores at Kimball Junction. Some new commercial areas such as Prospector Square in Park City have also been platted and developed entirely for new stores and office buildings. These trends will likely continue as the population expands.

Government buildings have tended to be larger and more imposing than most other building types. The county courthouse in Coalville is an architecturally impressive building, as is its sensitive, newer addition. Built in 1903–04 for \$20,000, the “white sandstone” building was designed in the Romanesque Revival style by architects F.C. Woods and Son of Ogden. The city halls and other government buildings in smaller towns are proportionally more modest. A recent addition to the county's government buildings is the new city hall in Kamas, a picturesque, post-modern style building on Main Street.

The largest and in some ways most impressive structures built in Summit County were the gigantic processing mills erected in and around Park City. With some containing as many as eleven levels and more than 100,000 square feet of floor area, these heavy timber and wood or metal-sided behemoths cascaded down hillsides in a variety of forms and masses. Each was designed to house a particular function or type of machinery. Among the most spectacular of the mining structures were the Marsac Mill, Silver King Sampler, Silver King Coalition Building, Ontario Mill, Union Concentrator, and Anchor Works. Although mills once dominated the city's skyline, they are now gone, and only a few mining structures remain in the nearby canyons.

The desire to educate their children in formal schools led the county's various groups of settlers to quickly build schools. The first school in Hoytsville was taught in a one-room structure measuring about 14 by 16 feet. It is reported that “the room was heated by an open fire place which burned wood. When the wind blew, the children were obliged to rush out of doors to prevent being overcome by the smoke from the fire. The seats were made from slabs, the flat side up. The desks were slabs attached to the wall so that the pupil faced the wall.”<sup>20</sup>

Within the first decade of their settlement, larger communities



The Mid-Mountain Lodge, a boarding house for miners in the mountains west of Park City, was saved when it was moved to the next valley and renovated as a ski-in restaurant (Allen Roberts Collection)

began to construct larger schools. Upton's second school—a two-room, wood-frame building with a small bell tower—was typical. Hoytsville's second school was a large, single-room structure built of brick in 1889. Echo's joint school and meetinghouse built of brick in 1876 is still standing. A larger building, the Washington District School, was built of native stone in 1889 in Park City. Within its T-shaped floor plan, the school originally had three large classrooms. Left vacant for decades, the old schoolhouse was extensively restored as a bed-and-breakfast lodge in the mid-1980s.

Between 1890 and 1915, districts built masonry schools with four to eight rooms on one or two floors. Because of their boxlike forms, they are referred to today as “school blocks.” Examples are the small elementary schools in Peoa and Echo. Between 1915 and World War II, Utah's school districts followed the national pattern of constructing “horizontal schools,” so named for their sprawling floor plans. Among the local examples are the former Marsac and Park City High schools in Park City. Since World War II, schools have reflected the current educational theories and needs.

As they gradually filled in the towns, these buildings and others

expressed the nature of each place and its people. The towns' structures represent those things that have been most important to the residents, and they form the public and private spaces where community takes shape.

### *Changing Townscapes:*

#### *Late-Twentieth-Century Developments and Challenges*

Valleys, hillsides and even hilltops in the county in the late-twentieth century are filling with new, practically instant communities. Some new developments encourage huge custom houses; others feature more moderately sized dwellings. In more remote places, cabins and small houses sprawl across the hills. As old farms and grazing lands are sliced into housing lots, the landscape in virtually every area of the county changes annually. Most towns have adopted ordinances and codes in an effort to make the growth occur in efficient, community-enhancing, and aesthetically pleasing ways. Some of these regulations are more effective than others, however.

The county government has chosen to allow urban development in unincorporated areas—a precedent set when it approved the Summit Park development in the 1950s. As a result, various large subdivisions have blossomed in the Snyderville area, including Pinebrook, Jeremy Ranch, Highland Estates, Silver Summit, Silver Creek, and Silver Springs. Each of these planned developments lacks what every Mormon town included: a definite center of community, with public, spiritual, and commercial buildings as gathering places. Churches and schools have been added adjacent to these areas, but usually only as afterthoughts. Commercial buildings are clustered at the freeway interchanges instead of in the town centers, and they include discount stores, fast-food restaurants, and large parking lots. Obviously, the built environment in these subdivisions expresses an entirely different purpose from that expressed by both the Mormon and the industrial towns.

The county's historical legacy has been lessened by the sometimes unnecessary loss of noteworthy buildings. Gone are the Grand Opera House, the Park City Bank, the Silver King Coalition Building, and other milling structures. Gone are the Summit LDS Stake Academy and LDS Tabernacle buildings in Coalville and the elegant





A good example of compatible new construction is the east addition to the historic Summit County Courthouse. Both structures are two stories and feature masonry walls and tall windows. (Allen Roberts)

1880s-era Carpenter house in Kamas, which was torn down in 1958 to make way for a gas station. Gone too are uncounted churches, schools, commercial and industrial structures, pioneer-era buildings, bridges, and ore-hauling towers. As public support for historical preservation has increased, however, the rate of demolition has slowed. The Park City community in recent years has been particularly strong in its determination to save historic buildings. Through its design guidelines, Historic District Commission, educational and matching grant programs, the city government has successfully supported the private sector in preserving and restoring nearly 200 of Park City's remaining historic structures.

Other communities and individuals also have been major players in the preservation movement. The Summit County Courthouse has been renovated with a sensitively designed addition. The Samuel Hoyt mansion and several other important residences countywide have undergone various levels of restoration. There are preservation projects still waiting to be accomplished—the Kimball Stage Stop

complex and Coalville's Main Street are just two possibilities—but with each saved building the communal connection between past and present grows stronger. The preservation movement has proven itself to be not a passing, elitist fad but a valuable strategy for improving our physical environment.

## ENDNOTES

1. See G. Lowery Nelson, *The Mormon Village* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952).

2. C. Mark Hamilton, *Nineteenth Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 13–31.

3. Utah Territory Agricultural & Industrial Census for 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

4. Peterson, *Echoes of Yesterday*, 50–51.

5. *Ibid.*, 157.

6. *Summit County Bee*, 1 January 1970.

7. Albert Tracy, "The Utah War: Journal of Albert Tracy, 1858–1860," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 13 (1945): 22–23.

8. Peterson, *Echoes of Yesterday*, 51.

9. *Ibid.*, 154.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Peterson, *Echoes of Yesterday*, 118–19.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, 94–95.

14. See *Dialogue* 5, no. 4. The articles include Edward Geary's "The Last Days of the Coalville Tabernacle," "The Coalville Tabernacle: A Point of View" by an anonymous author, and "The Lesson of Coalville" by Paul G. Salisbury.

15. Despite a nearly unanimous vote to raze the Bountiful LDS Tabernacle, church president Spencer W. Kimball intervened and personally overturned the decision and spared the 1857–62 Greek Revival building. The building was later restored and expanded and is still in use.

16. See Allen D. Roberts, *Historic Architecture of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Utah Division of State History, LDS Historical Department and Cornerstone: Mormon Architectural Heritage, 1974). As a direct result of the tabernacle's demolition, Roberts became an historical architect in an effort to help prevent similar tragedies from happening in the future.

17. C.B. Copley, interview with Allen Roberts on 22 March 1996, Coalville.

18. Mae W. Moore, interview with Allen Roberts on 22 March 1996, Coalville.

19. Detailed information on Mormon architecture is found in Roberts, *Historic Architecture of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* and Allen D. Roberts. "Religious Architecture of the L.D.S. Church: Influences and Changes Since 1847" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (Summer 1975): 310–27.

20. Peterson, *Echoes of Yesterday*, 164.

## CHAPTER 9

# CULTURAL LIFE

Summit County old-timers are more than eager to sit a while and share stories of the way life used to be. Emma Lemon, for one, has lived in the same house in Park City for more than sixty years. From that vantage point, history has run past her window like a motion picture, sometimes speeding by and during other times, difficult times, moving so slowly she wondered if she could weather the troubles. Until 1996, Emma still cooked on a coal stove, producing seasonal favorites like apricot jelly and chili sauce to be given away.

But perhaps even more important are the stories she saves. Emma remembers the big strike of 1936 and the anger and torment that raged. She knows personally the grief caused by an explosion in a mine tunnel and the way economic problems damage families and lives. Emma Lemon is a reminder of the value of the past and its function in our lives. Wendell Berry has written, "When a community loses its memory, its members no longer know one another. How can they know one another if they have forgotten or have never learned one another's stories? If they do not know one another's stories, how can they know whether or not to trust one another?"<sup>1</sup>

Emma and other old-timers tell their stories, just as generations before them have done through journals and first-person accounts.

This chapter will focus on a few of those stories—some of joy, others of crisis, but all of them life-affirming. Some major events changed the fabric of the community, tested its resiliency, or illuminated its particular nature. Most stories, though, are simply stories of everyday survival. These two kinds of accounts force interesting questions about history: Is it the day-to-day routines, the ordinary lives, that have defined Summit County over time, or is it the big events that have made it what it is?

### *Lifestyle*

Life in Summit County during the nineteenth century wasn't easy. For Levi Savage, work was demanding and occasionally dangerous. Survival in the county meant taming a challenging mountain environment. His job, working at an early lumber mill, was laborious and discouraging. "So far, ordinarily good luck," he wrote in his journal of 9 August 1873. "Of course that means occasional breakage of coupling poles, getting stalled in the river etc. Yesterday I was quite ill with weakness and faint sensations, accompanied with occasionally a cramp in the bowels Much better today Probably Ginger tea aided me."<sup>2</sup>

Savage's journal also provides some social commentary on his community of Kamas. He had particular complaints about the young people. "The prevalent universal complaint of a scarcity of teachers is also here quite apparent. As almost all the youth of America in Utah in particular are inclined to shun Sunday schools So the youth of this little village conduct themselves."<sup>3</sup> In another place he writes:

The youth of Chamois [Kamas] are somewhat degenerated—indulging in profane language. As I passed quietly along a back street . . . one of the Chamois Braves, a youngster probably about 12 years of age, thus interrogated a group of about his own age, "Who the hell is that," Staring quite impudently at me, and assuming very ungente[ly] attitudes, his coligues indorsed his speech and conduct by similar gestures and some low murmuring which I could not definitely understand.<sup>4</sup>

Savage did point out, however, that many young people conducted

themselves like proper ladies and gentlemen and were polite in public meetings.

Savage and his family considered his community to be most beautiful. "Considerable grain here but the greatest crop seems to be hay. . . . The settlement is situated in a sagebrush plain on a hard pebble foundation. Almost surrounded with a beautiful green meadow."<sup>5</sup> He details a life that was driven by the seasons, by natural forces, and visits by church leaders, who exhorted everyone to good behavior.

Perhaps the most interesting entry in Savage's journal, however, details the work routine of a mill worker. Far from home, isolated from family, and with only male workers as companions, he found mill work challenging.

The same old routine of work is the substance of events here. Arise in the morning, shivering with cold, get breakfast. Cuddle around the fire to eat it. Then all start to work. Gather together again about noon, eat our lunch back again to the bustle of our business, continue without cessation until dark. Then gather around the campfire eat supper (each devouring almost enough for a horse) and then commence our yarns to pass time. All kinds of comic expressions a few songs, riddles and laughable jokes pass the evening away. Then prayers are attended and we curl up in the blankets, and are soon dreaming of our more comfortable homes.<sup>6</sup>

Often uncomfortable, men's work in this mountainous land also could be a risk to life. Olive Emily Sharp described her father's work on the railroad line: "As machinery was not available in 1872, axes of various sizes were used in cutting down timber and shaping it for railroad ties. During the winter months the men would cut down the timber and prepare it to be floated down the rivers as soon as the ice thawed and the waters were high. These tie drives were very dangerous, as the ties would often jam, or collect in the river, forming a dam, so that some of the men would walk out on the ties with prods and break the jam loose."<sup>7</sup> Several men lost their lives doing this difficult work; large rocks marked their graves along the river. One small marker, about fifteen miles east of Oakley between the Weber River and Smith and Morehouse Creek, speaks volumes about the relatively

anonymous nature of their deaths: "George Carter Drowned in tie drive in Weber River Spring of 1877 Henry Somsen Foreman."<sup>8</sup>

Charles Emerson Griffin's autobiography gives another view of life in Summit County. When he first arrived at the Weber River, Griffin wasted no time putting up a log house, eighty rods of fence, and planting ten acres of wheat. But the local authorities also wasted no time in appointing Griffin county assessor and collector, deputy sheriff, and second counselor of the Coalville LDS Ward. Somehow he managed to juggle these responsibilities and still raise enough food to support his family. Griffin wrote of some of his tasks:

I would have to hunt my oxen in the morning on foot, and when I got them I could not work them more than three or four hours each day. I harrowed my grain in on the stubble and raised a better crop that year than I ever had before or after on the Weber. I put a house up on my farm that spring and then moved my family out.<sup>9</sup>

The next fall, Bishop Cluff suggested that Griffin move his family into Coalville and teach in the school. So, Griffin wrote, "I moved to Coalville, rented a house and commenced the school. I had from 70 to 80 pupils and there again I had to do some hard studying to keep ahead. The next spring I bought a lot and put up a log cabin on it."<sup>10</sup> He spent that year making a living "the best way I could;" and that required that he work at a variety of jobs. He hauled coal to Salt Lake City, continued to raise wheat, and occasionally hauled flour to distant markets. He hired out as a carpenter during 1868, building a frame house for Henry Wheaton. Griffin worked in a sawmill, was city surveyor for the city of Coalville, and was also city assessor and collector and county surveyor.

Griffin fell sick with smallpox in August 1868 and was quarantined outside of town. "A tent was pitched for me where I remained for about six weeks, my wife going and staying with me five weeks and took care of me although she had never had it and did not take it then. . . . I had a covered wagon to sleep in and some of my family brought my food to me."<sup>11</sup>

Women had their own stories to tell, stories centered mostly around domestic concerns. When Mary Ellen Holt was eight years old, her family moved to Hoytsville to a small log house on the farm

belonging to her grandfather, John Lowe. There, Mary's father baptized her in the Weber River. When her family joined in the church-wide drive to store grain, she and her sister gleaned twenty bushels to donate. Because her family struggled to survive, her parents frequently "put her out" to earn extra money. Thus, Mary worked for fifty cents a day at housework, washing, cooking, and cleaning in other people's homes. She recalled that emigrant trains often passed by the family's farm, buying the family's surplus produce, asking for water, or simply wanting assurance that they were getting closer to Salt Lake City.<sup>12</sup>

Myrtle Rigby was a female homesteader in Chalk Creek Basin, about twenty-five miles east of Coalville. In 1916, Myrtle, her father, and three brothers homesteaded on land between the Chalk Creek Ranch and the Castle Rock Ranch in Echo Canyon. Myrtle had her own cabin among the junipers near the top of a mountain, affording her a sweeping view of the dry-farm grain fields surrounding her. Primroses surrounded the log cabin on all sides.<sup>13</sup>

The stories of sacrifice, of meeting the challenges of limited resources and severe weather, of poverty and community building, reveal the creativity, flexibility, and hard work required to survive in these mountain valleys of Summit County.

### *Cultural Activities*

As was typical in many early Utah towns, the rock schoolhouse was the place where community members gathered for church services and social activities during the first years of settlement. It was the place where, in the words of one editorial in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, "plays and musicals brought comfort and relaxation to a toil-worn generation."<sup>14</sup> The rock schoolhouse sat in the center of town and, like the hearth in a family home, it became the center of community, where Latter-day Saints shared their sense of God and of what united them as a group of pioneers so far from their earlier homes. Here they created new networks of relationships that solidified and fortified their efforts at settlement.

The residents of Summit County didn't spend all of their time building houses and plowing fields; they frequently and enthusiastically gathered for community activities. Early on, many cultural



events centered around church events. Ward choir programs, organ and piano recitals, and dramatic presentations were staged even in the county's most primitive churches and public buildings. One of the most unique performing groups was a drum and fife band comprised of twelve local men and organized by Scotsman James Salmon.

Brigham Robinson, an English immigrant, organized another martial band, the Coalville Brass Band, shortly after arriving in Coalville in October 1873. The band would play for holiday celebrations or political gatherings, marching through the streets of Coalville, then playing all afternoon at the city park. Robinson later recalled the unique challenges that playing for the 24 July (Pioneer Day) celebration presented:

If you think it was easy to march and keep time to the music over those rutted roads, and when we got to the swamp just south of Chalk Creek bridge to step from stone to stone; from clod to clod or to willow bush root, you are mistaken; for we broke down and waded through to the best of our ability to again reassemble on the north side of Chalk Creek and to march down to the City Park where we played tunes all day and then wended our way back home, very tired, with a "Thank You" for our pay.<sup>15</sup>

William J. and Frank Wright and Andrew and John Henry Hobson provided music for dances in Hoytsville. In fact, perhaps the most preferred communitywide activity was the dance, staged in the winter in the church or school building and in the summer in boweries or in fields under the stars. Accompanied by whatever musicians and instruments were available, dancers would dance until midnight, at which time the group would break for dinner. Then the dancing would begin again. Hoytsville had a tradition of local musicians who played for dances, weddings, and church socials. One Hoytsville brass band played from the back of a wagon decked out with a special platform. By about 1916, Hoytsville had four separate musical groups that played at social functions.<sup>16</sup>

Throughout the year, jubilees and concerts, demonstrations and parades, dramatics and fairs drew the people together for entertainment, allowing them for a while to forget their daily struggles in taming the wild environment. As early as 1883, countywide fairs were



Summit County Fairgrounds, Coalville, early 1900s. Coalville hosts the Summit County Fair every summer. (Brigham Young University, George Beard collection)

staged by the county selectmen. Foot races of all kinds, potato-sack races, horseshoe pitching, ballgames, and other sports and games permitted young and old alike to prove their mettle and join in the fun. In Francis, on Easter and May Day, groups of young people would hike into the foothills to enjoy picnic lunches of hard-boiled eggs, potatoes, and meat.

In 1877, Kamas formed its first dramatic company, under the direction of Ward E. Pack, Sr., and George B. Leonard. Their first presentation was *Black Eyed Susan*, with Sarah E. Niebaur O'Driscoll starring. The troupe took the play on the road, giving performances in Heber, Charleston, Wallsburg, and Coalville. The Kamas Opera House, built by John Carpenter, gave theater in Kamas a true home. Local dances were held in an adjacent building, on what was reportedly the finest dance floor in the state. Later, motion pictures were shown in this same building, accompanied by piano. In 1946, Douglas Simpson built a modern motion-picture theater in Kamas.

During the 1880s, Park City people sold subscriptions to raise money for an opera house. There, the Payton Company and A.Y.

Pearson's traveling theater troupe presented plays such as *The Great Four Act Western Mining Melodrama*, *The Golden Giant*, and *Under the Gaslight*. A second opera house, an elegant brick structure, opened on the east side of Main Street early in 1898. Both buildings were destroyed in the great fire of June 1898. However, within a few months Park City had a new theater, the Dewey, named after the U.S. naval hero of Manila Bay.<sup>17</sup>

In Henefer, the Henefer Amusement and Dramatic Company was incorporated in 1906, with Alama E. Richins, William F. Cromar, John P. Stevens, Thomas H. Stephens, and Warwick Foster as its directors. Construction soon began on a new amusement hall; by February 1908, dances were being held in the new building. In 1946 the hall was sold to the Henefer LDS Ward and remodeled.<sup>18</sup>

While early recreation was a respite from daily hard labor, recreation in recent years has become a pursuit that, for some people, overshadows work. In fact, Summit County's recreational potential has drawn a whole subculture of newcomers trying to shrug off the rat race and the stresses of urban life. The county's mountain towns and landscape are attractive to people seeking a lifestyle alternative. While community dances and cultural events were once the mainstay of Summit County recreation, these newcomers (as well as old-timers) have adopted the individual activities of skiing, hiking, and/or biking as the recreational activities currently most popular.

Community events still play an important part in the county's cultural life, however. As was true throughout rural Utah, towns throughout Summit County have always rallied together for July Fourth and Twenty-Fourth celebrations. Oakley's annual Fourth of July rodeo, parade, and country dance now attract visitors from across the county and also from the Wasatch Front.

One enthusiastic local colorfully portrayed the Oakley Fourth of July parade as a community institution. "July 4. The whole town turns out for the parade down Main and Center. Lawn chairs and tailgates unfold just after daybreak as generations of locals take up traditional posts. There are 'howdys' and 'look-how-he's-grown-up' pats all around. No politics today, no cynicism or protests, just small-town patriotism. While floats of dairy princesses, veterans, rodeo



Oakley's Fourth of July parade. (Patrick Cone)

clowns and baton twirlers strut by, we are for the moment part of the American ideal."<sup>19</sup>

Park City has become the scene of arts events that have attracted national attention. The idea for the Park City Art Festival was reputedly born in 1969 over a cup of coffee at the Poison Creek Drug Store. Park City residents Mike Dontje and Jim Patterson envisioned the event as a major attraction drawing crowds of people to their small mining town. "One of the main reasons that the festival idea was so appealing to all of us was that there seemed to be a lack of culture in Utah at that time, and we all felt that Park City was a perfect place to get something going."<sup>20</sup> That first year, the festival was attended by 7,500 people. Sixty-seven exhibitors set up open-air booths along historic Main Street, displaying paintings and prints, pottery and sculpture, leather goods and musical instruments, jewelry and weaving. Today, as many as 80,000 visitors attend the festival over its two-day period. On stages along the street, musicians entertain the crowds. Children are amused by mimes, puppeteers, and wandering minstrels.

Longtime festival director Tina Lewis predicted in a 1979 news-



The Fourth of July rodeo has been an Oakley tradition since the 1930s. This scene dates from the late 1940s. (Patrick Cone)

paper interview that the whole summer would become an extension of the art festival. "With workshops, tent events and concerts, Park City will be as active and vital in the summer as it is in the winter," she believed.<sup>21</sup> True to her predictions, festivals and events are now held all summer long in Park City, and on many weeks there are more



The Park City Art Festival, started in 1969, attracts an estimated 80,000 people to Main Street for two days every August. (Patrick Cone)

than one. These include the Park City International Chamber Music Festival, the Deer Valley Institute, Utah Symphony performances at Deer Valley, rock and other music concerts at The Canyons, bike races, and car rallies.

Winter's big cultural event is the Sundance Film Festival, a showcase for independent filmmakers. The festival started small in 1978 as the Utah/U.S. Film Festival, but now, under the direction of Robert Redford's Sundance Film Institute, it attracts film people and audiences from throughout the world and receives international attention.<sup>22</sup>

### *Newspapers*

Summit County has had a number of local newspapers. Each has played a key role in the dissemination of information, providing a forum for debate on local issues, creating a sense of community, and helping farmers living far from town keep current on local affairs of interest.

Coalville saw a succession of weekly newspapers beginning in the 1890s. The *Coalville Chronicle* was the first, opening its doors in June

1892 under the management of C.S. Austin and editor/publisher E.E. Newell. But Newell left after less than two years, leaving the printing press—and a stack of debts—behind. In February 1894, a group of local citizens paid off the bills, hired a former employee of the *Salt Lake Tribune*, Frank M. Pinneo, as editor and manager, and reorganized the paper as the *Coalville Times*. The *Iron County Record* commented on the paper's success on 25 January 1895: "*The Coalville Times* is rapidly becoming one of the best weekly papers published in Utah."<sup>23</sup>

However, continuity was not one of the paper's strengths. On 25 November 1898 Pinneo expressed his chagrin for having failed to publish the previous week's issue:

Owing to a slip in a cog in one of the wheels of our big press, and in two or three wheels of the editor's head, our issue of last week did not appear. It grieves us, because many of our friends have called, and have been disappointed in not receiving their paper. It pleases us, because many of our admirers—mostly delinquents—who have always condemned our honest efforts, if we have ever made any, are given a chance, backed by a shade of justice, in ripping us up the back.<sup>24</sup>

Pinneo left the *Times* at the end of 1898 and joined the staff of the *Park Record*. Over the next two decades the *Times* struggled through a series of management changes. Frank Evans and E.H. Rhead, "Editor, Justice and County Surveyor," according to one notice, ran the paper during much of 1899. However, by early 1900, Evans and Rhead had been succeeded by Charles R. Jones, who had learned the trade under Pinneo. When Jones left five years later, N.J. Peterson took the reins and kept the paper alive until about 1918. The paper appeared sporadically over the next five years under the guidance of Charles H. Ruble, Harry E. Webb, and, finally, Mrs. C.B. Wallace. Then, in October 1923, Mrs. Wallace gave the paper a new a start as the *Summit County Bee*.

In December 1925, S.D. Perry of Morgan, Utah, and his two sons, Kenneth and Walt, bought an interest in the *Bee* and, by January 1927, were listed as publishers. The paper stayed in the hands of the Perry family until 1947, when it was purchased by Mr. and Mrs. Don Pope.<sup>25</sup> In the next eight years came another succession of manage-

ment changes. In January 1953, George J. Ferguson and Donald E. Benedict were listed as publishers. By December 1953, however, they had turned the reins of the paper over to E.L. and J.P. Heal. In August 1954, the Heals sold the paper to Mr. and Mrs. Albert W. Epperson, owners of the *Morgan County News*. However, Albert Epperson died only a year later and his widow sold both papers to Mr. and Mrs. H.C. McConaughy in January 1956. By April 1956, the McConaughys had purchased a third area weekly newspaper, the *Park Record*.<sup>26</sup>

Since 1956, the ownership of the *Bee* has changed only once. H.C. "Mac" McConaughy, a veteran newspaperman, remained as editor and publisher for more than twenty years. He received many awards for outstanding journalism, including the "Master Editor and Publisher" award from the Utah Press Association. His trademark weekly column, "Ant's Eye View," was recognized by the National Newspaper Association as the best column in its class in 1959. Then, in the fall of 1976, McConaughy sold all three of his papers to Mr. and Mrs. Richard Buys of Heber City, Utah.<sup>27</sup> The Buys later sold their interest in the *Park Record*, but the couple still publish the *Bee*.

The *Provo Enquirer* announced the advent of the *Park Mining Record* on 10 February 1880, saying: "The Park Mining Record is a new journal that made its first appearance on Saturday last. Mr. Schupbach is publisher."<sup>28</sup> The earliest issues had seven columns and four pages and included a local news column called the "Park Float" ("float" being a term used by miners to describe ore out of place or loose on the surface). H.L. White was the publisher from 1881 to 1884; Sam Raddon then took over the paper and changed the name to the *Park Record*. Raddon stayed with the paper for the next sixty-four years.

The *Park Record* was a highly opinionated, lively weekly with a relatively stable publication history. A depression in 1893 did affect the paper, as is reflected in this note dated 14 October 1893: "The Park Record established February 8, 1880, is now nearly 14 years old. Hard Times are tough on everybody, and during such times everybody should help one another. Business is slack; Advertise! Subscribe to the Park Record now!"

The Park City fire of 19 June 1898 destroyed the *Record's* printing plant. A later edition chronicled this event: "In 1898, shortly after the Record had completed a new home and received new equipment, it



was wiped out by the big fire. It was a bad blow. When the ashes had cooled, the proprietors stood dazed, but only for a moment. In a few short hours after the fire, a tent was pitched, and for several weeks, the paper was issued from the tent office.”<sup>29</sup>

During the nineteenth century, Park City had two other papers serving the mining population—the *Park City Call* and the *Park City Miner*. The *Park City Call*’s premier issue appeared in January 1887. The *Salt Lake Democrat* heralded this new addition to the publication world on 14 January 1887 saying, “The first number of the Park City Call, a new weekly devoted to the interests of the great mining camp is out. It is well filled with interesting news, and promises to be a success.” The *Deseret News* on 15 January 1887 described it as a new “anti-Mormon Weekly” under the editorship of E.H. Buchanan. The paper continued publication only until July 1888.

The *Park City Miner* included eight five-column pages and appeared in September 1890. Competition between the *Miner* and the *Record* was stiff and resulted in a libel suit in 1891. The *Park Record* hinted at the dispute on 12 December 1891: “The Record has known that a suit for libel was to be filed against the Park City Daily Miner. . . . The particular obnoxious publication occurs in the Miner on December 1, 1891. . . . Mr. Treweek asks for damages in the modest sum of \$25,000.” The *Park City Miner* stopped publication in 1892, except for a brief revival between 1903 and 1904.

Park City had one last paper during the 1800s—the short-lived *Utah Patriot*, which began publication in 1895. The *Park Record* commented on that paper and on the trials of publishing in general, including the physical beating of newspaper editors, on 4 September 1897:

The job of “licking editors” has recently become fashionable in Utah, the last case to come to our notice was in Park City a few days ago, when Editor Flahiff of the *Utah Patriot*, and Matt Connelly, of the *Ontario Mine*, came forcibly together. We would suggest that editors who live in a belligerent community make a breast plate of old plate matter, and wear it under their shirts.

While the competition faded, the *Park Record* endured. Sam Raddon’s feisty leadership carried the paper through more than six

decades. He died in 1948, leaving the paper to his son, LePage; however, LePage Raddon died only eight years later, and in April 1956 his widow sold the paper to Mr. and Mrs. H.C. McConaughy, publishers of the *Summit County Bee* and *Morgan County News*.<sup>30</sup> "In the interests of economy all three papers were published in one plant which was located at Morgan and then sent by mail to Coalville and Park City," recalled Park City historians George A. Thompson and Fraser Buck. "Although the pioneer newspaper's 80 years of steady publishing hadn't been interrupted, its out of town plant just wasn't the same as being able to stop at the cluttered little office on Main Street to chat with Lee Raddon or [typesetter] Lynx Langford."<sup>31</sup> At one point during the 1960s, the *Park Record* and the *Summit County Bee* were published under a single masthead.

By 1976, when the McConaughys sold their three papers to the Richard Buys, the *Park Record* wasn't the only game in town. The revival of the Park City economy in the 1970s had spawned several short-lived competitors, including the *Mountain Flower* (1972–73), published by Media West, and the *Park City Coalition* (1974–75), the brainchild of Park City businessmen Don Prescott and Jan Peterson. However, *The Newspaper* proved to be a more formidable opponent. Founded in 1975 as a successor to the *Park City Coalition*, it catered to the eclectic population of newcomers with an informal, tongue-in-cheek approach to the news. By the early 1980s it had captured a healthy share of the local readership—and advertising revenue.

Then, in 1983, the old-timer and the brash newcomer joined forces. Richard and Susan Buys, publishers of the *Park Record*, signed an agreement with Jan Wilking, publisher of the *Newspaper*, to merge the two publications. Although the joint publication retained the staff of the *Newspaper*, it kept the recognized name of the *Park Record*. In December 1986, the paper was sold to the Diversified Suburban Newspapers group. In May 1996, the *Park Record* switched to a twice-weekly format.

### *Religious Groups*

Perhaps more important than any secular institution, churches helped create a sense of identity and community. Besides the obvious influence of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Summit



Established in 1881, St. Mary's of the Assumption is one of the oldest Roman Catholic parishes in Utah. This building was erected on Park Avenue in 1884 and rebuilt after a devastating fire in 1950. A second, larger church was dedicated in Snyderville in 1997. (Patrick Cone)

County's development was shaped by other denominations that came to the area to attend to the spiritual needs of local miners. Schools, charity organizations, and social clubs all sprang up in Park City through the labor of various Protestant and Catholic ministries. Besides providing a sense of community for various people, Park City's churches also provided an important challenge to the Mormon hegemony.

Roman Catholic Reverend Lawrence Scanlan first visited the area known as Parley's Park in 1873. During the next five years, Scanlan and Father Denis Kiely traveled periodically from Salt Lake City to visit the miners of the area. A rustic log cabin was the scene for the first local mass; later, masses were celebrated in Simon's Hall or Dignan's Hall. Parishioners began constructing their own church building, St. Mary's of the Assumption, on Park Avenue in June 1881, and Father Kiely presided over its opening that October. The church opened an elementary school in 1881 as well, run by Sisters of the Holy Cross members Elise Murphy, Aurea Donohue, Alexis Hall,



In 1902, the wood-frame LDS meeting house in Kamas burned to the ground. It was replaced with this brick structure, which was dedicated in 1904. (Summit County Historical Society)

Josephine Tracy, and Martina McMahon. In 1885, Father Patrick Blake was appointed the first resident priest of St. Mary's Parish; he was succeeded the following year by Father Thomas Galligan.<sup>32</sup>

The Summit Stake of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was organized on 7 July 1877 at a conference held in Coalville and presided over by Mormon leaders John Taylor, Lorenzo Snow, and Franklin D. Richards. At the meeting, a high council was created and a stake presidency selected: stake president Alma Eldredge and counselors William W. Cluff and George Snyder. Cluff had served as LDS bishop in several Summit County towns before this time, including Coalville, Echo, Francis, Henefer, Hoytsville, Kamas, Marion, Oakley, Park City, Peoa, Rockport, Upton, Wanship, and Woodland.<sup>33</sup>

Through the years, the Mormon church especially has grown with the county. At an early date, most towns had at least one LDS ward of their own, and the larger stake organizations of the church have also evolved. The Kamas (formerly Summit South) LDS Stake

was organized on 8 July 1934 from a division of the Summit LDS Stake, which is now known as the Coalville LDS Stake. Zach J. Oblad was the first president of the new stake. The Park City LDS Stake was formed on 10 March 1985, with B. Douglas Glad as the first stake president. In 1997 there were three LDS stakes in the county; the Coalville Stake includes eight wards; the Kamas Stake contains seven wards, and the Park City Stake has nine wards, indicating that the Mormon church maintains a vital presence in Summit County.

Since the mid-1980s, the growth in western Summit County has overwhelmed the capacity of many of the small denominational Park City churches that served local parishoners. St. Mary's of the Assumption and three Protestant denominations—the United Methodist, Lutheran, and Episcopal churches—recently have built large new churches in Snyderville north of Park City. Other denominations have established a presence in the county, although most are centered in the Park City area. In 1996 the following denominations and other non-denominational groups were represented in Summit County: Assemblies of God; Baptist; Baptist Independent; Baptist Southern; Roman Catholic; Christian Science; Community Evangelical Free Church; Park City Community Church; Episcopal; Four Square Gospel; Lutheran; Methodist United; Mountain Vineyard Christian Fellowship; Upper Room; Presbyterian; Presbyterian (USA); and Park City Jewish Center.

Elsewhere in the county, the LDS church seems fairly dominant and monolithic in its hold on residents. But it has not always been so. Summit County was settled by men and women who were in some ways radically individualistic in their approach to law, land policy, and social practices but who were in other ways tradition-bound and communitarian. Here was fertile ground for conflict between the two ideologies. These forces collided dramatically in the incidents surrounding John Singer and Adam Swapp.

John Singer was a teenager when he first moved to Marion, Utah, after spending most of his youth in Germany, where he participated in the Hitler Youth movement and survived the difficulties of the postwar period. When he came to Utah, he relished the almost palpable sense of freedom he experienced. This place held great promise for him and he expected much from it. For John Singer, the American

constitution's protection of individual rights and liberties was heaven ordained.

Singer had a strong sense of personal mission that was dictated by his personal literal interpretation of scripture. His confrontation with the government and his neighbors in Summit County was rooted in his strong sense of individualism and fundamentalist beliefs, which led to his excommunication from the Mormon church in 1972.

On 29 March 1973, John Singer withdrew his children from the Summit County public school system. He and his wife, Vickie, were disgusted by what they considered the immorality, lax discipline, and lack of respect that typified local schools. They believed they could do better with their children at home. The Singers lived on a two-and-one-half-acre farm located near Marion. Singer had been given the land by his uncle, Gustav Weller. He supported his family with his television-repair business and the produce from the small farm. At the time, Marion had fewer than sixty families and only one small general merchandise store, the Kamas Valley Co-op.

Though the Singer's home was a simple structure, their living room became the setting for their home school. Vickie began teaching her children the educational fundamentals, including, more particularly, what she and John believed was important for them to know. This did not correspond with the school district's curriculum and eventually led to a confrontation between the two educational systems.

The confrontation began on 12 April 1973 when Val E. Edrington, superintendent of South Summit School District, invited the Singers to a school board meeting where their case would be discussed. It continued that October when, after the Singers' continued refusal to follow the school curriculum, the school opted to turn the Singer case over to the Summit County Juvenile Court in Coalville.

On 6 December 1973, the school board filed an official complaint in juvenile court, and the case of *State of Utah v. John Singer and Vickie Singer* commenced before Judge Merrill L. Hermansen. The Singers were accused of neglect and contributing to the delinquency of their children by withdrawing them from school and failing to comply with home-school standards provided by the Utah Code.<sup>34</sup>

When Singer failed to appear at the preliminary hearing on 10 December, a warrant was issued for his arrest. Summit County Sheriff Ron Robinson became responsible for the arrest of John Singer.

Over the next several months, the court tried to find some method of compromise between the two parties. The children were evaluated by Salt Lake therapist Victor B. Cline, who initially made a positive evaluation of the family situation at Marion. However, he found that the children were lagging behind intellectually because of the limited academic stimulation their parents were able to give them in their home school. He recommended that they be carefully monitored and encouraged to return to school.

On 15 June 1976 a series of hearings began in an attempt to determine whether the family or the state had responsibility for the children. The Singers were found guilty of child neglect in August 1977. At the sentencing in November 1977, Judge Kenneth L. Bachman sentenced the parents to sixty days in jail and a \$299 fine. At a second hearing, on 3 January 1978, they were again found guilty of child neglect. The court ordered that the children be tutored by South Summit School District teachers. John Singer refused, telling the *Park Record*, "I will not let them monitor my children either. I will not sell my liberties to these people. This is a fight for freedom which they are trying to take away from me inch by inch."<sup>35</sup> On 4 March 1978, Judge John Farr Larson found Singer in contempt of court and issued a warrant for his arrest. After that point, Singer never left his own property.

In July 1978, John Singer raised the stakes by taking a second wife, Shirley Black, who was still legally married to a Kamas construction worker, Dean Black. After Shirley Black and several of her children moved onto the Singers' Marion farm, a court awarded Dean Black a divorce and custody of their four minor children. When Sheriff Ron Robinson went to pick up the Black children from the Singer farm, John Singer told Robinson that the children wanted to stay. However, Dean Black persisted.

After one arrest attempt went awry, John Singer was shot and killed on his farm in January 1979 while resisting a second attempt to claim the children.<sup>36</sup>

The family's fundamentalist convictions survived the death of the patriarch, however. In September 1980, John and Vickie's daughter, sixteen-year-old Heidi Singer, married Adam Swapp, a nineteen-year-old man from Fairview, Utah, who shared the Singer family's beliefs in plural marriage and in controlling one's own children's education. In an attempt to take retribution for the life of John Singer, Swapp devised an assault on the community and the authorities that he felt were responsible. On 16 January 1988, he set off an explosion that severely damaged the Mormon church's Kamas Stake Center in Marion. The bombing of the church triggered a thirteen-day standoff with dozens of law enforcement officers, including FBI agents. The event received national news coverage. It ended with an exchange of gunfire that killed state officer Fred House and wounded Adam Swapp.

Ironically, the Singer-Swapp ideologies echo in many ways the notions of individualism and self-determination that the pioneers originally brought to Summit County. They also echo in part the pioneers' attempts at self-sufficient communal living. Yet the Singer family, so similar in origins, simply didn't fit within the present-day culture that surrounded it. The men—and their rigid beliefs—inevitably clashed with the tight-knit community that grew up as generations conformed to the basic social patterns of Mormonism.

In an area so diverse in influences, the Singer-Swapp affair is only one example of friction between cultures. The potential for such conflicts continues not only in Marion but throughout the county and state.

#### ENDNOTES

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14. Undated clipping from the *Salt Lake Tribune Centennial Issue* in James Bourne Rhead's journal, LDS Church Archives.
15. Peterson, *Echoes of Yesterday*, 112.
16. Ibid., 162.
17. Thompson and Buck, *Treasure Mountain Home*, 71, 109, 133, 135.
18. Peterson, *Echoes of Yesterday*, 63–64; *Coalville Times*, 16 February 1906 and 21 February 1908.
19. Nan Chalat, in Patrick Cone, ed., *Park City* (Ogden, Utah: Meridian International, 1993), 30.
20. Sena Taylor, "Out on the Street," *Park City Lodestar* 13 (Summer 1990): 60.
21. Ibid.
22. Rick Brough, "Celebrities, Cell Phones and People in Black," *Park City Lodestar* 19 (Winter 1996): 26.
23. J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1938), 49; *Coalville Times*, 5 June 1903; *Summit County Bee*, 12 January 1933.
24. *Coalville Times*, 25 November 1898.
25. Peterson, *Echoes of Yesterday*, 129. This account says the Perry family bought an interest in the *Bee* about 1919. However, the paper didn't begin publication until 1923.
26. *Summit County Bee*, 19 August 1954, 12 January 1956, and 19 April 1956.
27. *Summit County Bee*, 7 October 1976.
28. Although the paper's files were lost in Park City's 1898 fire, a mining company official had a private collection of the paper. Thus, a nearly complete collection exists.
29. *Park Record Souvenir Booklet*, 1902, Utah State Historical Society.
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*Church in Utah 1776–1987* (Salt Lake City: Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City, 1992), 78.

33. Marie H. Nelson, ed., *Mountain Memories: A Book of Remembrance, 1848–1986* (Kamas, Utah: Kamas LDS Stake), 1986.

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36. See Fleisher and Freedman, *Death of an American*.

## CHAPTER 10

# POLITICS AND POWER PLAYS

In September 1850, Congress established the Territory of Utah, with borders stretching from California to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. This territory included all of present-day Nevada as well as parts of Wyoming and Colorado. At this point there were few settlers beyond the valleys west of the Wasatch Mountains. However, in March 1852 the Legislative Assembly of Utah voted to divide the entire territory into twelve large counties. Northeastern Utah was included in the newly created Green River County. Brigham Young had a particular interest in the Green River Valley because of the thousands of travelers who passed through the area each year.<sup>1</sup>

On 13 January 1854, the Utah Legislative Assembly voted to carve a new county out of the western end of Green River County. The new county, which included the summit of the watershed separating the Green River drainage and the Great Basin, was to be known as Summit County. But because so few people had moved into the area, all of the new county's election, revenue, and judicial functions were conducted by Great Salt Lake County until 1861.<sup>2</sup>

The boundaries of Summit County in 1854 bear little resem-

blance to the boundaries of the county today. Between 1854 and 1880, the size and shape of the county changed several times. In the early 1860s, other portions of Green River County were transferred to Summit County. In 1872, Summit's boundaries were extended eastward into the Uinta Basin, incorporating a final chunk of the old Green River County. However, in 1879 Summit County lost the easternmost portion of that territory to the newly created Uintah County.<sup>3</sup>

Since Utah became a state in 1896, Summit County's boundaries have changed little. However, in the early 1900s, its joint boundary with Rich County—including a portion of Echo Canyon—became the focus of a dispute that lasted almost two decades. Both counties wanted the tax revenue from the Union Pacific Railroad tracks that ran down the canyon from Castle Rock to Echo. The dispute flared up in 1914 when the state board of equalization ruled that Rich County was entitled to tax revenues from 5.8 miles of track that previously had gone to Summit County. The board later reversed its decision, and Summit County's claim to the taxes was upheld by the Utah Supreme Court in November 1916.

But Rich County was intent on getting richer, and managed to push a bill through the 1917 Utah Legislature changing the boundary line to include the disputed section of track. Governor Simon Bamberger signed the bill into law, and its legality was upheld in Third District Court. However, once again the Utah Supreme Court came to Summit County's defense, ruling in 1921 that the action of the legislature was unconstitutional.

The battle over the disputed section of track continued in the courts for several more years, and was rekindled in 1931 when a Rich County lawmaker made another attempt to legislate a boundary change. However, that attempt failed and the dispute ultimately was resolved in Summit County's favor.<sup>4</sup>

Today, Summit County covers about 1,860 square miles, of which about 55 percent is in private hands, another 44 percent is owned by the federal government, and about 1 percent is owned by the state.<sup>5</sup>

### *County Government*

In 1861, the first Summit County government included a probate

judge and three selectmen, who regulated the distribution of land and natural resources. Their duties included granting residents permission to herd cattle on public land, cut timber from public forests, and haul logs to mills.<sup>6</sup> Historically, the selectmen also oversaw the county infrastructure—building and maintaining roads and bridges, collecting fees for the use of public irrigation systems and land, granting licenses, and regulating the interaction among community members. They also acted as judges, ruling on legal matters that, in future generations, would become matters for the courts. According to the minutes, the selectmen dealt with numerous legal cases: property and inheritance disputes as well as criminal and civil matters. More than half the defendants who appeared before the court were acquitted.<sup>7</sup>

The selectmen also spent some time planning for the future. It was in March 1871 that they first began to discuss the idea of building a courthouse. Reluctant to forge ahead without a good idea of what it would cost, Selectman R.R. Rogers proposed hiring an architect to draw up plans and then sending out the plans for bids before making a final decision on whether to build. The selectmen expressed a certain vision of an appropriately impressive building; they hoped it would have “stone lintels and a solid wall laid in courses.”<sup>8</sup>

Before they had staff of their own, county officials often contracted out special services, especially law enforcement. The selectmen often received bills from officers who had transported prisoners from Coalville to Park City or other venues and from town jails that had housed prisoners. In one instance, there was a claim from the territorial institution for housing a county resident. Law enforcement responsibilities also kept the selectmen busy. The commission minutes are full of accounts of arrests, trials, and the pursuit of criminals—enough to convey a sense of the frontier nature of the fledgling county.

Another important concern of the commission was the care of the poor. Many times, the selectmen were asked to supply a casket for an indigent person or to provide for families with no homes or income.<sup>9</sup>

During the first few decades after its creation, county government grew to include several other elected officials, including a

county recorder and clerk and a justice of the peace. Others, such as a coroner, surveyor, notary public, poundkeeper, and a person in charge of weed control, were appointed by the selectmen to administer local projects. In addition, and perhaps most importantly during the early decades, the selectmen appointed a road commissioner who oversaw a team of road supervisors who came from each of the county's towns. These men inspected local roads to ensure that they were passable regardless of the weather; they also proposed new roads and organized work teams to make necessary improvements. A superintendent of schools, board of trustees, and local school principals regulated education under the umbrella of county government.

The structure of power in the early political environment is striking. During the nineteenth century, selectmen often served their terms, moved to other arenas of public service, then reappeared in county government later, serving as selectmen and judges several times during their lifetimes. Apparently, the actual group of men who regularly governed the county was relatively small.

By the 1920s, county government had increased in complexity; added was an attorney, treasurer, assessor, deputy clerk, and two deputy sheriffs. The commission still had to worry about roads and tax assessment; however, by this time, the commission's agenda had diversified, as it dealt with additional matters, including the county fair and social welfare concerns. On 5 May 1919 the commission took a step toward progressive reform by no longer allowing children under eighteen to work on county roads. The county also paid for the services of physicians and nurses, for quarantines, and for the collection of vital statistics.<sup>10</sup>

The Great Depression greatly impacted the budget for the indigent. In 1933, the county spent \$15,000 in caring for indigents, the same amount appropriated to state and county roads. On top of that, the county allocated \$10,000 for the care of widowed mothers. Balancing such a budget wasn't easy. At the same time that these welfare expenses were rising, assessed values of property were dropping. Long lists of delinquent taxpayers appeared in local papers, and the numbers of individuals petitioning the commission for tax relief or begging to be included on indigent rolls increased significantly.

In 1938, energized by funds offered by the federal Public Works

Administration, the county commission started planning for two new county buildings, a community center in Park City and a hospital in Coalville. Labor for both projects came from the welfare rolls, primarily Park City miners who were on strike and were willing to work temporarily on a construction project.

The construction of the Park City community center, the War Veterans Memorial Building, was plagued by problems from the beginning. There were problems with the site, materials didn't get delivered on time, and the supervisor had a hard time maintaining a stable work force. But, despite delays, the building was finally completed in January 1940. It included basketball courts, a bowling alley, locker rooms, and a rifle range.<sup>11</sup>

The Summit County Hospital, which opened the same month in Coalville, provided a central location for all county health concerns. The supervisor of the hospital reported monthly on the operation of the facility and made requests for supplies and funds.<sup>12</sup> The fourteen-bed hospital served the county for more than four decades. However, by the mid-1970s, it was clear that local residents were losing confidence in the facility. Occupancy rates had dropped below 35 percent, and county residents outside the Coalville area were increasingly unwilling to use the hospital, preferring to go to Wasatch County or to facilities along the Wasatch Front. Even in Coalville itself, less than 20 percent of residents said they would use the local hospital. "Physicians and patients alike have provided evidence that the Summit County Hospital is considered to be a facility where services are limited in nature and scope," said a 1980 study. "A physician survey showed a reluctance on the part of the county physicians to admit complicated cases to the Summit County Hospital for a variety of reasons. Chief among these reasons was that hospital equipment and instruments are not adequate. Physician perception of the hospital was also manifest in a reluctance to have some lab work performed at the hospital."<sup>13</sup>

In June 1982 the Summit County Commission announced that the hospital would close. Officials blamed the demise on the physical condition of the forty-three-year-old building and the ease with which residents could travel to Wasatch Front hospitals. The county leased the building to Salt Lake City-based Holy Cross Hospital to be

used as an outpatient emergency health-care center. In the process, about forty members of the hospital staff found themselves out of work.<sup>14</sup>

In the fifteen years that have passed since the hospital was closed, there have been several proposals to build new hospitals in Summit County. In the spring of 1995, a Wyoming group announced plans to build a two-story facility near the Jeremy Ranch subdivision.<sup>15</sup> However, none of these plans has yet materialized. In the meantime, outpatient facilities have proliferated, particularly in western Summit County, which has seen most of the county's recent population growth.

### *The Gentleman's Agreement*

In 1972, Utah legislation provided that counties could determine their own organizational structure.<sup>16</sup> Summit chose a three-person commission, supposedly each elected at large. But a certain amount of competition had always existed among the three major areas of the county—North Summit, South Summit, and Park City—separated as they were geographically and, to a greater or lesser degree, culturally. This competition was alleviated somewhat by an unofficial “gentleman's agreement” that for a time ensured that each area of the county would have a representative on the commission. That agreement lasted until 1990, when Park City area resident Gene Moser filed for the “non-Park City seat” and won. Moser said of himself, “I was the un-gentleman who broke the agreement.”<sup>17</sup>

In recent years, county services have become increasingly specialized and more concerned with regulating growth. Planning issues have increasingly absorbed the attention of the county commission and planning commission, which reviews plans for subdivisions, landfills, roads, water supply and distribution, and a host of other services required by the area's growth and demanded by new residents. Fire protection, one of these services, is provided within three districts corresponding to the county's school districts. The county library board oversees local libraries and a bookmobile system. An increased number of social programs have been established, including ambulance services and alcohol and drug education, affordable housing, animal control, and senior-citizen programs.



### *Politics: Mormons and Gentiles*

During the first two decades of settlement, secular and ecclesiastical government were essentially the same. Latter-day Saint religious leaders organized the distribution of land, water, and resources. Mormon bishops, for example, organized many of the early irrigation companies. They also settled disputes—informally or in church courts—between neighbors and punished those accused of crimes. This changed during the late 1870s when the settlers began to separate into political parties. The emergence of political parties—the Mormon People's party and the non-Mormon Liberal party—signaled a big change in what had been the consensual, cooperative communities settled by the pioneers. With a new generation came new ideas, and the communities became more diversified and individualistic, populated by strong-minded men and women. Of course, in a place like Park City, politics were exciting from the beginning.

But then, Park City just never did quite fit the "kingdom of God" vision that the Mormons brought with them to Summit County. Neither did the Mormon ways appeal to many of the residents of that eclectic mining town. The two groups were just different, not only in choice of religion but in their goals, lifestyles, and underlying values. Not surprisingly, Mormons and gentiles (as non-Mormons were often called) have had their conflicts through the decades, sometimes subtle, and sometimes dramatic and even vicious.

Maybe the biggest difference between Mormons and gentiles was their reason for being in Utah. The Mormons came to seek religious sanctuary and to build their Zion; the gentiles came to make a living—or perhaps, if they were lucky, to get rich. Brigham Young had an inkling of what a gold and silver frenzy would do to a community of would-be saints and, in an attempt to maintain the Mormons' isolation in the mountains, he prohibited all but a select group of his followers from mining. When he did so, he was defining an ideological gulf between his group and all outsiders. Young preached from the Bowery on Temple Square in October 1863:

It is a fearful deception . . . that gold is wealth. . . . Instead of its bringing us wealth and independence, it would weld upon our necks chains of slavery, groveling dependence and utter overthrow.

Can you not see that gold and silver rank among the things we are the least in want of? We want an abundance of wheat and fine flour, of wine and oil, and of every choice fruit that will grow in our climate; we want silk, wool, cotton, flax and other textile substances of which cloth can be made; we want vegetables . . . and the products of flocks and herds; we want the coal and iron that are concealed in these ancient mountains, the lumber from our saw mills, and the rock from our quarries. . . . If we had all the gold in these mountains run into ingots and piled up in one huge heap, what good would it do us now? None, and we cannot form any calculation as to the amount of harm it would do us.<sup>18</sup>

Despite Young's efforts to keep Utah "pure," the non-Mormon strongholds in Summit County of Park City, Echo, and Wahsatch attracted people of widely varying ethnic, religious, occupational, and political backgrounds. The Mormons had varied backgrounds too, but their differences weren't as strong as their common beliefs. Besides, the Mormons had arrived in Summit County first, and they had a certain sense of ownership which the later-arriving outsiders infringed upon.

When silver was discovered in Park City in the late 1860s, nearly all the county's political offices were held by Mormon church leaders. The miners who followed the silver entered into this theocracy, a place where any separation of church and state was more pretended than real. Non-Mormons had their own opinions and political needs; but, when they tried to enter politics, they often found their goals colliding with those of the dominant political group/religion. This led to some heated arguments and a lot of gentile complaining about the "Utah Problem." A historian of Coalville's early years summarized the problem:

While the gentiles composed only 10 to 15 percent of the population, they viewed with suspicion and resentment any ecclesiastical interference in political, economic or educational affairs. The minority group found that Church leaders controlled elections and local political appointments, dictated economic policies, and promoted parochial instead of public schools. As their numbers increased, the gentiles were determined to break the Church

monopoly and formed the Gentile League of Utah, which with apostate Mormons, evolved into the Liberal Party.<sup>19</sup>

Although the Snyderville area was initially settled by Mormons, relatively few Mormons settled in Park City or worked in the mines. By 1879, however, enough Latter-day Saints lived in town to justify establishing a branch, the smallest ecclesiastical unit of the church. Eventually, some Mormons began to express their beliefs in public, eliciting this response from the *Park Record*:

For a long time past it has been generally known that several scores of adherents to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints resided in the Park, but many of them took good care to conceal the fact. Recently the Saints, who were evidently ashamed of their faith, have been properly "sized up" by the community. . . . The Saints say that God, through his mouthpieces, is declaring Himself; he must be heard; his enemies put to flight, and His kingdom built in Park City, the only Gentile town in Utah.<sup>20</sup>

Despite the infiltration of the Latter-day Saints, the local gentiles kept fighting their losing political battles. Park City delegates to conventions were instructed to vote only for gentiles, who were always either members of the Liberal party or independents. But the effort was generally futile. Although gentiles usually won municipal elections in Park City, they had no chance in the county races unless Park City voters voted in unison. The opinionated citizenry of Park City could hardly be counted on to agree on anything—so the Mormon People's party candidates repeatedly won the county offices.

Still, the gentiles kept trying. The *Park Record* admonished, "Let each liberal remember that his staying away from the polls will count one more vote for the Mormons, while on the other hand, if he casts his vote, it counts two against the Mormons."<sup>21</sup> A week later, after the elections, the forlorn editor of the *Record* reported the outcome, lamenting that, "By a look over the returns it will be seen that the Mormons have elected their entire ticket, possibly with the exception of the coroner." The editor chided that " . . . some Liberals (God save the mark) even went so far as to put self before principle, and worked for their favorites on the Church Ticket."<sup>22</sup>

Wounds from repeated defeats were aggravated by the election of

a Mormon as Park City mayor in May 1885. Mayor Edward Kimball, of the well-known Mormon family of Kimballs, filled the office credibly, making numerous improvements in city government that included the construction of the still-extant city hall—all within a single, one-year term. However, Kimball was not re-elected in May 1886. Later that year, when he ran for county selectman, the *Record* made no secret of its allegiance: “It surprises us a little to see that the Ex Mayor of the only Gentile town in Utah permits his name to appear as a candidate for office on the Mormon ticket. Such is the case, however. . . . Wm. H. Stevens, of Peoa, is the candidate for the same office on the Liberal ticket. Vote for Stevens.”<sup>23</sup>

In spite of the *Record*’s best efforts, the Liberals received a stinging defeat in the county elections. In September, a smug letter from a correspondent in Coalville taunted Park City residents, nicknamed Parkites:

For all these blessings [an abundance of farm crops] we are truly thankful, but no less so that we have a most desirable market of our farm product at Park City. We can thus get hold of a big share of Gentile money, thereby help the church along in its fight against the Government. . . . The People’s party officers are overly joyful at their recent success at the polls. The fanatics believe the Lord had a hand in the defeat of the Liberal Party. May be so. . . . You Liberals in the Park are paying the fiddler but we are dancing.<sup>24</sup>

The gentiles were frustrated. In October 1886 the *Record* reported:

A “Territorial convention of the People’s” or Mormon party is called to convene at Salt Lake City Monday, Oct. 11th, to nominate a delegate to the fiftieth Congress. In Summit county, as with the other counties, the central committees of the “People’s” party will take steps to choose the delegates to the convention. We know not yet who the delegates from Summit county will be, but we feel assured from past observations that they will be chosen by the first presidency of the Mormon church. It will be the same with the other counties, and in the mode of electing the Congressional delegate—all will be done under the bidding of the Mormon leaders. Their will must be done, not the people’s. The Mormon representative at the nation’s capital will, this term, as has been the case

since the very first, work for the church and do all in his power to ward off legislation that would be of great benefit to all the people and all the country. The Mormon delegate to Congress directly and indirectly does much to keep back Utah's advancement in the rank of Statehood. . . . The Gentiles of Utah should have a delegate in Washington this winter, well equipped, to fight the battle on behalf of the Loyal League, and by presenting facts (and there is no scant of them) seek to obtain remedies for the evils in our fair and promising Territory.<sup>25</sup>

As it became clear that the gentiles could not achieve representation outside their own cities, their frustration grew into a virulent anger. *Park Record* editor Sam Raddon advocated the expulsion of all Mormons from Park City so that it would truly become "the only Gentile town in Utah." Spurred on by his rhetoric, the local "Loyal Legion" moved into action. On a Sunday in 1886, while local Mormons were holding a church meeting, the Legion wrecked the house of Gad Davis, the LDS presiding elder.<sup>26</sup>

The Legion, or Utah Loyal League, was a non-Mormon vigilante organization with from 3,000 to 4,000 Utah members. It was formed to "eradicate, by peaceable means, but through lawful force, the doctrines of the Mormons."<sup>27</sup> A large branch of the League was active in Park City. At one of its meetings in late 1886, Robert Craig Chambers, general manager of the Ontario Mine, proposed that all citizens of Park City sign a roster in opposition to the Mormons.<sup>28</sup> Interested especially in protecting its mining interests in the territory, the League was instrumental in getting Mormons removed from employment in mines and mills.<sup>29</sup>

The League received a moral boost from two prominent judges, R.N. Baskin and C.W. Bennett of Salt Lake City. Baskin approved of the group's endeavor to "help consummate the end of the redemption and regeneration of Utah Territory." A reporter summarized Baskin's key points:

He referred to the dissimilarity in Utah of American institutions, civilization and governments compared with the rest of this great free land. This state of affairs and the Mormons building up a government within a government he attributed to the power of the obnoxious priesthood. He related how the Mormon kings monop-

olized everything in Utah to the exclusion of law-abiding American citizens. . . . In Utah there exists an Asiatic form of government, which is inimical to the welfare of all the people in this part of the country. The nastiness of Mormon practices and the dark pall that hovers around were faithfully depicted. The ungratefulness of the Saints toward the mining industry, which really gives them their money and commercial life, was referred to. . . . The speaker further rehearsed the tactics of the Mormon despots and the Saintly slaves and urged all to do their duty in the redemption work of Utah.<sup>30</sup>

In early 1887, the *Park Record* listed the city's assets in an article entitled, "What has Park City got?" Item 9 listed "thirteen saloons, three churches and a Mormon rendezvous," while number 23 boasted of "A model and moral Gentile community. . . ." <sup>31</sup>

The persecution of Mormons had the desired effect. Mormon church meetings were suspended in 1887 and the presiding LDS elder, John Holmberg, moved away. Although as many as two hundred Latter-day Saints remained in town, they held no religious services in Park City for approximately the next eight years. Socially ostracized and somewhat invisible during this period, Park City Mormons sank even further in the eyes of their neighbors. According to one account, "On a social scale, they were at about the same level as the Chinese, and the Chinese were certainly not at the top of the scale. Derogatory statements about the Mormons appeared from time to time, such as 'Chinamen, like the Mormons, know nothing when one of their number is in trouble.'" <sup>32</sup>

As the local Saints diminished in influence, the gentile population grew bolder, actively supporting the federal anti-polygamy Edmunds and Edmunds-Tucker bills in the 1880s and refusing to fly the flag on Pioneer Day. The famous 1890 "Manifesto" by LDS church president Wilford Woodruff, which began the process of ending the official practice of polygamy, helped to lessen tensions between gentile and Mormon populations. But the Manifesto didn't wash away all the social, political, economic, and religious differences between the groups.

The "Utah Problem"—or, perhaps more accurately, the "Mormon Problem"—came to a head in Summit County over the

location of the county seat. Beginning in 1880, Parkites started agitating to move the county seat from Coalville to Park City—an idea that was naturally unthinkable to the county’s LDS majority. However, in 1895, Park City boosters introduced a formal proposal to move the county seat. At the centerpiece of their proposal was the design for an impressive two-story county courthouse. In an 1895 *Park Record* article, the local “Finance Committee” published a picture of the design, accompanied by tall, bold type addressed to “VOTERS OF SUMMIT CO.” The accompanying article invited voters to consider “A few Solid Reasons Why the County Seat Should be Moved to Park City.”<sup>33</sup> The committee had come up with eight reasons, such as Park City’s greater population, its tax base and economic strength, and the fact that the city was offering to “erect and give to the county a building suitable for county purposes, to cost not less than \$10,000.”<sup>34</sup> J.H. Deming, head of the committee, certified that his group would deposit the money in the First National Bank of Park City as soon as the county seat was moved.

The county’s Mormons weren’t persuaded; these eight reasons didn’t hold much weight with the older, smaller, agricultural, more religious-oriented communities. And the building was no temptation. It would take more than a “mess of pottage” to persuade Mormons to give up the centerpiece of their political status and influence. When the measure was put to a countywide vote, it was narrowly defeated, in large part because each of the 267 votes cast in Coalville was against the proposal.

Park City’s disappointment in not obtaining the county seat was eased a little when Utah was made a state in January 1896. Statehood brought new politicians, laws, and policies that furthered the “Americanization of Utah.”

But Park City residents wouldn’t give up easily. Most of the county tax revenue came from the Park City area, they argued, and having the courthouse in Park City would better serve the needs of a majority of the people. Seven years later they managed to get the issue back on the ballot. In October 1902, the editor of the *Coalville Times*, recalling the disastrous Park City fire of 1898, urged local voters not to allow the courthouse to be moved to such an unstable community:



Summit County Courthouse, early 1900s. (Brigham Young University, George Beard collection)

Supposing that through your votes, or failure on your part to vote, you are compelled to pay fifty or sixty thousand dollars to erect new county buildings, with furnishings, in the business portion of Park City, surrounded, as it would be, by skeleton wooden buildings, closely built, and a fire, such as the one that destroyed the town four years ago, break[s] out; would not the buildings, with all their costly furnishings, be destroyed, as were a number of valuable and substantial buildings at that time?

It may be claimed that greater precautions will be taken. It is conceded, however, that the majority of the new buildings erected since the fire are temporary baloon [*sic*] wooden structures, with less substantial permanent buildings. If the town is considered so permanent, with such a bright future claimed by the advocates of removal, why is it that the leading merchants and hotel proprietors have not erected substantial fire-proof buildings? Has not the fact that it is a mining town and the fear of a lack of permanence deterred them from making anything but temporary buildings?<sup>35</sup>

Although Coalville residents voted 491 to 1 against moving the county seat, in the countywide vote they were overwhelmed by advo-



cates of the move. The final margin was 2,649 to 1,385. However, the total was still about 120 votes short of the two-thirds majority required for such a move. Coalville remained the county seat.<sup>36</sup>

In May 1903, county commissioners voted to build a new county courthouse on Main Street in Coalville. The two-story sandstone structure was completed in 1904 at a cost of about \$20,000. "This will effectually dispose of the county seat question and keep it at Coalville for all time," said an article in the *Park City Miner* that was reprinted in the *Coalville Times*.<sup>37</sup> However, the building did nothing to win over the residents of Park City and Parley's Park, who still had to travel up to twenty-five miles to Coalville to conduct much of their county business.

After that time, animosity between Mormons and gentiles dwindled, and a period of accommodation brought the disparate groups into a more peaceful coexistence. Eventually, Mormons and non-Mormons made some limited attempts at cooperation—for instance, in co-financing some mining, building, and transportation projects. However, that animosity never entirely vanished.

In 1977, when it became clear that the old courthouse could no longer meet the needs of the growing county, voters were asked to approve a bond issue to build a \$1.2 million annex. Although the annex was approved by a countywide vote of 586 to 365, Park City residents expressed their opposition to the proposal by a margin of 139 to 22.<sup>38</sup>

### *Schools*

In Summit County, schools were more than just classrooms. They were shapers of community, the scene of social and cultural activities, educational contests and events, and other community assemblies. Schools helped to Americanize new immigrants and prepare all children for their roles in the community. In school, foreign-born children learned the English language, American history and laws, and social mores and folkways. Local-born farm children learned the same things, attending school for as much of the year as their work schedule permitted.

At first, Summit County schools were private enterprises held in town buildings, private homes, or church buildings. Sarah Hewlett

Wilde, Coalville's first teacher, held school in her log cabin. Oakley's first school, a one-room log building with one small window, was typical of small-town facilities. Seats cut from rough-hewn timber, a small stove, and a dirt floor were all the furnishings the struggling community could afford. At age sixteen, Albert White was the oldest child to attend this school, and he reportedly stood almost as tall as his teacher, Thomas D. Moore. Twenty children attended this school sporadically, when they weren't needed at home or in the fields.

After the first years of private education, the county became the decision-making body for area schools. In 1862, the county selectmen divided Summit County into school districts; at the time, schools were funded in part by a toll collected by the territorial government on the Brizzee Bridge across the Weber River.<sup>39</sup> On 26 April 1865, the county court allotted a fifty-dollar annual salary for Alonzo Winters as the new county superintendent of schools for four years. Thomas Bullock, Redden A. Allred, and Hans Young formed a board of examiners for schoolteachers.

Generally, each town comprised a district of its own, with its own number: Henneferville, No. 1; Coalville, No. 2; Wanship, No. 3; Peoa, No. 4; Kamas, No. 5; Park, No. 6; Upton, No. 7; and Hoytsville, No. 8. These districts weren't small enough for some; on 23 September 1871, Ward E. Pack and thirty-three other residents petitioned the county to divide the Kamas district into two. The pattern of small school districts, which first originated in New England, was particularly effective in a place like Summit County, where individual settlements were scattered across the valleys and traveling from one town to another was difficult.

The principal school officer in Summit County was the appointed superintendent.<sup>40</sup> Each individual school district had its own three-member board of trustees, which allocated funds and oversaw the building of schools, hired teachers, and furnished equipment such as books and desks. Traditionally, books were owned by families, who passed them down the line as each child advanced to a higher level; it wasn't until after 1900 that the district offered school books. As towns grew, they built bigger school buildings or added rooms to existing buildings. In 1892, Mormon church president Wilford Woodruff authorized a charter for the Summit Stake

Academy, a church-run secondary school. J.G. Nelson and his wife taught classes in the upper room of the co-op store building on Coalville's Main Street until the Academy purchased its own building in 1905. The school offered two courses: a preparatory course for older students who had not yet finished the eighth grade but who were older than the average students, and a high school course open to graduates of the eighth grade. Students took classes in mechanical arts and domestic economy and participated in debate groups, glee clubs, and literary societies. The school also sponsored a lecture series for the community at large.

During the 1870s a movement had begun for the consolidation of schools into larger districts with stronger boards of trustees. Territorial school superintendent O.H. Riggs voiced his concerns in a biennial report for 1874–75:

The cities, towns, villages, and settlements of our Territory are well adapted for the establishment of the system of graded schools. Places that now have two, three, four or five small school houses, and as many mixed schools in which but little comparatively can be accomplished, should have but one large commodious public school house in a central location, and containing a sufficient number of rooms that all the children of the place could be admitted into the grades for which they are qualified. I, therefore, earnestly recommend the adoption of this system throughout the Territory, wherever consistent with the school population, not only as a matter of accommodation to all the children, and a security to their much more rapid advancement, but also as a matter of economy.”<sup>41</sup>

A final advantage was territorial homogeneity in the school system. “By the adoption of this system,” he continued, “our entire school population could be instructed in the graded schools at but little more expense than we now have to educate forty-five per cent.”

In 1905 the state legislature passed a law permitting school districts to consolidate into county-wide districts. Summit County took that step in 1911, forming two districts; the next year, a district school was built in Coalville for \$37,000. The building was 144 feet by 66 feet and was two stories high. Ten classrooms, an assembly hall, and office

space offered the most up-to-date school facilities available in the county.

In 1913, a group of citizens raised a new proposal: the creation of three separate high school districts. The group felt that their plan would better meet the needs of the county's children. They proposed that Park City, separated as it was geographically and socially from the rest of the county, continue running its own high school. They also proposed to split the Summit School District into a north and south district. The idea gathered considerable local support. The 539 children of South Summit, where area property had an assessed valuation of \$1,600,000, would have their own school, and North Summit, with a school population of 903 and an assessed area property valuation of \$1,800,000, would have a high school as well.

However, when word of the plan reached the Utah State Board of Education, the board tried to prevent it. In the board's opinion, the plan was illegal; the consolidation laws of 1911 seemed to preclude further subdivision of districts into smaller districts. The Summit County Board of Education disagreed, concluding that "the time was ripe for Summit county, with its 2,586 children to have three high schools"<sup>42</sup> Interestingly, the debate foreshadowed future discussions over federal intervention in county business. Local citizens believed this was their decision to make; to them, the state's idea of consolidation didn't fit their particular set of circumstances.

In a subsequent ruling on the matter, the state attorney general gave the opinion that Summit County's proposal was illegal because it didn't follow the protocol outlined in the 1911 law. In order to be legal, the attorney general said, the county needed to organize a board of education that included representatives from each of the three areas. This board then could decide on the appropriateness of the idea. By 1915 the proper steps had been completed, and on 10 April the county commission adopted a motion to create the North High School District of Summit County, which included Rockport, Wanship, Hoytsville, Coalville, Upton, Castle Rock, Echo, and Henefer. The South High School District included Peoa, Oakley, Marion, Kamas, Francis, and Woodland. The Park City District, which already had its own high school, remained as it was.

That wasn't the end of the matter, however. From time to time,

the idea of reconsolidating the county's school districts has resurfaced. In 1954, E. Allen Bateman, the state school superintendent, proposed school consolidation in three rural counties, including Summit County. Bateman stated that Utah "has made commendable progress in eliminating needlessly small districts but no further action has been taken since 1915."<sup>43</sup> Nothing happened at that time, though.

Consolidation of the three Summit County districts almost became a reality in 1965 when the Utah House of Representatives passed a bill requiring unification by 1967. However, the bill was tabled by the Utah Senate, at the request of Summit County Senator John Lambert. "Superintendents of the three schools have agreed that consolidation is inevitable but were not prepared for such fast action," the *Summit County Bee* reported.<sup>44</sup> But residents weren't nearly as compliant. Many opposed consolidation, for a number of reasons. According to the *Summit County Bee*, some Coalville residents feared they would lose their high school—on the heels of the loss of two prime agricultural sites to reservoirs "and the loss of the heart of the valley to a poorly engineered highway development [Interstate 80]." Parents didn't want their children bussed long distances. Again, the "county's rights" issue was raised by the *Summit County Bee*: "The parents right to have a say in the education of their child is one which should be guarded closely as part of our heritage from our wise forefathers who gave us this right."<sup>45</sup>

Meetings continued on the issue. Local groups divided up the separate issues and studied the possible implications of consolidation on each. Among these issues were transportation, social activities, the economic and social impact of the move on various communities as well as on family home life and work, and the use of school buildings by civic and religious groups. A letter-writing campaign got under way in opposition to consolidation.<sup>46</sup>

After the 1965 Utah State Legislature deferred action on the issue, the boards of the three Summit County school districts commissioned an independent study by Dr. J.C. Moffitt, former superintendent of Provo schools. In December 1965 Moffitt presented his recommendation: consolidation at the earliest possible time. Consolidating would significantly decrease educational costs, he said,

providing students with a better education. It would "completely eliminate the rather extreme differences in the assessed wealth per child, and thereby provide more equity of paying the costs of education by all the people of the county."<sup>47</sup>

By that December the opposition had a more clear sense of focus. In lobbying the state senate, opponents of consolidation pointed out that bussing students over great distances would waste time and money. They questioned the wisdom of building new buildings while perfectly good buildings went vacant, and they also declared that consolidation would weaken the sense of community: "High school activities which serve as an important nucleus around which the community develops social autonomy would no longer serve this purpose."<sup>48</sup> Besides, extracurricular activities would be more difficult to organize for a population spread out over several miles. The opposition won the day when the Utah Senate defeated the measure.

When a very similar bill passed the Utah House in 1967, the debate began again. One Summit County resident, Mrs. Arthur Overlade, illustrated a continuing rift within the county when she stressed the differences between the rural areas and Park City. James Ivers, president of United Park City Mines, also based his arguments to the Senate Education Committee on Park City's separateness. Comparing Park City to Aspen, Colorado, in its early days as a resort area, Ivers reminded the committee that the Park City area was expected to become heavily populated by people who worked in Salt Lake City. "It would be more logical to tie Park City schools in with a Salt Lake district than with the rest of Summit County," Ivers said, calling Summit County a "geological accident" with three "distinctly different geographic areas."<sup>49</sup>

Informal comments were more direct. "The people outside Summit County have got a lot of guts running our business for us,"<sup>50</sup> one resident said; and informal surveys indicated that at least 80 percent of Summit County residents opposed consolidation.<sup>51</sup> Again, the Utah Senate defeated the bill. In the early 1980s, the champions of consolidation raised the issue a few more times but never succeeded in winning the fight.

### *Twentieth-Century County Issues and Debates*

Perhaps the most controversial and divisive battles in Summit County in the second half of the twentieth century have been fought over land use. Starting in the late 1950s, the Summit County Commission made the decision to allow urbanization of unincorporated areas when it began approving large residential developments such as Summit Park. Since then, large unincorporated developments including Pinebrook, Jeremy Ranch, Highland Estates, Silver Creek Estates, and Silver Springs have changed the face of the Snyderville Basin. At the same time, the county has continually revised its planning ordinances, mostly by a process of trial and error that was influenced by some big battles over various developments.

Growth, more than any other political issue, has shaped county-wide politics in recent decades. Voters judge candidates by what they say about growth and what they promise to do about it. And when developers propose obtrusive or landscape-changing projects, citizen activists galvanize the opposition. Crowds have kept public hearings running late, both in the county and in Park City, as they have spoken out against developments like United Park City Mines' proposed Flagstaff Mountain project, the Kearns-Tribune development in Park Meadows, a K-Mart store, and the 211,000-square-foot Landmark Plaza factory outlet at Kimball's Junction.

These developments came at a time of explosive growth in the Park City area. The county commission and planning commission, in response, crafted a new development plan that recognizes the inevitability of growth, yet aims at managing it, reducing its fiscal and environmental impacts, and making it "pay its way." However, developers and landowners resent what they see as too much government interference. Calling the county's development restrictions an infringement of private property rights, some have criticized the county master plan for its provisions which dictate when development may occur on a particular piece of land.

Park City has responded to the controversy by sponsoring small and large meetings where citizens of all persuasions can discuss planning issues. Such discussion not only has helped citizens gain a sense of participation in the problem of growth but has helped them to see

the complexity of the problem. At the time of this writing, the county and its towns continue to grapple with the issue of development, which in many areas is quickly changing the very nature of the physical and social landscape and will alter Summit County in the decades to come.

## ENDNOTES

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2. *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials*, . . . (1853), 259–60, Utah State Archives.

3. *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials*, . . . (1872), 28; and (1880), 11, Utah State Archives..

4. *Park Record*, 24 April 1915; 31 Jnly 1915; 24 November 1916; 23 March 1917; 21 January 1921; 19 January 1923; 22 February 1924; 20 February 1931; 27 February 1931; 6 March 1931.

5. Summit County, County Economic Facts, 1978 edition, Utah Bureau of Economic and Business Research.

6. Summit County Commission minutes, 15 April 1867, 6 September 1875, Summit County Courthouse, Coalville.

7. Summit County Commission minutes, 12 December 1880.

8. Summit County Commission minutes, 7 March 1871.

9. Summit County Commission minutes, 28 June 1882.

10. Summit County Commission minutes, 1900–1930.

11. *Park Record*, 27 October 1938, 8 December 1938, 12 January 1939, 25 January, 1940.

12. *Morgan County News*, 4 November 1938.

13. Barbara Louise Weidner, "An Assessment of Factors Contributing to Hospital Utilization and a Look at Deficiencies in the Utah Projection Process of Hospital Bed Demand" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1980).

14. *The (Park City) Newspaper*, 1 July 1982.

15. *Deseret News*, 10 April 1995.

16. The Utah Constitution was amended in 1972 to say: "The Legislature shall, by general law, prescribe optional forms of county government and shall allow each county to select, subject to referendum in the manner provided by law, the prescribed optional form which best serves its needs, and by general laws shall provide for precinct and township organi-



zations.” Before 1972, the legislature was given the responsibility to establish a uniform system of county government throughout the state.

17. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 25 December 1994.

18. Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 10 (London: n.p., 1865), 271.

19. Norma Eileen Pyper Thompson, “A Community Study of Coalville, Utah, 1859–1914” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1980), 126.

20. *Park Record*, 31 July 1886.

21. *Park Record*, 4 August 1883.

22. *Park Record*, 11 August 1883.

23. *Park Record*, 31 July 1886.

24. *Park Record*, 11 September 1886.

25. *Park Record*, 2 October 1886.

26. Marie H. Nelson, ed., *Mountain Memories: A Book of Remembrance, 1848–1986* (Kamas, Utah: Kamas LDS Stake, 1986), 150.

27. William M. McPhie, *The Trail of the Leprechaun: Early History of a Utah Mining Camp* (Hicksville, NY: Exposition Press, 1977), 93.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Nelson, *Mountain Memories*, 150.

30. *Park Record*, 26 March 1887.

31. McPhie, *Trail of the Leprechaun*, 128–29.

32. *Ibid.*, 93.

33. *Park Record*, 26 October 1895.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Coalville Times*, 31 October 1902.

36. *Coalville Times*, 7 November 1902, 14 November 1902.

37. *Coalville Times*, 15 May 1903.

38. *Summit County Bee*, 16 December 1977. In February 1997, a group of Park City-area residents proposed that Summit County be divided. They called for a new county to be created from Park City and the unincorporated areas in and around the Snyderville Basin (Parley’s Park). By state law, such a division would require the approval of at least 25 percent of the voters on each side of the county, and a simple majority overall, in a special election. To date, the proposal has not gone to a vote.

39. Interestingly, the county granted the right to build the bridge on 6 March 1865, but the territory took over the maintenance and collection of tolls.

40. Summit County superintendents include: Alonzo Winters, John Boyden, Charles Mills, E.H. Rhead (1883–84); A.S. Seward (1885–86); F.E.

Merrill (1887–88); O.C. Lockhart (1889–90); Charles A. Short (1891–92); D.S.L. McCorkle (1893–98); Frank Evans (1899–1900), Clarence Blocker (1901–02), Walter M. Boyden (1903–06); Oscar Wilkins (1908–11), and George Cooper (who filled the unexpired term of Oscar Wilkins and James Kearns from 1912 to 1913, at which time the county was divided into three districts).

41. O.H. Riggs, *Territorial School Report, 1874–75*, Utah State Archives.
42. *Park Record*, 10 May 1913.
43. *Summit County Bee*, 25 November 1954.
44. *Summit County Bee*, 11 March 1965.
45. *Summit County Bee*, 25 March 1965.
46. *Summit County Bee*, 27 October 1966.
47. *Summit County Bee*, 8 December 1966.
48. Ibid.
49. *Summit County Bee*, 23 January 1969.
50. *Summit County Bee*, 13 February 1969.
51. Ibid.

## CHAPTER 11

# WATER DEVELOPMENT

About fifty miles due east of Salt Lake City, in a small sliver of Summit County in the shadow of Bald Mountain and Reid's Peak, four of Utah's most important rivers spring to life. Three of them—the Bear, the Provo, and the Weber—eventually find their way to the Great Salt Lake. The fourth, the Duchesne River, heads east to eventually join the Colorado River.

Summit County's early settlers quickly learned that some of the best land for growing crops lay in narrow fertile valleys along these rivers and the streams that flow into them. The Weber River, in particular, attracted farms and settlements to its banks. Henefer, Echo, Coalville, Hoytsville, Wanship, Rockport, Peoa, and Oakley all grew up within a stone's throw of the river that took its name from John H. Weber, a Danish-born fur trapper who was in the northern Utah area from 1822 to 1827.

### *Irrigation*

Despite the fact that large quantities of snow fall on Summit County's mountains during a normal winter, water for agriculture



George Beard fishing on Chalk Creek in the 1920s. (Brigham Young University, George Beard collection)

has always been scarce, especially in late summer, when rainstorms are relatively rare and crops are reaching maturity. Therefore, early settlers began digging irrigation ditches from the banks of the nearby rivers almost before they did anything else. It was important business—so important that the local Mormon bishop and high council often had the responsibility of overseeing irrigation matters.<sup>1</sup> Local bishops formed committees to construct the ditches, manage the use of water, and determine how much land (taking the topography into consideration) a canal could bring under cultivation. Water users shared the expense of maintaining the canals, each paying an amount proportional to the acreage watered.

Between 1860 and 1870, county settlers built a number of canals to draw irrigation water from the Weber River and its tributaries. At Henefer, it was written that settlers “used horses and scrapers and men with shovels. It took many men, and many hours, but soon the river was converted into the canal. Farmers dug ditches on their farm lands and the little valley began to blossom.”<sup>2</sup>

At Coalville, farmers looked mainly to Chalk Creek, a tributary of the Weber River, for irrigation water. Among the early canals were the Upper Robinson, the Lower Robinson, the South Chalk Creek, the Coalville City, the North Narrows, the City Cemetery & Chalk Creek, and the Middle Chalk Creek ditches.<sup>3</sup>

In the Hoytsville area, the first irrigation project was the Coalville and Hoytsville Ditch, built about 1861. Soon afterwards came the Hoytsville Ditch No. 1 and the West Hoytsville Ditch. Other area farmers tapped Elkhorn Creek, a tributary of the Weber River.<sup>4</sup>

At Wanship, an early source of irrigation, beginning about 1860, was West Wanship Ditch No. 2, which drew water from Silver Creek, a Weber River tributary that flowed out of the Park City area. However, Silver Creek soon became contaminated by the Park City mills; after 1893, water for this ditch was taken directly out of the Weber River. The East Wanship Ditch No. 1 used water from the Weber River to serve farms on the east side of the river.<sup>5</sup>

In the Peoa area, at the north end of the Rhodes Valley, farmers built two canals in about 1861 to irrigate the area known as Sage Bottoms; in 1868, they extended the system by building the New Field Canal from the mouth of Weber Canyon. About 1881, the New

Field was combined with the North Bench Canal to provide water to about 1,400 acres on the north side of the Weber River. Another 800 acres on the north side of the river was watered by the South Bench Ditch. The land on the south side of the river, known as Kamas Flats, was irrigated by four ditches—the Marion, Gibbons, Boulderville, and Richards.<sup>6</sup>

In the Kamas Valley, early settlers drew water not only from the Weber River and its tributaries but also from the Provo River, which flows across the south end of the valley. Among the first irrigation projects to draw water from the Provo River were the South Kamas Canal, the Washington Canal, and the Sunrise Canal.<sup>7</sup> By 1900, waters from the Provo and the Weber rivers and their tributaries were irrigating about 17,000 acres in Summit County.

Not only individuals but institutions could join the water associations; in May 1893 Coalville City received from the Upper Chalk Creek Water Ditch equal rights with other share owners for water to be used in the city cemetery.<sup>8</sup> By 1900, many irrigation ditches were controlled by cooperative stock companies, in which the chief stockholders were usually the owners of the land to be irrigated by the ditch. The stockholders elected boards of directors to transact the business of the company. Typically, the stockholders worked on the management and maintenance of the ditch as a way of repaying their annual assessments.<sup>9</sup>

When conditions were right, crops could be plentiful. In January 1868, one agricultural enthusiast sent this assessment of the area's produce to the *Deseret News*: "50,000 bushels of grain—oats, barley, and wheat—were raised in 1865 and 80,000 bushels were expected to be harvested in 1867. Ten thousand fruit trees were set out during 1867."<sup>10</sup> According to another observer, farmers in the Peoa area alone produced 24,000 bushels of grain, 4,000 bushels of potatoes, and 1,000 tons of hay in 1887.<sup>11</sup>

Agricultural prices and the availability of produce were noted regularly in area newspapers. A column in the *Coalville Times* in August 1894 listed prices for wheat, oats, potatoes, butter, eggs, prime beef, prime mutton, prime veal, dressed chicken, lucerne (alfalfa), timothy grass, and flour.<sup>12</sup> Mutton was an especially important local

product; in 1888, more than 100,000 sheep were grazing in the Coalville area.

Farmers soon discovered, however, that they had to contend with sporadic summer frosts, periodic hordes of grasshoppers, and water shortages when the river flows dwindled in late summer. Despite its critical role as a watershed for the lower valleys, Summit County itself often ran short of irrigation water late in the growing season, after the snowmelt had found its way downstream. Farmers raising alfalfa in the fields near Coalville often had enough irrigation water for the first crop but not for the second, a situation causing serious losses.<sup>13</sup> Drought made things even worse. In 1871, for instance, a severe drought in Summit County increased the cost of irrigation by five times, to \$19.06 per acre.<sup>14</sup>

No matter how well planned, the irrigation systems weren't fool-proof. When canals crossed, farmers could rightfully become exercised over who owned what water. Also, as more people moved to an area, the question of how latecomers could get their own water rights became a tricky issue to resolve. Inevitably, the use of this shared resource led to disputes. In the minutes of the Summit County Court for 18 September 1895 George Baker described how he pushed Caroline Phillips into an irrigation ditch in a dispute over water: "On the 10th day of September 1895, I wanted some water for my farm, went to turn it into my ditch. Mrs. Phillips forbade me from touching the ditch and placed herself in the way, and said she wanted the water and was going to have it. I told her she should have it, and thereupon, I laid her down in the ditch."<sup>15</sup>

### *Conflicts With Downstream Rights*

While Summit County farmers were developing irrigation systems on the Weber River and its tributaries, farmers downstream also were using the Weber—putting the different water users on a collision course. And, when conflicts arose, Summit County residents soon learned that their interests often took a back seat to those of the powerful population centers in Weber and Davis counties. As these downstream communities grew larger in the late 1800s, so did their water demands. In the spring, when the rivers were swollen with runoff, everyone had enough water; however, by late summer, down-

stream users began to run short, and they focused their displeasure on their upstream neighbors. In the late 1890s, water users held a number of meetings in an effort to allocate water between the upper and lower valleys. They met with little success, however. Water users in the lower valleys then turned to the courts. By one estimate, they filed, or prepared for filing, some 200 to 300 lawsuits in the district court of Weber County.<sup>16</sup>

One of those lawsuits—filed early in 1902 by the Hooper City and Wilson irrigation districts—may have sparked a search for a solution. In response to the suit, the Second District Court at Ogden summoned all users between Rockport and Henefer to justify their claims to Weber River water. It would have been a tricky task—very tricky indeed—to sort out all the conflicting claims. “The people here are determined to fight it to a finish, and declare that the people below who are pushing the matter will get more than they bargained for,” growled the *Coalville Times*. “Just what rights they have to the water will be hard to determine, as old settlers here claim that a great many of the ditches here were taken out before the Ogden [Wilson] and Hooper ditches, and further, there are but few records to show when most of the ditches were made.”<sup>17</sup>

As it turned out, there was another solution, which the *Times* went on to describe:

The only way that the water question can be satisfactorily settled in this country will be for all the people to join together and build reservoirs to store the surplus water. There are places in the head of Weber canyon where dams can be built which would store up enough water in a few months to supply all the land from one end of the river to another. And these reservoirs could be built, too, with the money that one lawsuit would cost.”<sup>18</sup>

The logic of this proposal wasn’t lost on the people from Hooper and Ogden, who agreed to suspend the lawsuit while the water users jointly looked for a peaceful solution. The search began that year. By early October 1902, a delegation of experts led by Summit County Water Commissioner T.L. Allen had picked out two possible reservoir sites: one at the mouth of Weber Canyon just above Oakley, and the other just south of Peoa. Later that same month, representatives



from Summit, Morgan, Davis, and Weber counties met to form the Weber Reservoir, Power & Irrigation Company and began selling stock to raise money for a reservoir.<sup>19</sup>

With a little more research, the group decided to rule out the Oakley and Peoa sites. After briefly considering a reservoir on Lost Creek in Morgan County, they settled on a site about one-half mile south of Echo. Reporting on the dam, the *Coalville Times* noted that:

The Weber Reservoir, Power and Irrigation company are [*sic*] advertising for bids for the construction of an outlet tunnel and gate shaft for the proposed reservoir half a mile below Echo. It is claimed that this is one of the best reservoir sites in the state, and from officials of the company we learn that the big dam is a sure go. The survey of the reservoir was made last fall, but since then negotiations have been pending with the railroad in regard to moving its track higher up on the hill.<sup>20</sup>

In September 1904 the company organized an expedition from Salt Lake City and Ogden for people anxious to view the Echo site. Almost 700 people boarded a special train to spend the day in Summit County. The citizens of Coalville entertained the visitors, serving lunch at the city park and providing a variety of other amusements, including the following: "A number of wild horses had been brought in from the range and those were saddled and ridden by some of the best riders in the State. This furnished a great deal of amusement for the excursionists."<sup>21</sup>

Although locals optimistically celebrated the proposed reservoir, the construction of dams had become by this time more than just a local or even regional concern. Since 1891, the National Irrigation Congress had been meeting annually to develop water policy and lobby the federal government on behalf of water users in the western states. In June 1902 Congress had passed the National Reclamation, or Newlands, Act, which authorized the Secretary of the Interior to build irrigation projects in the sixteen western states and territories, using funds appropriated by Congress. Water users were to repay construction costs within ten years, and the money was to go into a revolving fund to bankroll future western reclamation projects. The act also established the Reclamation Service (later the Bureau of

Reclamation) as an independent agency within the Department of the Interior. In 1904 and 1905, federal engineers surveyed northern Utah to identify water problems and find potential reservoir sites.

Local water officials appeared less than thrilled that the federal government had become involved. "The Weber Reservoir, Power and Irrigation company has been feeling quite blue of late on account of the government engineer taking up the matter of storing water on the Weber system which has somewhat interfered with the project of building a reservoir at Echo," the *Coalville Times* reported on 7 April 1905. "The company's representatives met with the government engineer last Thursday and learned that there had only been \$154,000 appropriated by the government for Utah . . . and it would be at least 10 years before it could get available means to take up any work on the Weber system."

The delay turned out to be more like twenty years. In the meantime, officials of the Weber Reservoir, Power and Irrigation Company had "met with a great many difficulties and finally concluded that it would be impossible for it to construct the dam."<sup>22</sup> The initiative for promoting water storage on the Weber River shifted to a succession of state organizations, including the Utah Water Conservation Company, the Utah Water Storage Association, and the Utah Water Storage Commission.

In 1907, a couple of civil engineers, Frank C. Kelsey and Willard Young, made a study of area water needs and recommended that a private irrigation company build a network of canals and irrigation ditches and, to provide the necessary water storage, construct reservoirs on the Weber River at Echo, Rockport, Larrabee, and on Smith and Morehouse Creek, a tributary of the Weber about thirteen miles east of Oakley.<sup>23</sup> However, a recession and then World War I prevented any immediate progress. It wasn't until the early 1920s that the Bureau of Reclamation finally joined forces with local water interests to lay the groundwork for Echo Reservoir.

In a report dated December 1922, federal reclamation engineers William M. Green and E.O. Larson recommended that a reservoir be built on the Weber River between Echo and Coalville and that a nine-mile diversion canal be built near Oakley to carry water from the Weber to the Provo River. The project would provide supplemental

irrigation water to 60,000 acres in the lower Weber and Ogden valleys and to 20,000 acres in the Provo Valley. The plan was approved by Congress in 1924.<sup>24</sup>

The federal government wouldn't award any construction contracts, however, until local water users had committed to repay the costs of the project. Therefore, an alliance of politicians, businessmen, and farmers from Davis, Weber, Morgan, and Summit counties—including Leroy Peterson and Levi Pearson of Oakley—formed the Weber River Water Users' Association in January 1926. The following December, the association signed a repayment contract with U.S. Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work. The contract called for the Bureau of Reclamation to build an earth- and rock-filled dam about 1,887 feet long and 158 feet high, creating a reservoir with a capacity of about 74,000 acre-feet of water. Of more than passing relevance to the people of Summit County was the fact that the reservoir would inundate about 1,825 acres of farmland.<sup>25</sup>

The construction of the reservoir also forced the relocation of about 3.9 miles of the Lincoln Highway between Echo and Coalville. About 4.7 miles of the railroad tracks between Echo and Coalville also had to be moved, as did a short stretch of the branch line to Grass Creek.<sup>26</sup> One of the toughest challenges in moving the tracks was finding a route that could permit a train to climb from Echo to the top of the dam. The chosen route required fifty-six feet of fill over Echo Creek and a 2 percent grade from Echo to the dam.<sup>27</sup>

Construction of the dam, under the direction of the A. Guthrie Company of Portland, Oregon, began in November 1927 and ended in October 1930. The structure was built of alternating eight-inch layers of clay, sand, and gravel. Both the upstream and downstream slopes of the dam were covered with thick layers of conglomerate rock. "After the final authorization, construction started, using mule teams and simple construction equipment," the *Summit County Bee* reported later. "Fighting 30 below zero weather, the workers had gas lines, power lines, railroad and highway to re-route, as well as a small graveyard to move."<sup>28</sup>

Near Kamas, construction of the nine-mile diversion canal between the Weber and Provo rivers was completed in April 1931.

The canal was built for a capacity of about 210 cubic feet per second (cfs), but was designed to allow future enlargement.

By the summer of 1932, Echo Reservoir had filled to 84 percent of capacity, and the *Salt Lake Tribune* declared that, although crop values had yet to be tabulated, "the summer is far enough along . . . to show that the value to the farmers [in the affected counties] is immense."<sup>29</sup>

The Weber River Water Users' Association assumed control of the dam and reservoir at Echo in July 1931. To reimburse the Bureau of Reclamation for the cost of the \$2.9 million project, the association agreed to pay about \$88,000 a year. From the association's perspective, it was money well spent. In 1960, the group estimated that the Echo project had watered crops with an accumulated value of more than \$221 million since 1932.<sup>30</sup> The final payment was celebrated with a ceremony at the dam in June 1966. Among those at the ceremony was E.O. Larson of the Bureau of Reclamation, the man who had recommended construction of the dam more than forty years earlier.<sup>31</sup>

As a source of irrigation water, the reservoir was a success; however, initially it served few other functions. According to the Weber River Water Users, practically no water from the reservoir made its way into municipal use until 1957. The reservoir also became a trap for silt and nutrients such as phosphorous and nitrogen, which reduced the water's oxygen content and created an environment unsuitable for many kinds of game fish. In a 1975 study of twenty-seven Utah lakes and reservoirs by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Echo Reservoir ranked next to last in overall trophic (nutrient) quality.<sup>32</sup> However, Echo Reservoir was never intended to be anything but an irrigation project.

To meet water needs in Kamas Valley, local irrigation companies built a number of small reservoirs near the headwaters of the Weber and Provo rivers and their tributaries. In 1920, work began on the first Smith and Morehouse reservoir. During the 1920s and 1930s, several small alpine lakes in the Uintas were enlarged by building earth dams at their outlets. Among them were Cliff Lake, Fish Lake, Kamas Lake, Lavinia Lake, Sand Lake, and Seymour Lake (some of these names have since been changed). "Those early dams were built by wagons or

rock boats and teams, picks and shovels,” recalled Ralph A. Richards of Oakley. “There was no large machinery at all used on any of them when they were originally built. Some of them were even built with pack horses—the gravel and sand that they used, for what little cement work that they did, was packed in pack bags to the dam site.”<sup>33</sup>

By the early 1950s, when the next phase of reservoir development on the Weber River began, the Bureau of Reclamation had broadened its horizons to include flood control, power generation, municipal and industrial uses, fish and wildlife conservation, and recreational use in its plans for new projects. By this time, too, a growing population on the Wasatch Front was requiring more and more water.

The Ogden area had seen a building boom ignited by the construction of Hill Field and several other defense installations during World War II; between 1940 and 1960, the population of Ogden mushroomed from 43,688 to 70,197. By the end of World War II, water officials in Davis and Weber counties were searching for ways to meet the area’s growing needs. In 1946, hoping to harness as much surplus water as possible, the Ogden Chamber of Commerce asked the Bureau of Reclamation to study the entire Weber River. In 1947, the bureau responded with a recommendation calling for the construction or enlargement of five storage dams, two diversion dams, and several other features, including two hydroelectric plants and a number of recreational facilities. Among the proposed reservoirs was a 1,200-acre lake on the Weber River about 1.5 miles south of Wanship, at the town of Rockport.<sup>34</sup>

Despite the fact that Rockport would be obliterated, canal and irrigation companies and municipal users in Davis, Weber, Morgan, and Summit counties (excluding the Park City area) joined together to make the so-called Weber Basin Project a reality. They formed the Weber Basin Water Conservancy District as a lobbying and taxing entity and called for a property tax increase of one-tenth mill in the affected counties to pay for construction costs.<sup>35</sup>

In August 1949, after heavy lobbying from local water interests, the Weber Basin Project Bill passed the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. On 29 August, President Harry Truman added his signature. The total price tag for the Weber Basin Project was expected to be about \$70 million. Bureau of Reclamation and Weber

Basin officials drew up a contract calling for the repayment of about \$58 million. The federal government would pick up the rest of the tab because the project also offered "national" benefits, including improved recreation facilities, flood control benefits, and fish and wildlife habitat.<sup>36</sup>

Because the Weber Basin Project also promised to benefit culinary users, the contract called for a bond election to be held in the participating counties. Voters were asked to vote on two propositions: authorizing Weber Basin officials to sign the \$58 million repayment contract, and authorizing the issuance of about \$6.5 million in revenue bonds for water-treatment facilities.

Summit County residents weren't sold on the project. Why would they agree to a contract calling for the flooding of about 900 acres of prime farmland and the destruction of the town of Rockport? Most of the benefits, it seemed, would be going to downstream water users. County residents debated the possibility of pulling out of the Weber Basin Water Conservancy District.<sup>37</sup>

On 25 November 1952, in an effort to bring Summit County residents in line behind the propositions, the conservancy district held a special meeting at the Summit County Courthouse in Coalville. District officials, including Edward Sorenson of Summit County, promised to consider the construction of a small reservoir on the upper Weber River to benefit the county's agricultural interests. Sorenson left that meeting convinced that county voters would support the propositions. "The 75 or so persons attending the meeting finally took the view wholeheartedly that Summit County should line up solidly behind the Weber Basin project because of its tremendous importance to our neighboring counties to the west, and its economic value to the entire area," he said. The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported his comments under the headline, "Summit Swings Support to Weber Basin."<sup>38</sup>

As it turned out, Summit did no such thing. When the special election was held on 6 December, county residents sided overwhelmingly with the twenty-seven families of Rockport, who had no desire to see their homes disappear beneath the water. Coalville-area voters rejected the \$58 million repayment contract by a vote of 47 to 357, and they turned down the bond proposal by a vote of 42 to 352.<sup>39</sup>

However, the protest voiced in Summit County was swamped by a tide of approval from downstream residents. Voters in Bountiful, for example, endorsed the two propositions by votes of 640 to 15 and 608 to 29. Overall, both propositions passed by margins of greater than four to one.<sup>40</sup>

By the following spring, Rockport residents were expressing bitterness not only over the impending loss of their homes and farms but also over the apparent unwillingness of the Bureau of Reclamation to reimburse them fairly for their property:

Residents of Rockport resent the proposed Wanship Dam that will take this community off the map. Resistance is increasing as the residents of this fertile dairying and ranching community become more aware of the problems they face in relocating. Ownership of the beef and dairy ranches stated that they had not been able to locate anything comparable to what they were operating and certainly not for the price at which this property was appraised. . . .

One rancher stated that last summer he turned down an offer to sell [for] a sum twice the amount at which the Bureau of Reclamation has appraised his property. Appraisals ranged from \$300 an acre . . . to as low as \$50. It was reported that in 1937 when prices were considerably lower that the State Highway Commission paid as high as \$600 per acre for this same ground. Recent sales of similar ground in this area have been reaching as high as \$800 per acre.

L.H. Grow stated that his modern home with five bedrooms was appraised at \$7,500 and he could not build or replace the same floor space for less than three times that figure.<sup>41</sup>

Several families went to court in an effort to get fair value for their properties. Nevertheless, "not a family is leaving this valley satisfied," one resident told the *Salt Lake Tribune* in the summer of 1954. By that time, many of Rockport's twenty-seven families had packed their bags; some were taking their houses with them. The *Tribune* described the abandoned community:

Along the highway from Wanship to Peoa you see houses up on beams—waiting for the movers. And you see a few empty basements where a left-behind boot or bureau bleaches in the sun.

More pathetic are the houses not worth moving. They stand there, doors open, windows broken or soon to be, weeds growing in flower beds—waiting for the bulldozers.<sup>42</sup>

In an effort to keep the name of their former community alive, the people of Rockport filed a petition asking that the name of the dam be changed from Wanship to Rockport so “our town will not be completely obscured by the passing of time or the water that will cover it.”<sup>43</sup> Utah Senator Wallace F. Bennett took their request to the Department of the Interior, and in April 1954 a compromise was reached. The dam itself would keep the name Wanship, but the lake would be named Rockport. Senator Bennett also noted that the National Park Service was recommending a recreational area at the lake. “Should this materialize,” he said, “I’m sure a good name could be found to further commemorate Rockport.”<sup>44</sup>

Construction technology had come a long way since crews built the Echo Reservoir some three decades earlier. The mule teams of the 1920s had been replaced by “huge earth-pushing monsters . . . plowing under waist-high hayfields, shoving dirt around like children in a sandpile,” the *Tribune* wrote.<sup>45</sup> The earthfill dam, 156 feet high and 2,010 feet long, created a lake with a surface area of 1,080 acres and a capacity of about 62,100 acre-feet—about 20 billion gallons—of water.<sup>46</sup>

In May 1957, about 1,000 people gathered in the rain to commemorate the completion of Wanship Dam. Among the speakers were David Loertscher, chairman of the Summit County Commission; George D. Clyde, governor of Utah; Arthur V. Watkins, U.S. Senator; and E.O. Larson, the same engineer who had helped design Echo Reservoir in the early 1920s and had risen to become director of Region 4, U.S. Bureau of Reclamation. Even some of the former residents of the town of Rockport attended the ceremonies.<sup>47</sup>

Even before the dam was finished, Senator Wallace Bennett urged the federal government to look at the recreational potential of Rockport Lake. Construction of a boat launching ramp, picnic areas, and camping sites soon followed. The state assumed management of the park, which is now known as Rockport State Park, leasing the lake and 550 acres of land from the Bureau of Reclamation.<sup>48</sup> Today,



(1997) Rockport State Park has more than 250 camping sites in nine campgrounds, offering both primitive and developed camping in a range of settings. In addition, there are three day-use picnic areas, a marina with a boat ramp, two sets of docks, boat storage, and parking. The marina includes a restaurant and store. Fishing, powerboating, waterskiing, sailing, and windsurfing are the most popular activities among the 300,000 people who visit the park yearly.

In the last decade, another reservoir has joined Echo and Rockport in providing storage for the ever-expanding population along the Wasatch Front. Although the Jordanelle Reservoir itself is in neighboring Wasatch County, most of its water comes from two Summit County sources: the upper Provo River and the Ontario Mine No. 2 drain tunnel. The new reservoir, with its northern arm stretching out below Deer Valley's Bald Mountain and its eastern arm reaching toward Francis, brings increased numbers of summer tourists to the Kamas and Park City areas. It is bringing new permanent residents also; developers have planned several projects around the lake, complete with homes, condominiums, hotels, and ski runs.

### *Culinary Systems*

At the same time that projects such as the Jordanelle Reservoir stimulate development, they also place more demands on local services such as culinary water systems. Providing water to its citizens has always been a struggle for Summit County communities, and the recent economic boom has only served to emphasize the problem.

Most services in Summit County—such as fire protection, garbage collection, sewage treatment, and road maintenance—are provided by a relatively small number of agencies. But culinary water is another story. Almost every individual community in the county, big or small, has its own water company. Partly for this reason, Summit County residents spend a disproportionate amount of time and energy wrangling over water issues. And, with the users in each area left to devise their own solutions, they have developed an assortment of delivery systems.

The Kamas town board, for instance, voted in February 1916 to install a new culinary system using pipes made of fir. A couple of weeks later, the board reconsidered and decided to use redwood

instead.<sup>49</sup> Though redwood is more resistant to rot than is fir, it clearly wasn't a long-term solution. Less than ten years later, the people of Kamas approved a bond for another new water system using cast-iron and galvanized pipe.<sup>50</sup> In spite of their best efforts, the people of Kamas continued to face culinary water shortages in the late 1920s. During the cold winter of 1928–29, a number of residents were out of water for several weeks when water mains froze. The shortages prompted discussions about connecting the system to a new spring.<sup>51</sup>

To help curb water consumption, the town board voted in 1948 to install water meters; but, in the late 1950s, water shortages were an issue once again.<sup>52</sup> In March 1957, a committee met with noted Utah water attorney Ed Clyde to discuss ways to acquire more water. In the summer of 1960, the town board declared an emergency water shortage. Two years later, local residents voted to bond for \$215,000 to upgrade the water system again.<sup>53</sup> The improvements were installed during the summer of 1964. Recent growth has forced Kamas to upgrade its system yet again. In December 1994, the Utah Division of Water Resources approved a \$1.55-million loan to help Kamas build a new 500,000-gallon storage tank, add fire hydrants, and install larger water lines.<sup>54</sup>

In western Summit County, many new arrivals in the 1970s and 1980s found that their community water systems weren't up to the big-city standards they had come to expect. Some systems built during the 1950s and early 1960s were never intended for year-round use. Others were poorly designed and carelessly installed by developers more interested in selling lots than providing quality services. Also, in the 1950s and 1960s, county standards governing water installation were virtually nonexistent. "That was when the county thought that engineers were guys who drove trains," Summit County Planner Stan Strebel quipped in a 1980 interview.<sup>55</sup>

In Highland Estates, near Silver Creek Junction, residents discovered in 1980 that the water lines in their 1960s-era subdivision were too small to provide fire protection. Problems also cropped up in Silver Springs, near ParkWest, as that development mushroomed during the 1980s.<sup>56</sup> In 1987, after wrestling with service interruptions for years, residents of the 1960s-platted Timberline subdivision near

Parleys Summit drilled a new well, built a new storage tank, and replaced all the mains in the system.

But no subdivision has been more haunted by water problems than Summit Park. Started in the late 1950s at Parleys Summit, this 850-lot subdivision has come to represent some of the worst aspects of planning—or the lack thereof—and development in the county. Many lots were platted on steep, unbuildable slopes. Treacherous, narrow roads were carved into the mountainsides. The Summit County Commission voted to accept the roads, thereby committing the county to an expensive and dangerous regimen of maintenance and snow removal. But the subdivision's crude water system, which had chronic problems, remained in private hands. Over the years, residents of Summit Park dealt with various problems resulting from poor water development: broken and frozen pipes, leaking water tanks, and water contaminated with dirt and other debris.<sup>57</sup>

After enduring those problems for years, residents finally took control of their own destiny, forming a special improvement district and acquiring the water system in bankruptcy proceedings from the subdivision developers in 1988.<sup>58</sup> However, their water woes were far from over. During the winter of 1988–89, water shortages became so severe that the Army Corps of Engineers used tanker trucks to bring water to Summit Park from a neighboring subdivision.<sup>59</sup> In the spring of 1989, the county declared a moratorium on the construction of new homes in Summit Park.<sup>60</sup> During the following two years, Summit Park residents built a large storage tank, replaced miles of distribution lines and drilled two wells in nearby Toll Canyon. In March 1991, an article in the *Salt Lake Tribune* implied that the subdivision's troubles were a thing of the past.<sup>61</sup> They weren't. As it turned out, the second well was contaminated. Summit Park began looking for a place to drill yet another well.

About the same time, a variety of problems experienced by the thirteen separate water systems around the Snyderville Basin prompted Summit County commissioners to suggest combining them into a single water district. However, there was little support for the idea, and the commission did not pursue it.<sup>62</sup> However, the residents of Summit Park, Timberline, and the adjacent subdivision, Pinebrook, would soon take the initiative themselves. Summit Park

and Timberline had plenty of storage but needed another source of water. Pinebrook had plenty of water but needed storage facilities. So the three subdivisions agreed to connect their systems, allowing Summit Park and Timberline to loosen, at least temporarily, their restraints on new construction. At the same time, Summit Park and Timberline signed a separate agreement to share the costs of drilling two other wells. Those wells were connected to the main lines late in 1996. The building moratorium in Summit Park was lifted shortly afterwards.

One of the ongoing questions in the Snyderville Basin is how much water remains in the underlying aquifers. Some residents in the Highland Estates-Silver Creek area report that the water levels in their wells are dropping or have dried up completely. In Park City, most of the drinking water comes from old tunnels originally built to drain water from mines such as the Judge and the Silver King. However, as growth continues, officials are looking for other ways to meet the town's water needs. Conservation is a partial solution—summer watering restrictions have been in effect for several years—but the town also needs new sources of water.

One possible source of culinary water for Snyderville and Park City is the Smith and Morehouse Reservoir in the Uinta Mountains east of Oakley. Built in the 1920s, Smith and Morehouse Reservoir was expanded by the Weber Basin Water Conservancy District between 1984 and 1988 from about 1,000 acre-feet to about 8,300 acre-feet, largely to serve the needs of the growing Park City/Snyderville area.<sup>63</sup>

Smith and Morehouse Reservoir was expanded, however, before any serious thought was given to getting the water from the Weber River drainage into the Snyderville Basin—or whether it is even desirable to do so. One proposal is to build a water-treatment plant near Wanship Dam and pump the water over the West Hills into the Atkinson (Silver Creek Junction) area.<sup>64</sup> According to Ivan Flint, manager of the Weber Basin Water Conservancy District, about 6,000 acre-feet of Smith and Morehouse water has been designated for the Snyderville area, enough to supply the culinary needs of at least 30,000 people. However, Flint estimates that it would cost \$15 to \$17 million to build a plant and pipeline from Wanship to Silver Creek

Junction. In addition to that, there also would be the cost of lifting the water about 1,300 feet over the mountains.<sup>65</sup>

Several questions now confront county planners: Are there limits to how much trouble and expense the people of Snyderville and the Weber Basin Water Conservancy District should invest in such a venture? Should available water be viewed as a limit to growth in the same way that available land is a limited resource? These questions remain to be answered, as problems relating to growth will dominate Summit County planners and residents in the foreseeable future.

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## CHAPTER 12

# LIVING OFF THE LAND

In the spring of 1997, a survey went out to residents of the more rural areas of Summit County—including the Kamas and Weber River valleys. The survey, which asked residents what they thought about commercial development, also attempted to measure attitudes about the importance of agriculture in these areas. Of those who responded, only 5.6 percent said they personally benefited from having agriculture in the area, and only 3.9 percent said that agriculture was the occupation of the head of the household. On the other hand, a majority (53 percent) said agriculture plays a dominant role in the community, and many residents said it was important to preserve that lifestyle. “There is a perception that the economics of agriculture is more important than what is actually taking place,” planner Shawn Seeger told the *Park Record*.<sup>1</sup>

When compared to the vast wheat fields of the Great Plains or the irrigated valleys of central California, Utah’s agricultural output is small. And even among Utah’s twenty-nine counties, Summit County is no agricultural powerhouse. Its growing season is short and its arable land is limited to a few mountain valleys. In the 1992 U.S.





A Coalville farm scene in the early spring, about 1900. (Brigham Young University, George Beard collection)

Census of Agriculture, Summit ranked fifteenth among Utah's twenty-nine counties, with about \$15 million in agricultural products.

Nevertheless, it is easy to understand why an agricultural lifestyle remains important to many county residents. The farms and forests have done as much to define the character of eastern Summit County as the mines and ski resorts have done to define Park City. It was the fertile river valleys that attracted the first settlers to the area in the late 1850s. It was the rolling hillsides that offered grazing land for their sheep and cattle. And it was the forested mountains that produced thousands of acres of timber to build homes, mines, and railroads.

The first settlers recognized the agricultural potential of Parley's Park (the Snyderville Basin), the Kamas Valley, and the Weber River valley. They claimed the land from the federal government, built farms and sawmills, cut the forests, and planted crops.

Newspaper stories and the diaries of early settlers recount attempts to plant a variety of crops in these valleys, including potatoes, grains, and even fruit trees. Mills to grind the grains were built

at Coalville, Echo, Hoytsville, Oakley, and Wanship. However, in spite of some early successes, farmers soon discovered that the mountain valleys presented a hostile climate for many crops. The winters could be frigid, and killing frosts could occur at any time of the year. By the early 1880s, county farmers were focusing more of their efforts on livestock—particularly sheep and cattle, which fed on native plants and hardy crops such as hay and alfalfa (lucerne). By 1883, local farmers had more than 7,000 cattle.

Early residents of Davis County, drawn by the lush grass in the Weber River valley and Parley's Park, began driving their cattle up Weber and Silver Creek canyons in the spring and then down again in the fall. The Atkinson, Brown, Hatch, Moss, Pace and Nelson families, among others, soon saw the year-round potential of these alpine valleys, with their supply of irrigation water, and settled permanently.<sup>2</sup>

About the turn of the century, creameries were started in several county towns, including Marion (1896), Francis (1897), Hoytsville (1899), Oakley (1900), and Henefer (1904). In 1915, the *Park Record* described the county's thriving dairy industry:

The proximity of Salt Lake, Ogden and Park City assure markets of the highest order with a minimum of transportation expense: The Park City branch of the Denver & Rio Grande railroad daily takes from Snyderville alone better than five hundred gallons of milk and cream to Salt Lake City. While the Park City branch of the Union Pacific railroad gathers and takes to the main line perhaps an equal amount of milk and cream from the hamlets that dot its line between Park City and Echo. Besides the amounts shipped out, several modern creameries are supplied with cream sufficient to enable them to produce perhaps two thousand or more pounds of butter per week. Add to this the consumption of milk and cream of Park City's (5000) population and we have quite a considerable dairy production in the county.<sup>3</sup>

According to agricultural census figures, the amount of milk sold by Summit County farms increased steadily, from 1.14 million gallons in 1919 to 3.66 million gallons in 1954.<sup>4</sup>

Farming in general, and raising livestock in particular, continued to sustain a large number of Summit County families. In 1950 there

were 480 farms in the county, of which 362 had milk cows. That year, almost 32 percent of the county work force was employed in agriculture.<sup>5</sup> However, it was a demanding lifestyle. In a recent interview, William Ward Stevens, who was born in Oakley and tended dairy cattle in the Kamas Valley as an adult, described a daily routine that was “more trying than most occupations”:

We started milking about 4:15 or 4:30 A.M. After the cows were milked we would clean the barn and equipment, then feed the small calves their milk. We would then feed the cows their hay. After breakfast we would have the sheds to clean and the other livestock to feed. During the summer, some of us would go to the fields to put up the hay or take a stream of water to irrigate. We would start milking again about 4 P.M. After the milking, we would have to feed the calves, and often after supper we would have some more irrigation to do or repair some of the machinery. One of the first things that I learned on the farm was that you never run out of work.<sup>6</sup>

The Oakley creamery was started by Stevens’s grandfather, William H. Stevens. At first it ran on a part-time basis, making butter two or three days a week. As business prospered, it began making cheese along with the butter. The Stevens family went on to open new creameries in Salt Lake City and Evanston, Wyoming, and then bought existing cheese plants in St. Charles, Idaho, and in Lyman and Mountain View, Wyoming.

The second half of the twentieth century has seen a dramatic transformation in the dairy industry in Summit County. Reflecting nationwide trends, many farmers with small dairy herds have sold out rather than try to compete in an increasingly capital-intensive industry. The children of farmers and ranchers, instead of learning the family trade, have taken jobs in the tourism/recreation industry or moved to the cities. In addition, the construction of reservoirs and interstate highways has cost some county farmers thousands of acres of their most productive land. Suburban sprawl has crept into other areas once devoted to farming, particularly in the Snyderville Basin outside Park City.

One of the survivors is Hoytsville’s Glenn Brown, a third-gener-

ation dairy farmer, who has a herd of about 350 cows. "When people only had 25 or 30 (cows), that was a good size," Brown said. "Now we have a very modest size of herd. Now there are not many farms under 100." According to census figures, the number of dairy cows now stands at about 40 percent of 1950 levels and the number of farms with dairy cows has dropped from 362 in 1950 to only 26 in 1992. Meanwhile, the size of the average dairy herd has grown from thirteen cows in 1950 to seventy-four in 1992.<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, the numbers of beef cattle in the county have actually increased in the last half of the twentieth century. The agricultural census shows that the total number of cattle and calves in Summit County rose from about 14,000 in 1950 to about 22,700 in 1992. However, in recent years, there have been signs that ranchers of beef cattle are facing a struggle to stay in business in the wake of declining profits. "During the past few years, there's been a transfer of profits in the beef industry from the ranchers to the meatpacking industry," Cary Peterson, Utah's commissioner of agriculture, told the *Deseret News* in 1996. "That phenomenon, combined with higher feed prices and droughts, are combining to threaten the solvency of 25 to 30 percent of Utah's and the nation's cattle ranchers."

In the same newspaper story, Summit County Commissioner Tom Flinders predicted that, if these ranchers were forced to sell, their land would be lost to agriculture: "It's real sorrowful to see these people who have been on these ranches for 100 years have to sell out because they can't afford to pay their bills. There's no incentive for young ranchers to stay on the farm."

Ranchers also are facing increasing restrictions on grazing on federal land. Concerns about watershed damage and competition from other users such as backpackers and hikers have convinced officials to increase grazing fees and reduce the number of animal permits. In 1993, for example, the U.S. Forest Service issued a decision reducing the number of cattle allowed on the 72,000-acre Kamas Valley allotment by 40 percent.<sup>10</sup>

### *Counting Sheep*

Like their counterparts in the cattle industry, owners of sheep also currently are struggling to survive in the face of escalating land

values, new subdivisions, and increasing restrictions on federally owned grazing land. According to the *Utah Gazetteer*, Summit County residents owned 9,582 sheep in 1883. However, these numbers do not reflect the hundreds of thousands of animals registered in other parts of Utah that used Summit County for summer range. Many northern Utah ranchers grazed their sheep in the Uinta Mountains during the summer and then moved them to the lower-elevation deserts of western Utah for the winter. Each spring and fall, sheep were herded through the canyons and Wasatch Front communities in huge drives involving tens of thousands of animals. For decades, Emigration and Parleys canyons were major sheep thoroughfares, although there was rising concern about the damage this practice was causing to Salt Lake City's watersheds.<sup>11</sup>

Some sheepmen took advantage of the railroads to simplify the process. By the turn of the century, railroad towns such as Wahsatch in Echo Canyon had become major shipping points for sheep. In June 1903, the *Coalville Times* reported that 489 carloads of sheep had been unloaded at Wahsatch during the spring season.<sup>12</sup>

After their arrival in the spring, crews set up camps to shear the sheep. "Our little burgh is having something of a boom," the Wahsatch correspondent to the *Coalville Times* reported in May 1898. "Several shacks and shanties are in course of erection for use during the sheep shearing season." According to one estimate, 700,000 pounds of wool were clipped at Wahsatch alone during the spring of 1899. By the middle of June, wagonloads of wool would start arriving at railroad shipping points such as Echo and Wahatch.<sup>13</sup>

On a statewide basis, the number of sheep rose tenfold in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, from about 233,000 in 1880 to more than 2.5 million in 1900.<sup>14</sup> As livestock numbers rose, sheepmen from large concerns such as Hatch Brothers and the Deseret Land and Live Stock Company began to compete for prime grazing lands with the local farmers, many of whom raised cattle for beef or for dairy products. In some cases, competition became conflict. "Several sheep men have been in this vicinity looking for a range for their sheep," the Echo correspondent to the *Coalville Times* reported in April 1899. "This is very discouraging to a few farmers who depend on the feed for a few milch cows upon which they depend for a liv-

ing. Why don't the farmers organize and defend their rights against some of these sheep men?"<sup>15</sup>

The Summit County Commission even joined the fray, passing an ordinance in December 1898 requiring the licensing of businesses that grazed sheep in the county. However, that ordinance was repealed a few months later. According to a *Deseret News* correspondent, the residents of Henefer came to the conclusion that it was futile to fight the sheepmen:

The enterprise of the people of Hennefer is to be commended. Instead of deploring the evils of capital, the rapacity of corporations and the bugaboo of expansion, they have devoted their energies to providing work for themselves. The result is that the village of Hennefer enjoys the distinction of being the richest settlement in Summit county. While the people of other districts were fighting the sheepmen in a vain endeavor to keep them off the ranges the sturdy farmers of Hennefer purchased sheep for themselves and used the surrounding ranges for their own flocks."<sup>16</sup>

Farmers in other communities eventually followed Henefer's lead, starting their own flocks. In many cases they would pool their resources, combining sheep and rangeland with their neighbors and hiring a herder to tend the joint herd.<sup>17</sup> By 1925, the number of sheep registered to Summit Count farmers had risen to 43,079. The number peaked at 69,532 in 1969; by 1992 it had returned to the level of the 1920s.<sup>18</sup>

Statewide statistics show that the number of sheep peaked at about 2.9 million head in 1930 and declined steadily over the next sixty years. In 1992 the census counted about 520,000 sheep, less than 20 percent of the total some sixty years earlier. According to a 1964 study of the Utah sheep industry, one reason for the decline was a sharp reduction in the number of sheep permitted on federal land.<sup>19</sup>

In large part, those reductions were triggered by concerns over damage caused by the overgrazing of cattle and sheep. As early as the 1890s there were signs that Utah's public lands could not sustain the growing number of animals that were herded upon them each summer. "The timbered slopes, which are essential to continued civic progress, were overrun by reckless grazing, and extensive areas of

ranges changed into barren trampled dust beds," one early study reported. "In those days the mountain herds could be located by the clouds of dust that rose above them."<sup>20</sup> In a 1902 visit to Utah, Albert F. Potter, chief of grazing for the federal Division of Forestry, documented several cases where large numbers of sheep were competing for all-too-little feed.<sup>21</sup>

Although federal officials began taking steps to correct the damage, problems with overgrazing persisted well into the twentieth century. Forest Ranger A.E. Briggs, who was assigned to the Kamas District in 1936–37, noted:

I found several cases of poor management practices. Some important watershed areas were being seriously abused through excessive grazing use. I spent enough time on each abused area to analyze the soil and vegetation conditions, and prepare notes to be used later in describing the conditions and recommending urgently needed adjustments to lighten or eliminate the grazing abuse.<sup>22</sup>

Briggs recommended that "some of the most abused areas be closed to grazing entirely and downward adjustments on other areas ranging up to sixty per cent." He suspected that some ranchers were putting more cattle on the range than their permits allowed, and he called for a system of marking the animals with metal ear tags. He made his proposal at the annual meetings of the cattlemen's associations in Kamas, Marion, and Oakley.

Many permittees objected to the tagging proposal and gave the lack of adequate corrals and tagging chutes as their reason for opposing tagging of their permitted cattle. They were informed that if the permittees in each community would agree on a site suitable to them and the district ranger, Briggs would recommend that the Forest Service furnish the materials to build a corral and tagging chute in each of the three communities, with the understanding that the permittees would furnish the labor to build the corrals and chutes in accordance with plans and specifications to be furnished by the Forest Service.<sup>23</sup>

The controversial drives that polluted streams and turned watersheds to dust eventually disappeared from western Summit County.

Along with them went the shanty towns at railheads such as Wahsatch where the sheep were sheared every spring. Today, most of the remaining sheep travel between their summer and winter ranges in the trailers of large semi-trucks.

The 1964 study of the sheep industry also blamed the decline in sheep numbers on a shift in the relative prices commanded by cattle and sheep. After 1940, cattle prices rose more quickly than did sheep prices, apparently convincing some ranchers to switch from one to the other.<sup>24</sup> In 1974, the Utah Crop and Livestock Reporting Service said that a number of sheep producers, discouraged by heavy losses to predators and the shortage of good help, were selling their entire flocks.

However, some Summit County residents continued to make their living by raising sheep. Among them was Metta Richins of Coalville. The mother of five sons, Metta was still tending sheep at age sixty-seven, as the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported in 1986. Said Metta:

"I keep thinking it's time to retire and let somebody else take over my ranch, but then I say, 'No, I can't do that. What else would I do?' This is my life—I don't know nothing else. I know sheep better than most anybody around here. Sheep ranching is a dying art—I'd hate to give up an old-time tradition."

Metta has been a sheep rancher nearly fifty years—she married the business when she married her husband, the late Ellis Richins. The couple met at a high school dance in Coalville, married two weeks later, and spent their honeymoon shearing sheep at the Richins' ranch. "It wasn't the most romantic honeymoon," recalls Metta, "but it was definitely one I will never forget. I cooked chow for 21 men and smelled like a sheep for three days. But the job had to be done, so I did it. There's no putting things off, in the sheep business." Metta and Ellis summered their sheep on Coalville's Lewis Peak every year, and trucked them to the desert near Ely, Nevada, when winter rolled around. Metta often slept outdoors and cooked over an open fire during those months, and there were times when weeks went by before she saw another person. But Metta loved the simplicity of the wilderness—she wouldn't have traded it for any high paying city job in the world. So, when her husband died in 1965, she decided to run the ranch on her own, instead of selling out.<sup>25</sup>



The declining demand for their product, the removal of federal tariffs, and encroaching development in Summit County have convinced some sheep ranchers that it is time to sell, or at least to move their operations to less costly land. Once such transaction came in 1994 when the Gillmor family, descendants of pioneer ranchers, decided to sell a 210-acre parcel near Park City's exclusive Deer Valley development. The asking price was \$7,350,000. "When you get that close, you can't have people and dogs around the livestock all the time," Frank Gillmor told the *Deseret News*. He also blamed a recent decision by the federal government to eliminate a forty-year-old tariff on imported wool.<sup>26</sup>

### *Raising Furs for Fashion*

In 1925, Ray Vernon of Coalville broke new ground for Utah agriculture by starting the first mink ranch in the state. In the 1940s he was one of five men to organize the Fur Breeders Agricultural Coop and became its first president.<sup>27</sup> By the 1950s, Coalville-area mink ranchers were attracting nationwide attention. At an auction in May 1956, furs raised by rancher John Adkins commanded an all-time record price of \$125 each, the most ever paid for a standard pelt in the history of mink ranching.<sup>28</sup>

In the Kamas Valley, mink ranching gained a foothold in the Peoa area. According to one estimate, by the early 1970s there were twelve Peoa mink ranchers, with an annual production of 450 pelts worth about \$132,000.<sup>29</sup>

Although mink ranching has a much lower profile than cattle or sheep ranching, it plays a significant role in the Summit County economy. According to the U.S. Census of Agriculture, thirty-two mink ranches raised pelts worth about \$4.1 million in 1987, representing more than one-quarter of the value of the county's agricultural production. The most recent statistics show Summit County third in the state in mink production behind Utah and Cache counties. Nationally, Utah produces more mink pelts than any other state except Wisconsin.<sup>30</sup>

However, mink ranching is highly vulnerable to the whims of the fashion world. In recent years, animal-rights advocates in the United States have led a public backlash against the wearing of furs. In

Aspen, Colorado, a proposal to ban the wearing of furs even went to a public vote. By 1992, the number of mink ranchers in Summit County had declined to twenty-one, and the value of their furs had dropped to about \$1.7 million.<sup>31</sup>

Fur breeders also have been the targets of a wave of vandalism in the 1990s. In October 1996, for example, an animal-rights group claimed responsibility for a raid on a Hoytsville mink ranch in which about 1,000 animals were released.<sup>32</sup>

### *The Future of Farming*

Today, as the twentieth century comes to a close, it would be tempting to write the obituary of farming in Summit County. The percentage of people listing farming as their primary occupation is at an all-time low. The numbers of dairy cattle are down sharply. After increasing steadily for forty years, the total value of farm products declined in the 1992 census of agriculture. Subdivisions are sprouting on valley pastures in many parts of the county.

However, such a conclusion may be premature. There are other signs that farming is not ready to disappear from the county. Census figures show that the amount of land in farms is not declining, and the number of irrigated acres is also holding its own. Also, the survey quoted at the beginning of this chapter indicates that local residents are not ready to turn their backs on their agricultural heritage.

Will twenty-first-century innovations revive the family farm? Will rising transportation costs trigger a renewed interest in local agriculture? Will the population boom of the 1990s turn to a bust? Time will tell.

### *The National Forests*

Sheep and cattle ranchers were not the only private interests to take advantage of the huge expanses of federal land on the eastern side of the county. The sweeping forests of lodgepole pine and Engelmann spruce also attracted many with the hopes of converting the resources to riches.

During the 1870s, Congress passed several laws encouraging economic development of federal land. Among them were the Timber Culture Act of 1873, which encouraged the planting of trees on west-

ern lands for future harvesting; the Timber and Stone Act of 1878, which allowed settlers to purchase federal forest land; and the General Mining Act of 1877, which offered prospectors the ability to file mineral claims on federal lands. In general, these laws encouraged the exploitation of federal land rather than the protection of it. Throughout the West, trees were cut by the millions.<sup>33</sup> In Summit County, at least seven sawmills were operating by 1874.<sup>34</sup>

By the turn of the century, thousands of acres had been stripped in the western part of Summit County to satisfy the growing demand for timber in the Salt Lake Valley and the voracious appetite of the Park City mines, which used wood not only for mine props but also to fuel the enormous pumps that removed water from the mines. Photographs of the Park City area from that period show the surrounding hillsides devoid of vegetation. With no trees to hold the snow in place, there were many deadly avalanches in the narrow canyons around the town.

In the upper Bear River drainage, conditions were much the same, according to L.J. Colton, former district ranger in the Kamas District of the Wasatch National Forest:

There was little or no governmental control during the first period (from 1870 to 1900), and since there was no thought for the future, no system of silviculture was employed. It was a time when fires, man-made and naturally caused, raged uncontrolled throughout the burning season. Many areas were cut over, mainly high-graded, then set on fire and allowed to burn. Old-timers recall that early loggers often times deliberately set fires as a means of retribution and of obtaining higher wages for their services. . . .

Volume of timber cut during the first period is unknown because no one kept any record, but it must have been substantial. Examination of cut and burned-over areas indicates a large amount of timber was removed. The principal trees cut were lodgepole pine and Englemann spruce, and they were made into lumber, hewn railroad ties, mine props and ties, and cordwood for charcoal. The charcoal was used in turn for ore smelting in Utah and Colorado.<sup>35</sup>

Whether by design or coincidence, the transcontinental line of the Union Pacific Railroad ran close to the north slope of the Uinta

Mountains, giving the company large tracts of timber via the land-grant process. The railroad took full advantage of this resource; by one estimate, there were as many as seventy-five "tie hackers" working solely on the Hayden Fork of the Bear River in 1874–75. The Union Pacific managed so fully to control access from the north slope that one lumberman complained in 1876 that there was "no other market for ties in this country except the Union Pacific Railroad." Companies such as Cole and Carter in the late 1800s and the Standard Timber Company in the early 1900s made a steady income supplying ties to the Union Pacific. At one point, Standard Timber was delivering a half million ties a year to the railroad company.<sup>36</sup>

Colton has concluded that the destructive practices of these early timbercutters left their descendants a questionable legacy:

Thousands of acres of fine timber land were converted to lands now covered with grass, forb and aspen. While the resulting range land has great value for watershed and grazing purposes, of greater value would be stands of good timber. Much of the residual timber left from this early day type of harvest is inferior—insect and disease infested. During most of these timber cutting operations only the choicest trees were taken, leaving cull or diseased trees to supply seed for future timber stands to replace those that were cut or burned.<sup>37</sup>

Despite the careless destruction, the seeds of the conservation movement began to take hold in the late nineteenth century as people began to question the wisdom of unregulated use. In 1873, Franklin B. Hough presented a paper to the American Association for the Advancement of Science calling for the federal government to put a stop to uncontrolled resource damage. The association appointed a committee to lobby Congress for action to preserve the nation's timber supply.<sup>38</sup>

Those lobbying efforts quickly paid off. In 1876, Congress authorized the appointment of a federal forestry agent. Hough became the first man to fill the position; in six years he had become head of the new Division of Forestry within the Department of Agriculture. In 1891, Congress passed legislation authorizing the president to desig-

nate certain parcels of federal land as forest reserves and prohibit their use by the public.<sup>39</sup>

On 22 February 1897, a week before he left office, President Grover Cleveland created thirteen reserves—among them, Utah's first, the 428,000-acre Uintah Forest Reserve—in a bold move that banned public utilization of more than 21 million acres.<sup>40</sup> Two years later, Utah's first forest agent arrived in Coalville to administer the new Uintah reserve.<sup>41</sup>

Legislators in several Western states were furious. With a stroke of the pen, and without the approval of Congress, Cleveland had locked up huge tracts of land in seven states. Wyoming lawmakers led an unsuccessful attempt to have Cleveland's proclamation repealed. Utah Senator Frank J. Cannon supported those efforts, saying that he considered Cleveland's action "unjust, inasmuch as it took from the public lands of Utah, Wyoming and surrounding States lands without forest and which had very little timber."<sup>42</sup> Some historians believe that this act led to organized Western opposition to the forest reserves, giving birth to a movement that continues today.<sup>43</sup>

In response to Western interests, Congress enacted a definition of purpose for the forest preserves, which opened the door to some public uses. The Organic Act of 1897 specified that reserves could be created "to improve and protect the forest within the reservation for the purpose of securing favorable water flows, and to furnish a continuous supply of timber."<sup>44</sup>

With the appointment of Gifford Pinchot as chief of the Division of Forestry in 1898 and the ascendance of Theodore Roosevelt to the presidency in 1901, the multiple-use philosophy of managing public lands "for the greatest good of the greatest number" gained wide public support. At Pinchot's urging, Congress passed legislation transferring the forest reserves from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture.

In 1905 and 1906, another 1.44 million acres were added to the Uintah Forest Reserve, later renamed the Uinta National Forest, bringing its total size to more than 1.9 million acres.<sup>45</sup> Much of that land lay within the Uintah Indian Reservation. However, in 1908, about half the land in the Uinta National Forest was sliced off to create the Ashley National Forest, with headquarters in Vernal.

In 1915, another 355,000 acres were transferred from the Uinta National Forest to the Wasatch National Forest, which had been created by a series of presidential proclamations beginning in 1904. Over the years, through a series of exchanges and transfers involving the Uinta, Ashley, and Wasatch national forests, much of the land from the original Uintah Forest Preserve ended up in the Wasatch National Forest, including a large block of the north slope of the Uinta Mountains stretching from Francis in Summit County north and east to the Summit/Daggett county line. Most of these transfers were made to accommodate cattle and sheep owners, many of whom lived in Heber and Provo, and the timber interests located in Kamas and in Evanston, Wyoming. Ironically, this process left the Uinta National Forest almost completely isolated from the mountain range it was named after.<sup>46</sup>

One of the first priorities of the U.S. Forest Service was to begin a program of reforestation. A government nursery on Beaver Creek, near Kamas, began raising seedlings to be planted in the Wasatch and other national forests. By 1914, the operation had grown quite large:

The planting of 100,000 yellow pine trees in the Wasatch national forest near Kamas has been attended with unusual success, says J.F. Bruins, who returned yesterday from the Beaver creek government nursery. Nearly 600,000 yellow pine seedlings, raised at the nursery, will be shipped to Manti, the Uintah and other forests in the state. The nursery now has a force of forty men engaged in shipping and planting trees.<sup>47</sup>

One of the early federal rangers in Summit County was Dan S. Pack, a native of Kamas who in 1901 was assigned with ranger John Turnbow to two ranger districts on the north slope of the Uintas.<sup>48</sup> When the U.S. Forest Service was created in 1905, replacing the Bureau of Forestry, Pack stayed on. From 1905 to 1910 he served as the first supervisor of the Wasatch National Forest. He remained with the Forest Service until 1913, when he resigned to go into business for himself. Among other Summit County residents who worked for the Forest Service in those early years were John H. Woolstenhulme of Kamas and A. Frank Richards of Oakley. After working for several years as a seasonal employee, Woolstenhulme was appointed as an

assistant ranger in 1909 and remained with the Forest Service until 1946. During his tenure, he supervised the construction of many of the original roads within the Wasatch National Forest.<sup>49</sup>

In January 1933, about 106,000 acres of Summit County land, including an area containing the headwaters of the Bear, the Weber, and the Black's Fork of the Green rivers, were added to the Wasatch National Forest. Although more than 94,000 acres were in private hands at the time, the move had the support of a number of private owners, business groups, and hunting clubs as well as the Summit County Board of Commissioners, the federal Bureau of Reclamation, and the Utah State Land Board. In support of the move, the Forest Service noted that during 1931 six fires had burned 3,000 acres in the proposed Summit County addition. That total would, no doubt, have been higher if the Forest Service had not stepped in. The watershed had been damaged by such fires and also by heavy grazing and logging. The resulting runoff threatened to flood downstream communities and fill the newly-created Echo Reservoir with sediment.<sup>50</sup> With its acquisition, the Forest Service hoped both to control fires and to restore the integrity of the watershed.

Though the rate of timber-cutting had dropped off from the frenzied pace of the late 1800s, the memoirs of Forest Ranger A.E. Briggs make it clear that during the 1930s there was still plenty of activity in the Kamas District. He wrote:

The Kamas District is quite heavily timbered and at the time I transferred to the District was one of the largest producers of saw timber, mine props, and other Forest products of the many districts in the Intermountain Region, both in numbers of sales and volume. Logging and sawmill operators and farmers from Salt Lake and Utah Valleys were demanding and cutting timber faster than access roads were being constructed to open up other stands. . . . There were hundreds of applications for mine prop and farm timber sales. Five or six large contracts sales were in progress during the summer months.

The Great Lakes Timber Company [of Hailstone, Wasatch County] was the largest operator and its products were saw timber, power and telephone poles, mine props and railroad ties. The

company operated four portable saw mills in the woods, and was cutting mature and overmature lodgepole pine.<sup>51</sup>

In 1953, the U.S. Forest Service reported that sales in the Wasatch National Forest had reached a record 12.5 million board feet, of which about 9.5 million board feet came from Summit County.<sup>52</sup> In 1955, the *Salt Lake Tribune* noted that the Kamas area had become one of the largest logging centers in the state. "Some 11 million board feet of forest products, largely lumber, is now being processed through the mills and box factory there each year," the *Tribune* reported. "The output has a total value of 1 1/2 million dollars and supplies markets in Salt Lake, Davis and Weber Counties. Principal producers are the Kamas Lumber Co., Union Timber Co., Blazzard Lumber Co. and the John W. Blazzard Box Co."<sup>53</sup>

The local lumber business kept growing. On 5 July 1956, the *Summit County Bee* reported that the local employment office had filed requests for timber workers in "most employment offices west of the Mississippi, in order to satisfy the biggest demand for timber cutters registered during the past ten years." In 1958, the Wasatch National Forest announced it was planning the biggest timber sale in its history. Depending on market conditions, as much as 79 million board feet could be cut over a three-year period, including about 24.5 million board feet in the Kamas District alone.<sup>54</sup>

Business stayed good for the Kamas mills through the 1960s and into the 1970s. But then, beginning about 1975, sawmill operators and loggers started to notice a change in the way the Kamas District was being managed. According to Stan Leavitt of Leavitt Lumber Company in Kamas, the Forest Service began to manage the area more for recreation than for timber harvesting.<sup>55</sup> From then on, timber sales from public lands in the Uintas began a steady decline. The west slope, administered by the Kamas Ranger District, was particularly affected. Since the mid-1980s, industry insiders say, timber sales from the Kamas District have almost vanished.

Public pressure has been a big factor in the management changes. "The public is requiring us to provide more diversity than lumber, grazing and big-game habitat," Neal Riffle, timber officer for the



Wasatch/Cache National Forest, told the *Salt Lake Tribune* in 1991. "We're looking out for the overall vegetative health of the forest."<sup>56</sup>

While the shift in Forest Service philosophy may have helped recreation in the Kamas area, it has forced drastic cutbacks in the timber industry. Leavitt Lumber Company, which once employed almost fifty people, was down to eighteen employees by 1996.<sup>57</sup> In fact, Kamas lumber mills now import most of their timber from the Ashley National Forest around Roosevelt and Duchesne and from the Uinta National Forest, which includes the Strawberry Valley east of Heber. "The Kamas District has been heavily timbered in the past, and to be frank, we are scrounging now to find places where we can harvest and still meet environmental constraints," District Ranger Melissa Blackwell said in 1993. "To be honest, I don't think this area can support four mills, not from public lands, anyway."<sup>58</sup>

Jack Sargent of Sargents Timber in Oakley told the *Deseret News* in 1992 that his mill was surviving on timber cut on private land. Stressing the importance of the industry to his community, he said, "There are a lot of people dependent upon the timber industry in this area. It's a trickle-down effect. There are families involved. There are probably 100 kids that eat off my sawmill."<sup>59</sup> That may be true, but some environmental groups continue the push to reduce timber harvests in the Uintas even more; controversy over the issue is to be expected in years to come.<sup>60</sup>

### *Recreation*

In the early years of the national forests, top administrators tolerated—but didn't encourage—recreational use.<sup>61</sup> However, a growing population in Salt Lake City, together with the exploding popularity of the automobile in the 1920s, forced local Forest Service officials to do more than tolerate recreation in the forest areas. The *Deseret News* gave voice to the swelling public enthusiasm for national forests when it editorialized in 1923:

Men and sometimes women, have made trips into the northern forests of Canada to enjoy boating and hunting; to see magnificent forests. The state of Utah is blessed with many great attractions that are being more widely used year by year by the great American public. Yet some of these attractions have not yet been developed.

We have within a few hours drive of the city of Salt Lake one of the greatest forest and lake regions in the world, The Uinta National Forest.<sup>62</sup>

By the time this passage was written, forestry officials had already heard numerous requests for a road running from Kamas to Evanston, traversing this picturesque region of lakes and rivers. The *Deseret News* did its part to drum up support for the project:

This region is close enough to most of the principle [*sic*] cities and towns of Utah to be reached, and some of the wonderful scenery viewed, in one days drive. Days and even weeks could be spent along this road by vacationists from the surrounding districts in profitable enjoyment. The lakes afford bathing, boating and fishing and desirable camp sights [*sic*] are innumerable. There would be no crowding, for there is room for many more tourists and vacationists than will visit the region for many years to come.<sup>63</sup>

Fortunately for "vacationists," a road from Kamas to Mirror Lake was opened to automobile traffic in 1925.<sup>64</sup> However, it took the better part of four decades before the road became the type of facility that the *Deseret News* proposed in 1923. It wasn't until 1942 that the road even reached Evanston. And it remained a crude, primitive thoroughfare, as a delegation of area business leaders discovered on a tour in 1948, and as the *Salt Lake Tribune* editorialized soon after:

The purpose of the tour was to point out to a representative group the sorry condition of the present forest road and to enlist support in a movement to secure eventually an entire new road between Evanston and Kamas. . . .

Thousands of Utahs have never seen shimmering Mirror lake, Old Baldy, or the flamboyant mountain divide where headwaters rise for four major streams: Provo river, Bear river, Weber river and Duchesne river. Many will not get that privilege unless the road is improved.

Even if eventually realized, the new highway likely will not be built for a long time.<sup>65</sup>

Notwithstanding the "sorry condition" of the road, interest in the Uinta Mountains exploded in the 1950s. By 1958, there were fourteen camping areas along the highway between Kamas and Mirror Lake

and another nine areas in the Mill Creek District between Mirror Lake and the Wyoming state line.<sup>66</sup> Two years later, in September 1960, road supporters finally got their wish when Utah Governor George D. Clyde dedicated the newly paved Mirror Lake Multiple-Use Highway.<sup>67</sup>

But the hikers and campers who took full advantage of the Mirror Lake Highway in the 1960s and 1970s were a mixed blessing. Like cattle and loggers, they too impacted the environment. "It's obvious that crowds are coming into the Uintas in greater numbers every year," the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported in 1975. "Statistics and observations of those who spend time there tell the story. But what is the solution to the problem? How many people can the area, which recovers slowly from heavy use, handle in a season? Are permits the only answer? The U.S. Forest Service, in charge of the primitive area, is searching for answers to these problems."<sup>68</sup>

One answer was to legislate restrictions on human presence in the Uintas. In 1984, Congress passed the Utah Forest Service Wilderness Bill, which declared that 750,000 acres of federal land would be off-limits to motorized vehicles, mineral development, road-building, timber-cutting and many other activities. The largest of twelve wilderness areas designated by the bill was a 460,000-acre parcel of the Uintas east of Mirror Lake.<sup>69</sup>

Of course, the High Uintas Wilderness Area didn't include the Mirror Lake Highway itself. And, by 1993, more than 150,000 vehicles a year were making the turn east off Kamas's Main Street onto the Mirror Lake Highway. "Visitation in the area has more than doubled during the past decade," the *Deseret News* reported in July 1993. "And it's starting to show. Campgrounds routinely overflow; off-road camping, also known as 'dispersed camping,' is out of control; off-road-vehicle use is endangering flora and fauna; and excessively large camping groups are trampling terrain and causing sanitation problems."<sup>70</sup>

In response, Kamas District Ranger Melissa Blackwell announced plans to close many off-road-vehicle trails and dispersed camping sites. In addition, limits would be placed on group camping. "Times are changing," Blackwell told the *Deseret News*. "We're in the new era

of conservation, a shift toward recognizing other values of the forest than commodities.”

In 1996, the Forest Service held public hearings on a plan to charge a fee for vehicles using the Mirror Lake Highway. A fee of three dollars per vehicle was introduced in the summer of 1997.

Like the Park City area to the west, the communities of the Kamas Valley are seeing those gritty industries that once supported their families replaced by recreation and tourism. As in Park City, the transition has provided new opportunities, but it has also raised new challenges and questions.

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## CHAPTER 13

# NATURE'S BURIED TREASURES: MINING AND OIL DEVELOPMENT

The physical evidence of early mining activity in Summit County is fading. Old mine shafts, tunnels, and portals have been filled in; old mills have burned, collapsed, or been dismantled. But place names like Coalville and Bonanza Flat still tell a story: They remind us that man's quest for nature's buried treasures has helped mold the character of Summit County.

The story begins with coal. In 1854, when the Mormons had been in the territory only seven years, the fledgling territorial legislature offered a \$1,000 reward to anyone who discovered a coal vein within forty miles of Salt Lake City greater than eighteen inches thick. About five years later, Thomas Rhoades, a veteran of the California gold rush, found outcroppings of coal near Chalk Creek in the northern end of Summit County. Brigham Young sent John Muir and Sam Fletcher to investigate the claim. The two located an impressive vein of coal near Grass Creek in the northern part of the county, which the LDS church later developed into what became known as the Old Church Mine.

Brigham Young hired mining expert Henry Spriggs to supervise



the church's holdings while John Spriggs, W.H. Kimball, and R.J. Redden examined the area for other potential coal mines.<sup>1</sup> They found several; according to United States Geological Survey reports, the same geological formation, rich in coal seams, is found in the entire area between Coalville and southwestern Wyoming. By 1867, seven mines were up and running in the northern part of the county. Before the railroad link between Echo and Chalk Creek Canyon was completed in 1873, ox teams hauled hundreds of tons of coal over Parleys Canyon into Salt Lake City. The coal was sold for thirty-five to forty dollars a ton. The new railroad provided quick transport of coal, and for a while the Mormon church planned its own railroad line to connect Echo with Ogden; but this plan was later abandoned.<sup>2</sup> The mines also continued a lively traffic in wagon-hauled coal, with the *Coalville Times* reporting each week the number of teams on the road transporting coal.

The completion of two railroad spurs to Park City in 1880 gave an immediate boost to the Coalville and Grass Creek coal mines. In the two decades of coal mining up to that time, the local mines produced an estimated 240,000 tons, or about 12,000 tons per year. In the four decades following 1880, production averaged about 63,500 tons per year.<sup>3</sup> The annual output of the mines apparently peaked around 1910–11 at about 150,000 tons.<sup>4</sup>

Of course, averages don't tell the whole story. There were wild swings in production during the first half century of coal production, reflecting the condition of the economy, the whims and policies of the Union Pacific Railroad, labor disputes, and conditions underground. The year 1893, for example, saw a strike at the Chalk Creek mines in January, a fire at the Wasatch Coal Mine in November, another strike at the Wasatch Mine in December, and a dramatic slump in production in the middle of the year, reflecting poor economic conditions in Park City.<sup>5</sup>

Reflecting on Coalville's dependence on the Park City mines, the *Park Record* snorted on 9 September 1893:

It would appear that the greatly reduced consumption of coal in Park City has a direct and immediate effect upon the county seat, notwithstanding the [Coalville] *Chronicle's* boast that Coalville

would prosper when the mines of Park City ceased to work. The truth of the matter is that Coalville's prosperity is in exact proportion to Park City's, as the amount of Coalville coal used outside of this camp would not require the services of fifty men to mine and send to market.

The coal mines also found themselves at the mercy of the Union Pacific Railroad, which, except for a three-year period between 1880 and 1883, had an airtight monopoly on rail traffic from the county's coal mines. It was commonly believed that the Union Pacific deliberately withheld railroad cars and hiked freight rates out of Coalville to favor production from its own coal mines in Rock Springs, Wyoming. A letter to the *Salt Lake Herald* in March 1876 blamed the Union Pacific for the layoff of 300 people at Summit County's coal mines.<sup>6</sup> Over the next thirty years, the situation didn't change much, as the *Coalville Times* noted in March 1906:

Anything to kill our coal industry seems to be the slogan of the railroad company. On the 17[th] of this month they raised the freight to Park City from 75c to \$1 per ton. Why was this done? Why should they charge \$1 a ton for coal to Park City, a distance of some twenty odd miles, when they can afford to haul sugar beets to Ogden at 30 cents per ton? Business men, don't you think it is about time you were taking a hand against the undermining of your very business? Take the coal mining industry from us and what have we left?

For the one-industry town of Grass Creek, the answer was: nothing. In its heyday, Grass Creek was a thriving—if tiny—community of about two hundred people. Between 1880 and 1887, the Union Pacific even operated its own mine at Grass Creek. The company employed a number of Chinese miners until September 1885, when a deadly race riot in Rock Springs, Wyoming, triggered fierce anti-Chinese sentiment in a number of other area coal mines.<sup>8</sup>

At the turn of the century, Grass Creek had its own school and its own Mormon ward, and even, by 1904, its own post office. Grass Creek's successes actually prompted the editor of the *Coalville Times* to suggest at one point that the town would make "a powerful competitor for the county seat."<sup>9</sup> Others also thought they could see long-

term potential. In 1907, Ogden millionaire David Eccles bought more than 1,000 acres of coal-producing lands from the Grass Creek Coal Company and renamed his new business the Union Fuel Company.<sup>10</sup>

The 1910 census recorded 190 residents of Grass Creek; of the eighty-three who reported their occupations, seventy-one called themselves "coal miners."<sup>11</sup> An October 1911 story in the *Coalville Times* said that there were four producing mines in the area, two in Grass Creek (the Union Fuel Company and the Rees-Grass Creek Coal Company) and two in Chalk Creek (the Wasatch Mine Company and the Superior Fuel and Briquette Company). Production from Grass Creek remained strong into the early 1920s. In 1921, the *Park Record* reported that the mines were producing about 200 tons a day.<sup>12</sup>

However, competition from other mines in Wyoming and Utah slowly squeezed the Grass Creek mines out of business. By the late 1920s, production had dropped to an average of less than one railroad car per day. In July 1931, the mines' only remaining customer, a cement plant in Morgan County, suspended operations. In 1932, Union Pacific asked the Interstate Commerce Commission for permission to abandon the spur line to Grass Creek.<sup>13</sup>

As it turned out, Grass Creek received a stay of execution when the cement plant won a contract to supply construction at Boulder Dam. However, by 1940, the Grass Creek mines had closed down for good and the Union Pacific finally won permission from the federal government to abandon the line.<sup>14</sup> The rails and ties have long since been removed, the houses dismantled, the mine entrances bulldozed. Where the bustling little town of Grass Creek once stood, nothing remains except the odd slab of concrete.

While Grass Creek slipped away, Coalville held on, sustained by its more diversified economy. Chalk Creek mines continued to produce coal, though at a dwindling rate. In 1934, Thomas, Ernest, and Newell Chappell reopened the old Wilson Mine in Chalk Creek as the Chappell Mine.<sup>15</sup> For most of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, the Chappell Mine was the chief coal producer in the area. Then, in 1972, it too closed its doors.<sup>16</sup> For the first time in its history, no coal was coming out of Coalville. Except for a brief flurry of activity in

1987–88, the coal mines of Summit County have been silent ever since.<sup>17</sup>

However, less than three years after the closing of the Chappell Mine, another form of energy would be found buried in the rock formations near Chalk Creek. The new energy source was oil.

### *The Oil Boom*

Besides the fact that Summit County leads the state in mineral wealth, there is a great possibility that it will soon attract nationwide attention to its oil fields, and our county seat, Coalville, now a city of only a few hundred inhabitants, may soon become one of many thousands.<sup>18</sup>

Those words could have been written in January 1966, when Phillips Petroleum Company found oil on the north slope of the Uinta Mountains. Or they could have been written in December 1974, when the American Quasar Petroleum Company touched off the Overthrust boom with an oil discovery in the Pineview area about twelve miles east of Coalville. Or they could have appeared in December 1979, when Amoco Production Company completed the first well in what would become the giant Anschutz Ranch East oil field.

But, in fact, these words appeared in the *Park Record* in 1921, during one of many early attempts to find and exploit what everyone—even humble newspaper editors—*knew* was there. Only since the mid-1960s have wildcatters tapped the fabulous wealth of Summit County's oil fields; but long before that, people had an inkling that there was black gold in the rock formations underlying the rugged terrain shared by northeastern Utah and southwestern Wyoming.

In July 1847, the vanguard Mormon pioneer company discovered a "spring from which oozed an oil and tar substance" in a small hollow near the Bear River, about eleven miles southeast of the present town of Evanston, Wyoming.<sup>19</sup> The spring became a place for travelers on the Mormon Trail to collect oil for their wagon axles, shoes, harnesses, and rifle stocks. Over the next twenty years, other sites where oil had oozed to the surface were discovered around Evanston. A few entrepreneurs tried to capitalize on the resource, drilling sev-

eral simple wells during the late nineteenth century, but they did not make any major discoveries.<sup>20</sup>

Then, in 1901, discovery of high-grade oil in a Union Pacific Railroad water well triggered a flurry of excitement around Evanston. Oil companies flocked to the Spring Valley area east of Evanston. "Scarcely a day passes that additional drills, rigging and cars of casing do not arrive," the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported in November 1901.<sup>21</sup> In December 1901 the *Tribune* published a seven-page special oil section announcing that the "Oil Era Is At Hand."<sup>22</sup> And, in the Evanston area, so it seemed. Between 1901 and 1915 the area witnessed a modest boom. Oil companies drilled a number of wells, built two refineries, and produced perhaps 150,000 barrels of oil.<sup>23</sup> However, production began to decline rapidly; by the early 1920s, oil companies were looking elsewhere.

Their gaze soon fell upon neighboring Summit County. A succession of oil companies probed the terrain between Coalville and the state line. Among them were Western Empire Petroleum Corporation in 1921, the Ohio Oil Company in 1923, Long Wall Petroleum Corporation in 1935, Mountain Fuel Supply Company in 1938, Texota Oil Company in 1957, and the Ohio Oil Company again in 1959.<sup>24</sup> Although several of these companies found tantalizing hints of petroleum, none managed to drill a commercially successful well. By one estimate, the Overthrust Belt in the Evanston-Coalville area was punctured with more than 350 "dry holes" before serious oil production finally began.<sup>25</sup>

Even unsuccessful wells represented no small achievement in the early 1900s. Drilling a well was a tedious business. Until the rotary rig was perfected, most drillers used a "cable-tool" process, which involved repeatedly hoisting a heavy bit to the top of the derrick and then dropping it down the hole. At regular intervals, crews had to stop drilling so that they could sharpen the bit and remove the "cuttings" from the hole. Using such methods, a well that in the 1990s can reach total depth in a few weeks could have taken years to complete in the 1920s. The 1921 Western Empire well, for example, was still being drilled in 1925!

It was in that year that the *Summit County Bee* insisted, "There is an oil field here, and Coalville will one day soon become the center

of activities.”<sup>26</sup> True, there *was* oil near Coalville, but at much greater depths than the typical cable-tool rig could reach. Many of these early drillers gave up when they reached 3,000 or 4,000 feet without success. Only major improvements in exploration and drilling technology could take the oil companies where they ultimately needed to go.

In the spring of 1965, Phillips Petroleum Company announced plans to drill a well in eastern Summit County, on the north slope of the Uinta Mountains about two miles south of the Wyoming state line. Its target was the Dakota Sandstone formation, about 14,000 feet below the surface. The following January, Summit County heard the news it had been anticipating for decades. Oil! The new Phillips well—nearly three miles deep—was producing about 2,500 barrels a day. This was the deepest producing well ever drilled in Utah.<sup>27</sup>

On 3 March 1966, the *Summit County Bee* ran a photograph of a group of local officials lined up in front of a storage tank at the new well. The group included state senator John Lambert, Summit County Commissioners Archie Pace and Carlos Porter, Summit County Attorney Eugene Hansen, Summit County Assessor G. Allen Jones, South Summit School Superintendent Keith Bailey, and deputy sheriff Leon Wilde. “The new oil field is expected to have a great impact upon the county’s economy,” the newspaper said in yet another burst of optimism.<sup>28</sup>

Calling a single producing well a field was a leap of faith. But, as it turned out, that faith was justified. Phillips completed a second well later in 1966 and three more in 1967. The field, in what is now the Wasatch-Cache National Forest, became known as the Bridger Lake field.

Petroleum engineers have learned that allowing the pressure to drop too quickly in an oil reservoir can result in the loss of valuable reserves, so they have developed a number of techniques for keeping pressures high. One of those is to take natural gas that is produced with the oil and reinject it into the reservoir. Often, they supplement this with gas bought from other sources. This was the technique Phillips Petroleum used to extend the life of the Bridger Lake field. In 1969, Mountain Fuel Supply Company built a twenty-seven-mile pipeline to Bridger Lake from its main transmission line in Wyoming, and Phillips began injecting gas into the reservoir.<sup>29</sup>

By the end of 1971, the Bridger Lake field had yielded about 5.3 million barrels of oil from nine producing wells.<sup>30</sup> However, production had already peaked and was beginning a slow decline.

After that brief flurry of interest in the late 1960s, most oil companies packed up and moved on. But by the early 1970s a separate oil and gas province, about forty-five miles west of Bridger Lake, had caught the attention of the oil companies. Geologists call this area the Overthrust Belt. About 150 million years ago, they say, two of the earth's geologic plates came together in a grinding collision, creating a series of faults running from Central America to Alaska. The turmoil also created traps for oil and gas.

In 1971, Occidental Petroleum Company went looking for one of these traps on the Alan Jones ranch near Upton. "Many other big oil companies are said to be watching the local project with intense interest," the *Summit County Bee* reported on 6 January 1972. "An oil strike in the area would mean a real boom for Coalville." Occidental didn't find oil in commercial quantities, but tests from the well were encouraging enough to spark further exploration. By early 1974, American Quasar Petroleum Company and two partners, Energetics Incorporated and North Central Oil Company, had started drilling about twelve miles east of Coalville, not far from the Occidental well.

A week before Christmas in 1974, there were unconfirmed reports of oil flowing from the well. A week later, the reports were verified. The companies had found oil and gas in the No. 1 Newton Sheep Company well at about 9,930 feet. The well was completed early in 1975 and began producing about 500 barrels of oil a day.<sup>31</sup>

In June 1975, state officials reported that American Quasar had found oil in a second well less than a mile away. Within the next year, two more producing wells were drilled in what had become known as the Pineview field. In October 1978, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported there were twenty Pineview wells producing from two different oil-bearing formations. By the end of 1979, Pineview had produced almost 11.5 million barrels of oil and 12 billion cubic feet of natural gas.<sup>32</sup>

At the time of the Pineview discovery, the Arab oil embargo and the U.S. energy crisis had generated intense interest in finding new domestic oil reserves. It is little wonder, then, that in the late 1970s

exploration crews swarmed over the Overthrust Belt in Utah and Wyoming looking for new Pineviews. In Summit County, drilling rigs found oil and gas at Elkhorn Ridge and Lodgepole in 1977 and at Anschutz Ranch in 1978.

However, among the Utah discoveries, Pineview remained the most prolific. "All of these appear to be of much more modest size than Pineview, although the Anschutz Ranch discovery to the north still remains to be defined as to size," a state official said in December 1979. "[As of] the middle of 1979, three of the fields—the Anschutz Ranch, Elkhorn Ridge and South Lodgepole fields—have not achieved production beyond initial test."<sup>33</sup>

Ironically, at the same time that those words appeared in print, Amoco was less than a week away from completing the first well in a new oil and gas field that would eclipse all previous Overthrust discoveries. The well was the No. 1 Bountiful Livestock Well, drilled at a cost of some \$7 million about twenty miles northeast of Coalville. The field was Anschutz Ranch East, straddling the Utah-Wyoming state line.

It soon became clear to Amoco engineers that they had found something special. During tests, the Bountiful Livestock well flowed at rates as high as 7.5 million cubic feet of gas and 1,500 barrels of oil a day. By the spring of 1981, the completion of three other wells—including one in Uinta County, Wyoming—led Amoco to conclude that the new field contained "the energy equivalent of 800 million to 1.2 billion barrels of oil."<sup>34</sup> In the jargon of the oil industry, any field with reserves of 100 million barrels or more is called a "giant." Anschutz Ranch East certainly qualified. Around the country, people took notice.

"This field is a giant among giants," David Work, a regional exploration manager for Amoco, told the *New York Times* in August 1981. "It's the biggest thing in the United States since Prudhoe Bay [Alaska]."<sup>35</sup> Contributing to the euphoria—within the oil and gas industry, at least—was the inflated price that oil was fetching on the world market. A barrel that had sold for less than three dollars before the 1973 Arab embargo was commanding as much as forty dollars in 1981.<sup>36</sup> Exploration in the United States also received a boost from President Jimmy Carter's 1979 decision to phase out price controls



on domestic oil by September 1981, a timetable accelerated by his successor in the White House, Ronald Reagan.

By August 1981, six successful wells had been completed in the Anschutz Ranch East field—three by Amoco, three by Anschutz. A seventh well was being completed and ten others were in various stages of drilling. According to some predictions, there would be eighty producing wells by 1983. “It’s going to be at least 1985 before this field is really blowing and going,” David Work told the *New York Times*.<sup>37</sup>

By January 1981, oil and gas companies had spent more than \$1 billion on exploration and production, discovered sixteen oil and gas fields and built three gas-processing plants.<sup>38</sup> In January 1982, thirty-seven different companies were operating a total of ninety-three drilling rigs along the Overthrust Belt.<sup>39</sup> By the end of 1982, three more fields had been discovered in Summit County: Cave Creek (1980), Pineview North (1982), and Aagard Ranch (1982).<sup>40</sup>

The Overthrust discoveries had an enormous impact on both sides of the Utah-Wyoming state line. The Overthrust Industrial Association, which represented most of the oil companies working in the area, estimated that the boom created about 9,700 jobs. In the center of the storm was Evanston, which grew in population from 4,000 to about 7,000 in ten years, according to Evanston city manager Stephen Snyder.<sup>41</sup>

The changes were less dramatic in Summit County, but there were changes nonetheless. A 1983 social impact study asked 125 residents of the North Summit (Coalville) area whether they thought their area had been affected by the energy development in Utah. On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 represented little effect and 5 represented a great effect, the average (mean) response was 3.8. The study found that, among other things:

Businesses have flourished; new businesses have been established; jobs are more plentiful for young residents so they do not have to leave the North Summit Valley for employment elsewhere; education has benefited by the building of a new high school, a new high school auditorium, a new grade school, and soon, possibly, a new middle school; new people have influenced the cultural base of the city; and residents have been exposed to new and different societal

ideas. Some residents see some negatives of the boom period: there were too many transient workers and residents; safety became a measure of concern—they could no longer allow their children to walk home late at night from a movie, party, school or church event; social influences were present which were not always accepted or condoned; and they found it difficult to not be able to know everyone in town when they walked down the street.<sup>42</sup>

At the height of the boom in 1984, exploration and production companies paid 419 local residents about \$10.8 million to work in the oil and gas fields.<sup>43</sup>

Perhaps the most dramatic impact was on the county's tax base. In 1985, for example, oil- and gas-producing properties in Summit County were valued at almost \$2.1 billion, which represented almost 65 percent of the value of all taxable property in the county. Local taxing districts reaped a windfall. In South Summit School District, oil and gas properties paid almost 92 percent of all district taxes in both 1985 and 1986; in North Summit School District, they paid 66 percent in 1983 and about 62.5 percent in 1984. In Summit County, they paid almost 65 percent in 1985 and 62 percent in 1986.<sup>44</sup>

But with every boom comes a bust, and the oil fields of the Overthrust Belt were no exception. In 1986, the bottom fell out of the oil market. That summer, the price of a barrel of some grades of crude oil dropped below ten dollars.<sup>45</sup> Not long after, the oil companies packed up their drilling rigs and moved away in droves. In 1989, only three new wells were drilled in Summit County; all of them were dry. The number of county residents working in exploration and production had dwindled to seventy-nine, and the total payroll was about a quarter of what it had been five years earlier. In 1990 there were only two new wells. Both were dry holes.<sup>46</sup>

With no new wells to offset declines in existing fields, production began to drop. The output from Summit County's oil fields peaked at about 16.66 million barrels in 1986. Five years later, it had dropped below 6.5 million; by 1996 it had slid to about 3.1 million barrels.<sup>47</sup>

For Summit County property owners, who had grown accustomed to tax rates lower than those of almost any other Utah county, the loss of oil revenues was a rude shock. Between 1988 and 1989, the assessed values of oil and gas properties dropped by almost half—

from about \$1.4 billion to \$733 million.<sup>48</sup> To compensate, county commissioners hiked tax rates by about a third.<sup>49</sup> Then, in 1992, Utah's oil-producing counties—including Summit County—took another hit when the petroleum industry lobbied the Utah Tax Commission to change the method it used to value oil and gas properties. That change alone cost the county about 15 percent of its annual revenues.<sup>50</sup> By 1995, oil and gas properties were paying less than half the property tax collected by the South Summit School District and only about 11.5 percent of the tax collected by the county.<sup>51</sup>

Although the bloom appears to be off the rose, industry experts say a large amount of oil and gas still lies within the Overthrust Belt. New technology may make the difference in its retrieval. In 1994, Union Pacific Resources Company attracted industry attention with a well in the Elkhorn Ridge field that produced about six times as much oil as did surrounding wells. The difference? Union Pacific was using a technique known as horizontal drilling in which the drill bit is designed to move sideways through the producing formation.

Large expanses of the Overthrust Belt remain to be explored. At the same time, technology keeps improving. Besides innovations in drilling methods, the cost of sophisticated exploration tools such as three-dimensional seismic surveys is steadily dropping. Should oil prices rise again, the drilling rigs may well return.

### *The Park City Mines*

On the other side of the county, the story lay in silver. In its particulars, the history of silver mining differs from that of coal and oil; but, in many ways, it's the same story.

This narrative began in the early 1860s with the discovery of precious metals in the mountains near Salt Lake City. General Patrick Connor, the commanding officer of federal troops stationed at Fort Douglas east of the city, quickly recognized an opportunity to dilute the Mormon majority in Utah with a flood of gentiles, or non-Mormons. To publicize the discoveries, he founded a daily newspaper, the *Union Vedette*, and he encouraged his troops to prospect for mineral wealth. Before long, troops had found deposits of silver ore in Little Cottonwood Canyon and in the Oquirrh Mountains west of

Salt Lake City.<sup>52</sup> General Connor was discharged from the U.S. Army in 1866, but prospectors continued to swarm over the territory's mountains in search of precious metals.

Exactly who made the first discovery in the Park City area, and when that discovery was made, are questions that have never been settled. According to one story, the honor goes to three soldiers who found an outcropping of ore on a windswept ridge overlooking Bonanza Flats in the fall of 1868.<sup>53</sup> Another version indicates that the first discovery was made by prospectors Rufus Walker and Ephraim Hanks in 1869.<sup>54</sup> Whatever the date, it's clear that production had begun in the area by the early 1870s.

In 1871 the Flagstaff Mine made its camp's first shipment, forty tons of galena ore, shipped by wagon to Echo City. Soon, ore was traveling from other claims to processing mills in Ogden, Salt Lake City, Rush Valley (near Tooele), and elsewhere. A year later, a group of prospectors made the discovery that would become the fabled Ontario Mine. They sold their claim to California investors George Hearst and J.B. Haggin for \$27,000. The mine would produce \$50 million in rare mineral wealth and \$15 million in dividends to its stockholders. During its heyday, the Ontario was considered by some to be the greatest silver mine in the world.

By the 1880s, dozens of mines were active in the Park City Mining District. Mining momentum was so strong in Park City that most companies survived the drop in silver prices in 1883. The Crescent Company, founded in 1882, struck it rich immediately. Among the other major producers founded in the 1880s were the Daly Mining Company and the Anchor Mining Company (later known as the Daly-Judge), both of which developed ore bodies in Empire Canyon west of the Ontario Mine.<sup>55</sup>

Even the more significant national financial panic of 1893 had only a limited impact on Park City mines. That it passed through the crisis of 1893 with only two small failures is "ample evidence of the solid basis upon which the town's business interests rests," the *Park Record* concluded.<sup>56</sup> Most of the major producers, such as the Ontario, Anchor, and Daly mines, continued to make millions of dollars during the 1890s; they were assisted by new drilling equipment that allowed them to penetrate ever deeper into the rich lodes of sil-



The upper end of Park City in the early 1900s showing the Ontario mill (upper left) and a huge waste dump where a number of houses now stand. (Utah State Historical Society)

ver, gold, and other rare metals. During this decade, the Woodside, Bonanza, Mayflower, Silver King and Daly-West mines became prominent and made wealthy men of David Keith, Thomas Kearns, John Daly, John Judge, R.C. Chambers, D.C. McLaughlin, Albion Emery, the Ferry brothers, Ezra Thompson, and others.

The Daly-West Mine, incorporated in 1892, soon hit new ore bodies and passed the \$1 million income mark five years later. By 1900 it had distributed \$1 million in dividends, and by 1905 it was paying out \$100,000 per month.

The mining industry had a powerful impact on Utah's economy, particularly in the years before statehood. In 1882, for example, mineral products accounted for about 78 percent of the state's total exports.<sup>57</sup> By the early 1960s, the major Park City mines had produced about 250 million ounces of silver, 900,000 ounces of gold, 1.3 million tons of lead, and 600,000 tons of zinc—with a total value of almost \$500 million.<sup>58</sup>

Ironically, many of the officers and directors of the major mines chose to live not in Park City but in Salt Lake City, where they used their extraordinary wealth to build many monumental architectural



The kitchen of a mine boarding house, Park City. (Utah State Historical Society)

structures. Elegant buildings named after Daly, Judge, Kearns, and Keith are still standing in downtown Salt Lake City today. Thomas Kearns was elected to the U.S. Senate by the state legislature in January 1901 and bought the *Salt Lake Tribune* later that year.<sup>59</sup> The Kearns mansion on South Temple Street was later donated to the state and now serves as the governor's official residence. The widow of John Judge funded the construction of Judge Memorial Hospital, which later became a school.

New mines joined the old ones during the first decade of the twentieth century, including a profitable gold operation opened by the American Flag Company. Along with a handful of substantial mines, hundreds of smaller mines came and went until the national panic of 1907 slowed the fervor. The Kimberly, Utah's leading gold camp and an operation that had relied on scrip, was one of the casualties. But the mines faced more than economic difficulties during this time. Groundwater problems, cave-ins, increasing numbers of

lawsuits, rising taxes and levies, and the physical deterioration of older mines also contributed to a slowdown of mining activity.

Still, the better managed and financed companies remained strong and kept the industry healthy. By 1912 the Silver King Mine had equalled the world-famous Ontario Mine, each having distributed dividends of \$14 million. The Park Utah Mining Company, created in 1917, reached new ore bodies via the Ontario No. 2 (Keetley) mine tunnel. By 1923, the Park Utah Mine had become the leading silver producer in the Park City district, yielding more than three million ounces a year.<sup>60</sup> That year, the Union Pacific built a 5.3-mile spur from Richardson Flat to Keetley to serve the new mine.<sup>61</sup>

Some mines stayed healthy by merging with, or buying out, weaker competitors. In 1922, George Lambourne and several associates formed the Park City Mining and Smelting Company by merging the Daly, Daly-West, and Daly-Judge mines. By 1925, Lambourne's group had merged the Park City Mining and Smelting Company with the Park Utah and the Ontario Silver Mining Company, forming the Park Utah Consolidated Mining Company.<sup>62</sup> The venture met with instant results—the discovery of a “monstrous” ore body. By 1928 the Park Utah company was said to be the largest single silver producer in the United States.<sup>63</sup>

However, shortly after World War I, the Park City mines went through a period of serious labor unrest. Inflation, triggered by the war, was felt throughout Park City well into 1919. The mines attempted to control the soaring cost of operations by cutting wages by 75 cents a day.

In May 1919, the workers rebelled. Some 800 to 900 miners and mill workers walked off the job, an action that, according to the *Salt Lake Tribune*, forced the first complete shutdown of the Park City mines in 50 years.<sup>64</sup> Among other demands, the men wanted a six-hour work day and a pay raise from \$4.50 to \$5.50 per day. The *Park Record* lamented the situation:

Every mine and mill in Park City District is idle, and one property, the famous old Ontario, that since its dewatering more than four years ago, has produced many thousands of pounds of ore every week, and given employment to scores of men, has been put out of commission perhaps for all time, because of the strikers edict to

call out the pumpmen and the consequent flooding of the expensive lower workings of the property.<sup>65</sup>

Mine owners blamed the strike on the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), an offshoot of the Western Federation of Miners, which one author described as the "wrecking crew" of the labor movement.<sup>66</sup> IWW members, who were known as "Wobblies," advocated the overthrow of capitalism and supported the Russian Revolution and other communist causes.

The owners refused to negotiate, saying this radical element did not represent the working miners. However, using their own spies, they carefully monitored the debate between IWW members and less radical miners, many of whom were married and could ill afford to stay out of work for long. Between 27 May and 6 August 1919, the Silver King Consolidated Mining Company received a series of reports, written by someone identified only as "Opr. #240," which carefully documented the movements of the strikers. Opr. #240 clearly had the confidence of the strike organizers, as this report from 14 June indicates:

At the union hall during the afternoon Opr. heard no less than fifteen men complaining about the strike committee not trying to settle the trouble, and they all said that it was better to give up and go back to work, then get all of the underground men lined up in the Western Federation, elect a fair committee from each of the different mines, and then ask for the 75 cents, eight hours collar to collar, and give the mine owners at least ten days to grant the demands.

This talk is very well liked by the married men and a good many of the less radical miners in the camp, but it is hated by all radicals and there are quite a number of these left, altho it is very plain to be seen that they are leaving town very rapidly in the past week.<sup>67</sup>

After about six weeks, the strike collapsed. In late June, the miners voted by a margin of about two to one to return to work, and the mines gradually began to resume operations.<sup>68</sup> However, the strike had forced many miners to look for work elsewhere, aggravating the



local labor shortage. In an effort to attract qualified miners and mill workers, the Park City mines raised daily wages by 75 cents.<sup>69</sup>

The Great Depression crippled but didn't entirely kill mining activities in Park City. Just prior to the stock market crash of 1929, stocks in the city's major mines had the following per share values: Silver King: \$12.87; Park Utah: \$6.40; Park Con: \$2.00; and New Quincy: \$2.50. A year later, the same stocks were worth only \$6.50, \$1.50, \$0.27, and 7 cents, respectively. Declining metal prices were largely responsible for the drop in prices. In order to survive, mining companies laid off workers, increased hours, and/or lowered wages. James Ivers, who started working in the Silver King about 1932, said the company's decision to continue to provide jobs during the Depression cost the company dearly later on:

The Silver King announced that they would try to keep open if they could. But to do so, they had to ask the people to take a pretty heavy reduction in wages. And as they explained it, "If we close down, you've got no choice for a job but to move on. If we can stay open, even though the wages are minimal, you at least have a choice. You can move on, or you can stay and take the minimal wages." And that decision was [General Manager] Mike Dailey's. And they mined out an awful lot of good ore during that period of time. That was the beginning of the end of Park City because, had they kept that ore, two years later it would have meant millions of dollars difference in what they got for it. But that ore was taken out expressly to keep the mine vital and to keep the people there that needed jobs.<sup>70</sup>

In July 1933, at the depth of the Depression, the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (formerly the Western Federation of Miners) organized a new local in Park City. Coming at a time of depressed wages, the local's militant posture attracted a large following. By November 1935 the union had 605 members in Park City and another 871 in other Utah locals.<sup>71</sup> A year later, the union flexed its muscles, asking for a wage increase of 50 cents a day and demanding that miners be paid "collar to collar"—in other words, that they be compensated for the time spent traveling to their work locations inside the mines. The negotiations involved not only Park City, but also the Tintic, Tooele, Lark, and Bingham



This building dominated the Park City skyline for 80 years. Built on Park Avenue in 1901 to transfer ore from the Silver King Mine's aerial tramway to waiting railroad cars, it served the mine for about half a century. The abandoned building burned in 1981. (Park City Historical Society & Museum, Pop Jenks collection)

mining districts. Negotiations reached an impasse and, at midnight on 9 October 1936, the union called a statewide strike. "Mines which produced \$20,000,000 in 1935 are shut down and producing nothing. The entire payroll of Park City, the greatest silver-lead dis-



The Silver King and the Ontario mines were Park City's two biggest producers of silver, lead, and zinc ores. The rusting remnants of the Silver King mill (pictured here about 1935) are still visible on the slopes of Park City Mountain Resort. (Park City Historical Society & Museum, Pop Jenks collection)

trict in the nation, is shut off by the strike," lamented the *Deseret News*.<sup>72</sup>

A month later, the five mining companies hit by the strike, including two from Park City, offered returning workers a raise of 25 cents a day. Miners and smelter workers in other districts voted to call off the strike, but Park City miners voted to stay out.

On 12 December 1936, after union members had rejected another offer, mine owners tried to break the strike using "valley men," nonunion miners from neighboring towns such as Heber in Wasatch County. That afternoon, an automobile convoy carrying about 125 strikebreakers was spotted heading into town. According to one report:

Union pickets massed at the foot of Main street and Park avenue. Sheriff [Ephraim] Adamson and his deputies met the car-

avan. The sheriff assertedly stopped the caravan before it entered the city and searched the Heber City volunteers for weapons before allowing them to proceed. After determining there were no arms in the group, he allowed the machines to proceed.

The caravan proceeded up the hill leading to Main street, when it was abruptly confronted by some 400 union pickets, massed tightly in the narrow street. The first automobile was unable to pass. The caravan was stopped.

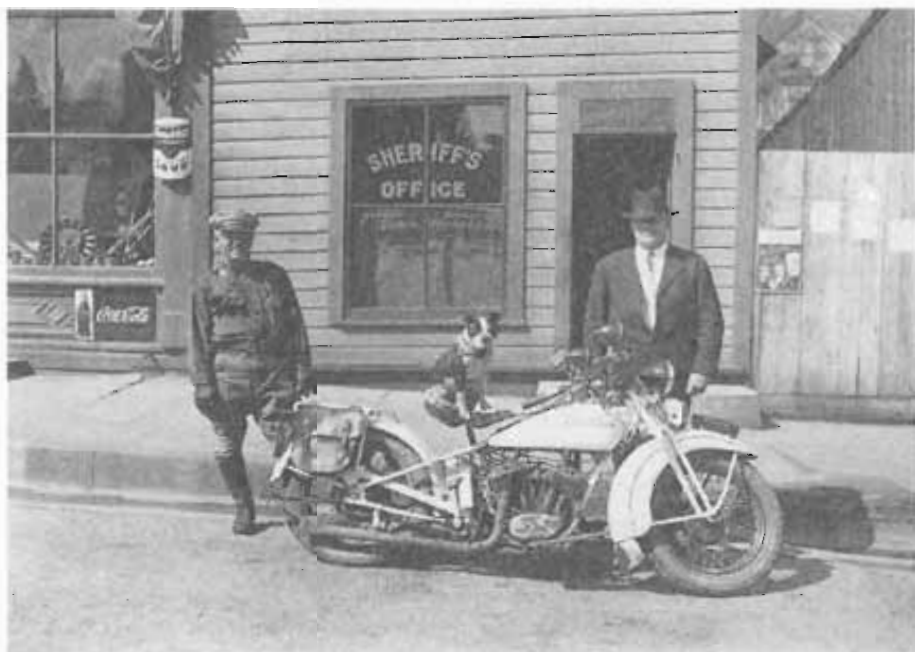
Immediately the mass of pickets closed in from both sides. Nonunion men were snatched from the machines and the two first cars were overturned by the pickets. Other caravan members alighted from the cars, to be met with the flying fists of the union men, and to suffer bruised and bleeding heads and faces.

The battle raged in the street for 10 or 15 minutes, then apparently ceased of its own volition. By this time, Sheriff Adamson had arrived, but attempts to stop the struggle were futile. The pitched battle renewed and women lined along the outskirts shouted encouragement to the fighting union men, imprecations to the Wasatch county contingent.

Minor encounters were noted along the fringes of the pitched battle, which centered around the caravan. After 40 minutes of fighting, the volunteer workers were beaten and staggered down the hill.<sup>73</sup>

Ironically, Sheriff Ephraim Adamson, the peacemaker in 1936, had been one of the organizers of the strike of 1919. In the wake of that showdown, Utah Governor Henry H. Blood held separate closed sessions with mine operators and union officials. His efforts apparently paid off—by the following week, the miners had agreed to return to work.<sup>74</sup>

Although World War II dramatically increased the demand for metals, Park City's mines actually suffered. The war siphoned off many of the mines' skilled workers, and production couldn't keep pace with its prewar levels. Government restrictions also prevented the mines from spending money to explore for new ore deposits. In the decade following the war, the economic picture in Park City was in stark contrast to that in most of the country. Thanks to recurring labor disputes and falling prices for lead and zinc, the area's major mines were operating well below capacity, if they operated at all. In



Ephraim Adamson, an organizer of the Park City strike of 1919, later became sheriff and was charged with keeping the peace during the strike of 1936. Here, Adamson (right) stands in front of the Park City sheriff's office, 509 Main St., about 1933. At left is Deputy Sam Billings. (Park City Historical Society & Museum, Pop Jenks collection)

mid-1952, Park Utah Consolidated Mines Company, which included the venerable Ontario Mine, shut down entirely.

In March 1954, Summit County Commissioners Archie Pace, Ernest Chappell, and David W. Loertscher wrote a long letter to Utah's representatives in Congress pleading for aid in reviving the town's crippled mining industry:

As you undoubtedly know, the Park City mines have not operated since approximately the middle of 1952. . . . The mine payrolls constituted the community's only source of income. Since these payrolls have been cut off, the town has been rapidly going down hill in population, school enrollment, business enterprises and financial solvency until the town has become a liability to the county instead of an asset. . . .

In 1953, over 200 properties have been sold to the county for

taxes. Many of these properties are homes on which, because of the closing of the mines and no income, the owners have been unable to pay taxes. Many of these homes are vacant and rapidly going to ruin. Others are being lived in but the occupants pay no rent. Naturally none of these properties contribute toward the county's tax burden.<sup>75</sup>

The letter cited statistics showing that Park City's population had dropped from 4,281 in 1930 to about 2,000 in 1953, and that enrollment in the schools had dropped from 1,052 in 1941–42 to 449 in 1953–54.

The commissioners urged Utah's representatives to work to protect domestic mines from low-cost foreign metals and to call in government mediators to help settle the two-year-old strike in the Park City mines. However, despite the efforts of Utah legislators, the federal government did little to save Park City's faltering mines. In August 1954, President Dwight Eisenhower dashed the hopes of many miners and mine owners by refusing to increase the tariffs on imports of lead and zinc.<sup>76</sup>

By the late 1950s, fewer than two hundred men worked in the local mines, hundreds of houses and businesses were deserted, and the mining era had apparently ended. Guidebooks began to list Park City as a "ghost town," and the city's future seemed dim.<sup>77</sup> However, some still thought the Park City District contained fortunes in unmined mineral wealth. The 1953 merger of two major mining companies—Park Utah Consolidated Mines Company and Silver King Coalition Mines Company—to form United Park City Mines Company triggered new optimism in Park City.<sup>78</sup>

In the 1960s, uranium millionaire Charles Steen from Grand County became president of the New Park Company; however, his relative unfamiliarity with silver-mining procedures resulted in poor management and the closure of one of the district's longest operating mines. During its ninety years, the New Park Mine (earlier the Glen Allen) had produced as much as \$100 million worth of precious metals. Following its last gasp, the mine's surface rights were sold, including the slopes of 10,000-foot-high Bald Mountain and McHenry Canyon, sites ripe for future ski resort development.

In 1970, two major shareholders in United Park City Mines, the

Anaconda Copper Company and the American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO), formed Park City Ventures to lease all of the Park City company's mining operations. Park City Ventures spent \$17 million on a new mill at the Ontario Mine, invested millions more to upgrade the mine's underground workings, and hired more than 300 employees, many from neighboring towns such as Heber and Kamas. Production resumed in the spring of 1975. Park City Ventures was unable to recoup its investment, however, and abruptly closed the mine in February 1978.<sup>79</sup>

Noranda Mining Company of Canada took over the mine in 1979, invested additional capital, re-employed the miners, and resumed production in the fall of 1980. But Noranda was no more successful than its predecessor. By the spring of 1982, the mine was at a virtual standstill.<sup>80</sup>

For another thirteen years, United Park City Mines kept a maintenance crew at the Ontario Mine, looking to the day when the tunnels could be reopened. That day came in the fall of 1995—when the Ontario Mine was opened to tourists! Today, the Park City Silver Mine Adventure gives visitors a taste of the mining era with a series of carefully crafted exhibits; it then takes them 1,500 feet underground for a tour of some of the old mine workings. Many of the tour guides are intimately familiar with the subject, having themselves once worked in the Ontario as miners and muckers.

Park City's reputation as a mining center has long been replaced by its new identity as a destination resort. The last major mining structure in the city limits—the Silver King Coalition Building—was accidentally burned to the ground in July 1981. On the outskirts of town and up the nearby canyons, a few lonely mining structures remain to remind the curious of a time when the district's mines produced twenty-three millionaires and immense mineral wealth.

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## CHAPTER 14

# PARK CITY TURNS TO SKIING

In 1950, if a person had asked a group of Park City residents to describe their town in the year 2000, it is unlikely that even those with the wildest imaginations could have come close to divining the future of their struggling little mining town. Vast resorts built on Treasure Mountain and on Otto Carpenter's old Snow Park ski hill, multimillion-dollar homes, burgeoning subdivisions, a five-lane highway sweeping into town: all of this would have been inconceivable then.

But even in the 1950s, Parkites had an inkling of the resource they had in the twenty-five feet of snow that fell in the mountains every winter. In fact, although it's hard to tell how much of it was self-promotional puffery, the people of Park City have been singing the praises of their town as a winter resort for at least seventy years. Consider this item from the front page of the *Park Record* on 23 February 1923, on the occasion of a skiing tournament—Park City's first:

Yesterday was a gala day for winter sports in Park City, and the first of annual events that will result in bringing many hun-

dreds of people to Park City, and advertising our city as a "mecca" for winter sports . . .

A "meet" was decided upon for 3:30 yesterday afternoon. The Cumberland hill, south of Treasure Hill, was selected for the exhibition, and a large crowd of Park City people gathered to witness the sport. Ski jumping was the feature, and some pretty work witnessed—the big jump being 60 feet.<sup>1</sup>

The jumping event fired up the imagination of local schoolboys. Before long, Park City youngsters were jumping off the old Creole mine dump just above town, both for fun and for sport. A tournament in 1932 attracted more than 175 boys from the first through the eighth grades of the Lincoln and Jefferson elementary schools.<sup>2</sup> In that event, with a jump of fifty-five feet, Arlyn Halvorsen of Park City came within two feet of equalling the state school record.

If Creole Hill was the appetizer, then Ecker Hill was the main course. Built on a sagebrush-covered hillside on Rasmussen's Ranch, Ecker Hill put Summit County skiing in the international spotlight for the first time. The son of Scandinavian immigrants, Chris Rasmussen was determined to teach his own three sons—and other local boys—some of the ways of the old country. In the late 1920s he erected a modest jumping scaffold in the field behind his house. Like Creole Hill, the scaffold was a good training ground for junior jumpers; however, it would never attract the world-class jumpers who were making headlines elsewhere around the West. So, with the encouragement of the newly formed Norwegian-American Athletic Club of Salt Lake City, Rasmussen and his three sons began to shape the nearby hillside into a first-rate jumping facility.<sup>3</sup>

In February 1929, Utah jumper Calmar Andreasen set a state record at the new hill with a leap of 98 feet.<sup>4</sup> A year later, some 5,000 people watched him break his own record with a jump of 114 feet.<sup>5</sup> But it wasn't really Andreasen that those 5,000 people had come to see. By 1930, the reputation of Ecker Hill—named after Peter Ecker, president of the Utah Ski Club—had spread across the country. And the real stars of that March event were twelve professional jumpers, most of them Norwegian immigrants to the United States. In a story crackling with superlatives, Mel Gallacher of the *Salt Lake Tribune* described the event this way:

These dozen daredevils of the mountain air, scions of Norwegian ski-jumpers of old, sped down the precipitous runway, leaped far out into space and landed on the incline below with a dexterity that marks the great showman. Out of 45 jumps exhibited by professionals only one leap was marred by a fall. No wonder that the huge throng that visited Ecker hill was enthralled by the phenomenal performance."<sup>6</sup>

One of the longest jumps that day, 164 feet, was made by a young Norwegian immigrant who was so taken with Ecker Hill that before long he would make Utah his home. The young man, Alf Engen, went on to extend the hill record several times, ultimately reaching 285 feet in a practice jump in February 1941.<sup>7</sup> Engen and Ecker Hill made international news, and Engen's relatives in Norway liked to send him copies of local newspapers describing his feats on this marvelous new jumping hill in the United States.

Ecker Hill became a focal point for national events during the 1930s: the U.S. Olympic Team Trials in March 1936; the jumping portion of the North American Ski Championships in 1937; and the U.S. Olympic Ski Team tryouts in 1939. Thousands of spectators made the trip up Parleys Canyon each winter to watch the ski jumpers in action.

After a lull during World War II, Ecker Hill's popularity surged again in the late 1940s. However, by the 1950s, the judges' stand and the takeoff ramp had begun to disintegrate, as interest in the sport dwindled. One of the last organized jumps at Ecker Hill took place in February 1962.<sup>8</sup> Today, Ecker Hill is surrounded by homes in the Pinebrook subdivision. Only a few weathered timbers and a commemorative plaque mark the spot where Alf Engen once made headlines.

One reason ski jumping lost its following was that many of those who once had been content to watch the sport had begun to strap on skis themselves. In the West, beginning in the late 1930s, resorts like Sun Valley, Idaho, and Alta, Utah, began to lure recreational skiers. Alf Engen himself swapped his jumping skis for alpine equipment and went on to become director of the Alta Ski School.

Summit County had no facilities to compete with Sun Valley or Alta. However, there was a secluded spot owned by Park City

Consolidated (Park Con) Mines, a north-facing hillside at the head of Deer Valley. And in February 1936 this hillside became the site of what the *Park Record* called “Park City’s first winter carnival,” organized by the Salt Lake Junior Chamber of Commerce:

More than 500 boarded the Denver and Rio Grande “snow train” at Salt Lake Sunday morning and with a snow plow going ahead to “clear the track,” a jolly ride was enjoyed. The train took the visitors right to the scene of the festivities and “parked” right there for the entire day. . . .

Two hundred or more local “sports” were in the Deer Valley section to greet and welcome the visitors, and the fun and spills and thrills commenced immediately, and continued until late evening, when the “toot, toot” of the two locomotives attached to the train summoned “all aboard.” . . .

And now, as a winter’s sports center, Park City wins the banner, and Deer Valley, the ideal spot, will become world famed.<sup>9</sup>

Indeed it would—but not for another forty-five or fifty years. In the meantime, Deer Valley remained a haunt for local “sports” and their counterparts from Salt Lake City, who made the snow trains an annual event.

In the winter of 1936–37, Deer Valley skiing got some help from workers paid by the federal Works Progress Administration (WPA), who built ski trails, toboggan slides, slalom courses, ski-jump take-offs, and shelter cabins, according to the *Park Record*.<sup>10</sup> Over the next few years, stories in the paper continued to sing the praises of Park City skiing and lament the lack of attention that the area received. “Sports fiends may speak about their Sun Valley—we have a Sun Valley right here in Utah, under the name of Park City—but we have yet to make them believe it,” wrote a contributor. “There are two ways to make them think of Park City as it should be thought of, and these are to talk and to act—we can do both if we only try.”<sup>11</sup>

Park City residents Bob Burns and Otto Carpenter believed it. In 1946, they set out to give the town its first bona-fide ski area, complete with mechanized lifts. For their ski area they picked that same Deer Valley hillside where the WPA had cut runs ten years previously. Burns was a machinist and Carpenter, true to his name, was a car-



Cross-country skiing near Park City, 1946. (Patrick Cone)

penter; they assembled the first lift using homemade wooden towers, surplus mine equipment, and lots of ingenuity.

"That lift was made out of pine poles that we cut when we cleared the area," Carpenter said in a 1986 interview. "Bob knew how to make everything work on the mechanical end of it. We built the wheels and we bought a big Hercules truck engine that sat up on the top."<sup>12</sup> Originally designed to be a T-bar, the lift was soon converted to carry chairs. Burns and Carpenter later added a second lift for beginners powered by a Ford Model A engine.

Although the equipment was rustic, it rarely broke down, according to Mel Fletcher, who directed the ski school at the little resort. When things did break, it was often the fault of an overanxious skier. "A lot of times the kids would bail off in between stations," Fletcher said. "Either that, or they'd fall off the chair messing around. And they'd swing the chair. And when the chair would swing, it would catch one of the towers, and it would very easily pull it down. . . . It would just lift the poles right out of the ground."<sup>13</sup>



The little resort became known as Snow Park, taking its name from a local ski club started by Fletcher and some of his friends. Snow Park was literally a mom-and-pop operation. While Burns and Carpenter ran the lifts, their wives cooked hamburgers in a tiny concession stand heated by a coal stove.

While Snow Park met the needs of the local skiers, it wasn't exactly the savior of the Park City economy. It ran only on weekends, attracting perhaps a hundred skiers a day; by some accounts, it never made much money.<sup>14</sup> Meanwhile, the town's economy was in a tail-spin. By the early 1950s, the closing of the major mines cast a pall over the town that prompted the Summit County Board of Commissioners to ask the federal government for help.

The commissioners urged Utah's congressional representatives to work to protect domestic mines from low-cost foreign metals and to call in government mediators to help settle the two-year-old strike in the Park City mines. Unfortunately, the federal government did little to save Park City's faltering mines. But the story was a different one a few years later when officials of the major local mining company, United Park City Mines, came up with their own scheme to prop up the town's dismal economy.

In 1958, the mining company's board of directors commissioned a study by the National Planning and Research Company to determine whether the Park City area had the qualities to become a year-round playground.<sup>15</sup> Encouraged by the results, S.K. Droubay, vice-president and general manager of United Park City Mines, met with Summit County commissioners in January 1959 "to discuss the possibilities of a recreation area in Park City."<sup>16</sup> A month later, Droubay made a proposal to buy lots that had reverted to the county because of unpaid taxes for "\$5.00 per lot for side hill lots and \$16.00 per lot for regular lots." After making an exception for hardship cases, the commissioners accepted his offer.<sup>17</sup>

Exactly what the mining company planned to do was the subject of much local speculation, as local historians George Thompson and Fraser Buck recalled:

Many people were puzzled at the spiralling land values of Park City real estate during the late 1950s and early 60s. The United Park

City Mining Company began buying up a lot of unused land and old buildings while out-of-town people were paying prices unheard of before for vacant lots and empty houses. Realty companies were advertising Park City property for sale in Salt Lake City newspapers while land agents were offering to buy business properties for unknown buyers. For several years residents had been hearing vague and often mysterious rumors that a giant year-around vacation and recreation complex was being planned for the area but no one seemed to be able to learn anything definite.<sup>18</sup>

Early in May 1961, Droubay and other mining officials urged residents to write President John Kennedy in support of legislation that would declare Park City part of a national "depressed area."<sup>19</sup> Later that month, local residents finally got a glimpse of the future when shareholders of United Park City Mines approved the formation of a company to develop more than 10,000 acres of surface property in the Park City-Heber area. John M. Wallace, president of the mining company, discussed developing recreational amenities such as skiing, horseback riding, golf, and tennis, and also the construction of lodges and summer homes.<sup>20</sup>

It was ambitious talk, especially for a company that had seen little income for a decade. But, that year, federal legislators approved an aid program that would launch Park City into the recreation business; known as the Federal Area Redevelopment Act, it offered low-interest loans to depressed areas.

In the spring of 1962, United Park City Mines announced that it was applying for one of these loans, with the purpose of constructing a major recreation complex. The company's vision for the future of Park City, written in the early 1960s, sounds as if it could have been taken from a chamber of commerce brochure today:

Quaint restaurants, cafes and tea rooms serve fine food in an atmosphere from all over the world. Bars and lounges, some preserving the old "boomtown" atmosphere, others with a more intimate flair, offer music for dancing or relaxation after an exciting day of sports. . . .

Tracks of happy skiers lead right into the valley streets. People bask in the glorious sunshine, skiers plume their way through the

thick, powdery blankets, and the sun transforms this resort into a play paradise of winter fun, leaving healthy tans with all.<sup>21</sup>

That summer, a group of Utah newspaper publishers traveled to Washington, D.C., at the invitation of President Kennedy. Among them was John Gallivan, publisher of the *Salt Lake Tribune*, and H.C. "Mac" McConaughy, publisher of the *Morgan News*, *Summit County Bee*, and the *Park Record*. In later years, one of McConaughy's proudest possessions was a photograph showing him among a group eating lunch with Kennedy. Gallivan and McConaughy used that lunch meeting to lobby for the low-interest loan

In August came the news: United Park City Mines had been awarded a loan of \$1,232,000 to help finance the construction of a ski lift, activity center, a mountain restaurant, horseback-riding facilities, and a camping center.<sup>22</sup> The loan, which carried a 4 percent interest rate, would be repaid over twenty-five years.

A month later, Droubay told the *Park Record* that the mining company planned to spend about \$1.9 million to build a two-mile-long gondola, a ski complex in the upper basins served by the gondola, an activity center at the base, a mountain lodge at the upper terminal, and a golf course in lower Park City. The federal loan would be augmented by money from the nonprofit Park City Recreation Committee (\$200,000), United Park City Mines (\$104,000), and by two shareholders in United Park, the Anaconda Company (\$210,000) and American Smelting and Refining Company (\$150,000).<sup>23</sup>

However, at the same time, Droubay made it clear that the new venture was designed not to replace mining but to help resurrect it. "We are working very hard to keep up our ore reserves and our mining crew, in the face of low metal prices," he told the *Park Record*. "We hope that the recreation project will afford us funds with which to fight our mining battle."<sup>24</sup>

United Park City Mines wasted no time. By early December 1962 the company had signed contracts for the construction of a 12,750-foot, 144-car gondola lift to carry skiers from the base to the top of Crescent Ridge; a chairlift in the Thaynes Canyon area; and the first nine holes of an eighteen-hole golf course. An architect was working on the design of a mountaintop restaurant and an activity center at

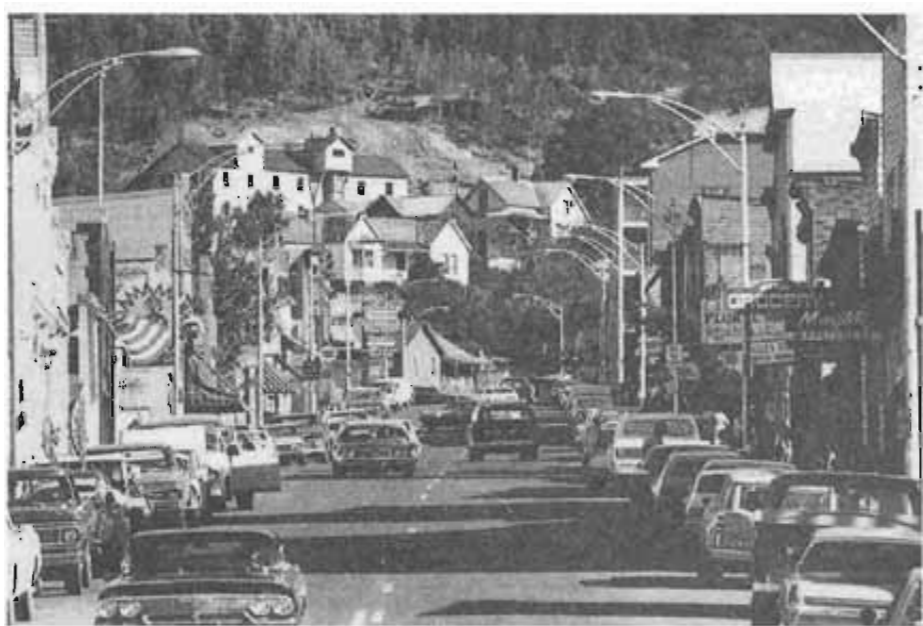
the base. Droubay told the *Salt Lake Tribune* that all major construction would be finished by the following December.<sup>25</sup>

It was. On 21 December 1963, Park City Mayor William P. Sullivan cut the ribbon, formally opening the Treasure Mountains recreation center. In his remarks, Sullivan compared the event to the discovery of silver in Park City in 1869.

About a month later, the *Salt Lake Tribune* interviewed the owner of the "other" ski resort, Otto Carpenter, who by this time had bought out his partner, Bob Burns. The reporter wondered whether Carpenter planned to keep Snow Park open. "Yer darned right I'm going to stay open!" Carpenter responded with typical feistiness.<sup>26</sup> His resort did stay open, for another five seasons, until his lease on the property in Deer Valley expired.

Meanwhile, Treasure Mountains was going ahead with its second phase, which included an innovative marriage of mining and skiing technologies. The Spiro Tunnel, built in the early 1900s to drain the mine workings on the west side of Park City, was converted into a subway for skiers. They would ride an electric mine train about three miles straight into the mountain, take an old mine elevator about 1,800 feet to the surface, then hop onto the new Thaynes chairlift. Besides its novelty, the new route to the top gave the resort an option when strong winds interfered with the operation of the gondola. The tunnel opened for skiers in January 1965 and the following July began carrying summer tourists.<sup>27</sup> As a ski corridor, the Spiro Tunnel proved to be too inefficient and lasted only about three seasons; however, as a summer attraction it remained in operation until about 1971.

On the surface, the future of Treasure Mountains looked rosy. But officials at United Park City Mines found that it was a struggle to support both mining and skiing operations while, at the same time, repaying the federal loan. According to LaMar Osika, then secretary/treasurer for United Park, the company lost between \$2 million and \$3 million in the first seven years of the resort's operation. "If the mine could have stayed in a profitable situation for a few more years, we would have been able to contribute to the ski resort until it was a real going entity," Osika said. "But we had difficulty keeping the mine operating. Our expenses were increasing all the time, and prices for



Upper Main Street, Park City, in the early 1970s. (Utah State Historical Society)

metals were depressed. So that was our difficulty. We just couldn't keep pouring capital into the resort to develop it properly."<sup>28</sup>

In February 1971, United Park sold the ski area, by then known as Park City Resort, to Royal Street Corporation of New Orleans. The new owners announced an ambitious program to pump more than \$100 million into the resort during the following ten years, expanding the skier capacity from 3,000 to 19,000 and developing other recreational facilities.<sup>29</sup> Royal Street moved its resort holdings into a new company—the Greater Park City Company—in which United Park had the option to buy up to 42.5 percent of the common stock.

By this time, Park City Resort had some local competition. A partnership formed by California investors Robert Major and Robert Ensign bought or leased some 2,000 acres about three miles to the west of Park City and began planning Park City West. Construction began in the summer of 1968 with three chairlifts, a day lodge, and an upper terminal. The new resort began operation during the winter of 1968–69.<sup>30</sup> At about the same time, Calvin McPhie opened the

modest little Gorgoza resort on the south side of Interstate 80 about two miles east of Parleys Summit.

The early 1970s saw a new flurry of spending in Park City. Greater Park City set out to develop its holdings both on and off the mountain. On the mountain, the company added the PayDay, Crescent, and Lost Prospector chairlifts. Off the mountain, it developed several condominium complexes as well as the Holiday Ranch subdivision.

However, the Arab oil embargo of 1973–74 drove up interest rates in the United States and triggered a nationwide recession. Greater Park City Company “had several construction projects that were an expensive financing situation,” according to LaMar Osika. “They just couldn’t service the debt.”<sup>31</sup>

In 1975, Greater Park City Company unloaded its newly built Park Avenue Condominiums at fire-sale prices and sold the resort to Alpine Meadows of Tahoe, Incorporated. Unlike Greater Park City Company, Alpine Meadows wanted no part of the real-estate business. Under the direction of board chairman Nick Badami, the new owners focused exclusively on the mountain. Over the next two decades, they brought Park City Ski Area—as it was now being called—an international clientele.<sup>32</sup>

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, Park City Ski Area added new lifts and new runs. Motivated by a paralyzing drought during the 1976–77 season, Alpine Meadows embarked on a program to upgrade the resort’s snow-making system. By 1990 the resort had thirteen lifts—including one high-speed “quad” lift capable of carrying 2,800 skiers per hour—and a snowmaking system that could cover 375 acres.<sup>33</sup> The Town Lift gave skiers a direct link to the resort from the bottom of Main Street.

But perhaps as significant as those improvements was the resort’s decision to contend for a spot on the World Cup tour, an annual ski-racing circuit that attracts the top international ski racers. Since Park City Ski Area hosted its first World Cup race in March 1985, it has been a regular stop on the tour. The resort’s vast snow-making system allows it to guarantee good course conditions for the opening event of the season, typically on Thanksgiving weekend. Along with the racers come ski journalists from around the world, who have

made the words "Park City" as familiar in Switzerland as they are in the United States.

Much of the energy and enthusiasm for this inspired stroke of self-promotion came from Craig Badami, son of Nick Badami and the resort's vice president of marketing. "It was [Craig] Badami that brought the first World Cup alpine events to Utah, and showed that a small-town ski resort could put on a race that was grander than any the more recognizable areas could produce," *Deseret News* journalist Ray Grass wrote in 1989. "Despite attempts by Mother Nature to scuttle it, this year's [event] was the biggest, grandest, fastest, best skiing event yet held in Utah. . . . There were 375 journalists from all over the world in town to write about and televise Badami's race . . . and Park City, and skiing, and all about the snow that was falling in Utah."<sup>34</sup>

Craig Badami died in a helicopter crash at the base of the resort shortly after the 1989 event. However, the celebration of skiing that he inspired continues to the present.

By the late 1980s, Park City Ski Area was appearing regularly among the top ten in surveys of American skiers. In a 1990 poll, *Snow Country* magazine ranked the resort second only to Vail, Colorado, among North American resorts.<sup>35</sup> At the same time, another local resort was showing up on lists of the country's elite ski areas. That resort was Deer Valley.

In 1975, Royal Street Land Company acquired the rights to develop Deer Valley as part of the financial settlement stemming from the sale of Park City Resort. In December 1976, the public got its first look at plans for the new resort. In a series of meetings with the Park City Planning Commission, Royal Street unveiled a proposal for a six-phase project that included 1,715 residential units and a resort capable of accommodating 12,000 skiers. The development would include not only the old Snow Park property but also Bald Mountain, Flagstaff Mountain, and Empire Canyon.<sup>36</sup>

Deer Valley Resort opened in December 1981. And it was immediately apparent that this was no shoestring mom-and-pop operation. There was a shuttle service to ferry skiers from their cars to the ticket windows. There were green-clad valets to help people take their skis off their cars. There were two elegant day lodges: the 48,000-



The third jewel in Park City's ski-resort crown was Deer Valley Resort, which opened in 1981. (Patrick Cone)

square-foot Snow Park lodge at the bottom and the 27,000-square-foot Silver Lake lodge at midmountain, built at the site of an early mining settlement called Lake Flat.<sup>37</sup>

Deer Valley opened with five chairlifts and thirty trails. One of the lifts was named "Burns" and another was named "Carpenter," after the men who had built the first ski lifts in Deer Valley thirty-five years earlier. Tragically, Bob Burns didn't live to see the opening of the new resort; he died in an explosion at his home just a month before the lifts were due to open.

From those beginnings, Deer Valley expanded, opening a third mountain, Flagstaff, in 1990. In 1994, Deer Valley disclosed plans for an ambitious expansion into neighboring Empire Canyon. The development, expected to take up to fifteen years to implement, would increase daily skier capacity from about 4,400 to 8,100, add seven or eight new lifts, and give Deer Valley a shared boundary with Park City Ski Area. The plan also called for about 200 single-family dwellings, 500 condominiums, 360 hotel rooms, and 82 employee-housing units.<sup>38</sup>

Not everyone liked the idea. Hikers and backcountry skiers



protested the loss of one of the last major parcels of undeveloped terrain in the Park City area. Some local residents expressed concern about the impact on the canyon's wildlife. Many worried about traffic impacts and the cost of providing city services. The plan, which was debated in several heated public hearings, still had not received final approval from Park City officials in mid-1997. As Deer Valley opened for the 1997–98 ski season, the resort had fourteen ski lifts and an uphill capacity of 25,600 skiers per hour.

By this time, ParkWest Ski Resort and Park City Ski Area also had new owners. ParkWest, hampered by dual ownership, poor base accommodations, and a less-than-ideal layout, had never reached its potential as a western-style counterpart of Park City Ski Area. From the beginning, the resort struggled financially; on at least two occasions in the 1980s and early 1990s ParkWest announced it would not open for the winter, only to be rescued by groups led by long-time employees.<sup>39</sup>

In March 1994, Park City financier Michael Baker disclosed that he had purchased the base facilities and 2,900 acres of resort terrain. Baker changed the name of the resort to Wolf Mountain and announced plans to expand the ski terrain and build new base lodging. However, few of those plans ever materialized. As a result, when new owners, American Skiing Company, bought the resort in 1997, changed the name to The Canyons, and unveiled yet another expansion program, local residents took a wait-and-see attitude. "So, when the American Ski[ing] Co. announced the official change of ownership in July, followed a few days later with the announcement of an \$18.2 million face lift, which included an eight-person gondola . . . and five new lifts, including three high-speed quads, and a new 8,000 square foot midmountain lodge, there was skepticism," the *Deseret News* reported.<sup>40</sup>

However, some of that skepticism melted as the new owners immediately plunged into developing their latest acquisition. By September, crews were cutting new runs, helicopters were ferrying in parts for the new ski lifts, and the size of the proposed new lodge had been doubled. There were reports that American Skiing was negotiating with nearby property owners to expand The Canyons towards Park City on one side and the Utah Winter Sports Park on the other.

Meanwhile, Park City Ski Area was going through some significant changes of its own. In 1994, Powdr Corporation, a private corporation owned by Salt Lake City financier Ian Cumming, announced that it had bought a controlling interest in Alpine Meadows of Tahoe, the resort's parent company.<sup>41</sup> Early in 1997, the ski area announced that it was changing its name to Park City Mountain Resort to reflect a focus not just on skiing but on year-round recreation. In April 1997 an era ended when the resort closed the gondola ski lift, its trademark since opening day in 1963. The gondola was to be replaced by two high-speed, six-passenger, detachable chairlifts capable of carrying more skiers more quickly to the top of the mountain.

The new high-speed lifts were part of \$7 million worth of improvements planned for the 1997–98 season. Those improvements gave the resort a total of ninety-three trails served by fourteen lifts, with a total uphill capacity of 26,600 skiers per hour. In 1997, Park City Mountain Resort also won city approval of a multi-year plan to expand its base facilities with 600 new lodging units, 60,000 square feet of commercial space, and 2,700 underground parking stalls.

Today, skiing and related industries play a dominant role in Summit County's economy. A recent study ranks Deer Valley and Park City Mountain Resort among the county's top employers in both number of employees and total wages paid. Related industries—lodging, restaurants, and property-management companies, for instance—also have prominent places on the list.<sup>42</sup> In addition, the county is the home of U.S. Ski and Snowboard Association, the governing body for organized recreational and competitive skiing and snowboarding in the United States.

#### ENDNOTES

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## CHAPTER 15

# WHERE NOW, SUMMIT COUNTY?

Traveling through Summit County in 1997 is a bit like traveling through time. In some areas, the county seems to have changed little over the last half century. In other areas, it seems to change every day. The gritty occupations that once supported the county now sustain only a fraction of its population. The mines that gave Coalville its name are silent. Park City's silver mines have produced little ore since the early 1950s, none since 1982. The number of sheep grazing on county hillsides peaked about 1930.<sup>1</sup> In the last seventy years, farmers and cattlemen have lost thousands of acres of productive agricultural land to freeways, reservoirs, and encroaching subdivisions. Timber production has been dropping since the 1970s. Even the county's oil fields, which gave the local economy a boost in the early 1980s, are in decline.

By far the most rapid change is taking place in western Summit County, where recreation and improved transportation have brought a new type of resident to Park City and the surrounding communities. Expensive homes are spreading across the hillsides and into the

pastureland of the Snyderville Basin. New stores, fast-food restaurants, and hotels jostle for space at busy intersections.

As land prices rise in the Park City area, the growth is starting to creep to the east, into the agricultural strongholds of the Kamas Valley. Ranches are becoming ranchettes. Salt Lake City-style subdivisions are popping up in towns such as Oakley. Local residents are being forced to deal with alien concepts such as land-use planning.

The area least impacted by the boom of the last quarter-century is the so-called North Summit area. To date, few new buildings have invaded the bucolic Weber River valley between Wanship and Henefer. How long this area can resist the tide of development remains to be seen.

### *North Summit*

The north Summit County region can be put into perspective by realizing that the population found in the newer housing developments between Summit Park and the Kimball Junction area already exceeds the total population of the entire 138-year-old northern Summit County area. Yet the northern settlers accomplished what they set out to do: establish small, stable agricultural, coal-mining, and railroad towns that would sustain their inhabitants and allow them to live as they pleased. In many ways, northern Summit County is not remarkably different than it was 100 or more years ago. Still, some distinctly twentieth-century features are apparent, and the overall effect is a region that is a mixture of both old and new.

In contrast to other areas of the county, the northern towns remain small and slow-growing. Their building functions and architecture are an eclectic mix of past and present uses and styles. The presence of 1950s-70s LDS meetinghouses in each of the region's four largest towns suggests significant post-World War II growth. And, while the historic town plans and wide streets remain, the roads between the towns have been gradually filling during recent decades with new homes, small ranchsteads, and farmsteads. The two twentieth-century improvements most impacting the north have been the man-made dams creating the Rockport and Echo reservoirs and Interstate 80 (also known as the Dwight D. Eisenhower Highway),

which runs through the center of Weber valley and then northeast up Echo Canyon to Wyoming.

Aside from bringing about the loss of the town of Rockport and some pastureland, the reservoirs have brought both water and recreation amenities to local residents and visitors. The water allows for maximum agricultural use of the valley as well as for the expansion of residential subdivisions and business centers. Hundreds of thousands of boaters, waterskiers, fishers, swimmers, hikers, and campers enjoy the water, beaches, and shorelines at Rockport and Echo reservoirs.

I-80 bypasses the county's towns, helping preserve their buildings and cohesive natures while still providing faster access to and from outside population centers. Travelers mostly pass by rather than through these towns, not spending as much on fuel, food, lodging, entertainment, and recreation as they might had the highway gone through the towns. With Park City, Salt Lake City, and Evanston now only minutes away, many choose to speed by without stopping. At present, I-80 traverses the beautiful, pastoral river valley of lush meadows and farmlands. One senses, however, that without some sort of protective landscape easement, the freeway may someday be lined with subdivisions, as it now is in the western part of the county.

Despite attempts to relocate the county seat to Park City, it remains firmly in place in Coalville, where the county courthouse has been expanded with a major addition about 1980 and a second addition under way. The county's new animal shelter and public-works complex were built recently along the Hoytsville Road. Fire stations and other county, state, and federal facilities continue to rise in the region as population increases give need for additional services. A much-used recreational amenity is the Rail Trail, which provides a bicycling route from Park City to Echo.

Old and new do not always fit together compatibly. But one thing that hasn't changed through the decades is the area's strong sense of community, social support, and friendliness. Passersby are welcomed with smiles and waves of the hand from locals in pickup trucks or on foot. The region's oldest resident, ninety-nine-year-old C.B. Copley, still teaches Sunday School and laments the "diminished important of the high school's large and active band and choir;" but he is also

concerned with larger issues such as creeping urbanization, changing lifeways, and the disappearance of some beloved traditional values. "Can the small survive," he wonders.<sup>2</sup> There may not be megafarms, giant industries, or fast-growing downtowns and subdivisions, but, at the same time, people here believe in being responsible citizens and good neighbors. They are comfortable with the pace and quality of life they remain committed to and enjoy.

### *Wanship*

It is hard to imagine that the pioneers who built the first log cabins and rock houses at the foot of the volcanic cliffs of Wanship could have anticipated that their tiny village would one day become a "bed-room community." Yet most of the town's workers now travel to Coalville, Park City, or Salt Lake City to pursue their occupations. Unlike their nineteenth-century predecessors, relatively few make their livings in town, in large part because of the small area available for raising crops and livestock.

The rock hills and cliffs create a natural barrier to the north, while the curving Weber River does the same a short distance east and south of town. Some arable land extends up the valley incline to the west, but only along a narrow strip between the north hills and the imposing concrete hulk of the I-80 freeway to the south. The building of the elevated highway through rather than past the south side of town is considered by locals to have been the most important local event of the late twentieth century (ahead of the frequent raising of property taxes). The freeway not only caused the destruction of five of the town's seventy-five houses, it established an immense physical, visual, and psychological barrier, restraining access to the previously open fields stretching south and east to the river. The development of the historic part of Wanship now seems irreversibly confined to the three-block-wide area between I-80 and the steep north hills.

To accommodate the recent demand for new growth, a few homes have been erected in the last decade along the Wanship Road west and east of the town center, especially north of the Spring Chicken Inn. A new development, Bridge Hollow, is being built southwest of town in the hills across from I-80; but these homes,



while technically considered part of the unincorporated village, are not adjacent or really even nearby. Even with the town's new growth, Wanship's population hovers around 250, of which "184 are active Mormons," according to a long-time resident.<sup>3</sup> Some families belonging to other denominations also reside in the area, bringing some diversity to what traditionally has been a Mormon village.

Many of the old practices have long since disappeared, such as the collecting of a one-dollar fee for using the Wanship Toll Road built in 1861 up Silver Creek Canyon.<sup>4</sup> Still, some remnants of the nineteenth century remain, including Summit County's first "court-house," the one-room Hixson log cabin sitting directly across the street and west of the LDS ward meetinghouse. Summit County's first meeting was held there in 1866. Just below "the Cliffs," on the north side of Wanship Road (part of the original Lincoln Highway running from New York to San Francisco), the rock E.R. Young/Pendleton House (subsequently a store, post office, and restaurant) still stands, surrounded by original log and frame out-buildings and a collection of antique wagons, sleighs, and stage-coaches. Many small houses dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries occupy the town center, to which a scattering of post-war dwellings have been added gradually over the decades.

Historic Wanship Station (1861–1912) and the few old flour mills and stores are long gone, leaving only three commercial establishments today: a restaurant at the northeast edge of town, a service station and automobile shop at the nexus of the main intersection, and another service station/convenience store just south of the freeway underpass. The former LDS church burned down in 1958 and was replaced by the current brick edifice, constructed prominently along the main street in 1960. Also a victim of modern times was the beloved Wanship reunion, which was held annually until recently. Other institutional changes include the busing of all school children to Coalville and, in 1941, the replacement of the local post office with rural mail delivery.

Agriculture today is mostly limited to hay raising and backyard gardens. Dorothy Darcy, whose family has been in Wanship for six generations, observes that, "We no longer have cottage industries, and farming income can't support most families. A lot of people work out

of town for their main income.”<sup>5</sup> She adds, “I hope Wanship stays the way it is, with people knowing their neighbors.” Darcy notes that some things, like the irrigation company founded in 1860, will likely always remain, but that the tendency of native-born residents, especially the women, to marry and move away makes it lonelier for those who stay. And, with land values and taxes increasing rapidly due to the greatly appreciating value of land countywide, oldtimers on modest, fixed incomes find it ever more difficult to stay on the land their ancestors tamed and later generations continued to maintain and nurture.

### *West Hoytsville*

Another unincorporated section of north Summit County is West Hoytsville, so-called because it is due west of Hoytsville, although it is actually closer to Wanship. Built up gradually and sporadically along both sides of West Hoytsville Road, this rural residential area consists of both historic and newer homes, mostly on large parcels of land used for farming, dairying, and livestock raising. The only businesses presently in the area are a gravel quarry and a partial dairy operation. Much of the land between the road and the Weber River to the east is planted and watered by modern wheeled irrigation pipes drawing water from the river.

West Hoytsville remains picturesque “horse property” that appeals to those who like country living on relatively inexpensive but sizeable parcels of land less impacted by what some view as overly restrictive urban zoning regulations and laws. Several lateral, east-to-west roads and bridges span the river, and some connect with Hoytsville Road along the bench on the east side of the valley. Aside from several new houses and the new skateboarding facility west of the river, West Hoytsville retains its historic character. Its attractive older rock houses and frame barns still attest to the vitality and prosperity of earlier times.

### *Hoytsville*

Founding father Samuel Hoyt’s dream of a small industrial center was never fully realized, but Hoytsville remains a vital rural residential area for scores of families stretched out over a six-mile length

along both sides of Hoytsville Road. Many historic homes and out-buildings and a few small stores remain, joined by dozens of late-twentieth century buildings. The 1960s-era LDS church is centrally located and is a reminder that the Mormon church is still culturally dominant. In addition to the distinctive stone Hoyt house, the ruined shell of his ill-fated flour mill remains. Newer businesses include Rees's Metal Works and Construction, Ralph's Machine Shop, and Brown's Dairy, featuring Summit Valley Milk. Real estate signs are plentiful, as are open parcels of land. The county recently took advantage of one such Hoytsville property to build its new animal shelter and public-works center.

As in neighboring Wanship and West Hoytsville, many of Hoytsville's residents commute to Coalville and other cities more distant to work regular jobs. Others follow agricultural or livestock pursuits on tracts of land on both sides of Hoytsville Road. The lower land has the advantage of drawing water from the Weber River, while the bench land is more suitable for livestock. As in the northern part of the county generally, the growing season is short and limits the types and amounts of crops grown. Still, as evident by the new buildings, modern folk continue to work the old land in improved ways, coaxing as much from it as possible.

### *Coalville*

Since Coalville took over the county seat from Wanship in 1872 and thereafter defended it successfully against Park City, it has remained the county's governmental center as well as the cultural center and largest city in northern Summit County. The late twentieth century has witnessed a continuation of its growth as a commercial center, it long ago giving up the coal mining for which it was first founded. As in neighboring towns, Coalville's character is a mix of old and new institutions, functions, buildings, and people.

In the commercial district, most of the businesses are in historic one- and two-story masonry structures dating back to the turn of the century. Added to these are a new city hall, bank, fast-food restaurant, and a couple of gas stations and motels. The town plat of roughly five blocks square remains intact, although newer houses have risen along the road north and south of town and in the blocks

up the valley east of town, with some scattered among the older buildings in the original plat. Lacking sufficient space downtown, North Summit High School ("Home of the Braves") and the newer North Summit Elementary School were built on the hill to the south-east. All of the old schoolhouses and churches are gone, including the majestic Summit LDS Stake, or Coalville Tabernacle, razed amid great controversy in 1971. It has been replaced by a more functional but much less architecturally distinguished white-brick edifice featuring the art glass windows salvaged from its flamboyant Victorian predecessor.

Other modern sites of local importance are the Summit County Recreation Complex, or fairgrounds, due east of Chalk Creek, and the Coalville Health Center. Historic preservation has made its mark, as evidenced by a number of renovated homes and commercial buildings and the relocating of the Echo railroad depot (now a senior citizens center) to a somewhat unlikely site in Coalville's residential sector in 1975. The stately stone courthouse has been expanded to the east with an architecturally compatible addition. Like other towns in the region, Coalville also has its mobile-home communities, an American post-war phenomenon. Curiously, only a few houses have ever been built along the stretch of road north of town that faces the reservoir and the picturesque valley and mountain view to the west.

Coalville sits at the mouth of long and narrow Chalk Creek valley, surrounded on three sides by low mountains and rocky cliffs, those closest and to the north being called "the Ledges." The town is accessible by road from the north, south, and east, and more recently from I-80 to the west, which can be reached from an extension of 100 South. From the earliest decades, an important part of the Coalville area has been the small settlements along the two roads running east from town up Chalk Creek towards the Narrows and Upton. Both roads skirt the valley's beautiful fertile fields, one to the north and the other along the south, each meandering eastward amid farmsteads and small groups of houses. Along Chalk Creek Road to the north are such scattered settlement areas as unincorporated Spring Hollow. Here is found the oldest surviving LDS meetinghouse in the Coalville area—the now empty wood-frame Cluff Ward, built in 1912.

As elsewhere, farming income is usually supplemented by that

from other jobs. "Farming," says Mae Moore, "is often just an expensive hobby." She notes that many locals work at the cement plant near Devil's Slide, or Geary Construction, or Rees's Metal.<sup>6</sup>

### *Upton*

Located literally "uptown" and east of Coalville, Upton consists of several homes and farmsteads scattered in a low-density manner along Chalk Creek Road. There are enough families to support an LDS ward, with local members from the south fork of Chalk Creek up to Pineview. They are housed in a 1970-era meetinghouse on the north side of the road not far from Huff Creek. There is no commercial district or even a general store or gas station in town. The earlier sawmills and few stores are gone and locals travel to Coalville to shop. The typical gridded Mormon townsite and town center is absent entirely. Agriculture and livestock-raising are the primary occupations, while other residents work for nearby INI Engineering or the gas plants up the road near Pineview. The old frame meetinghouse, school, and amusement hall are all gone too, and students have been bussed to Coalville since 1946. Because of its remote location, electricity did not reach Upton until 1944.

In the Pineview area, the Union Pacific Resources Company has developed a large natural gas treatment plant. The plant's tanks, buildings, and storage sheds flank the road and support small residential areas of company employees. A few vacation homes dot the landscape, but there are far fewer than in the foothills and meadows around Park City. The rural highland of the Upton-Pineview area retains its tranquil, pastoral nature. The last significant developments up the canyon are the Pinecliff Camp and Retreat Center, a complex of small buildings erected and managed by the Rocky Mountain Conference of the United Methodist Church, and the Yellow Creek gas plant, about 13 miles past Upton on Chalk Creek Road.

### *Echo*

The blasts of railroad horns still echo resoundingly from the vermillion cliffs looming above Echo to the east, yet the town now has more land area devoted to its five sets of railroad tracks and its divided main road and frontage roads than to its commercial and res-

idential districts. The once bustling railroad town of Echo now consists of about two dozen small buildings, primarily homes, built mostly east of the railroad tracks and the main road. Most of the buildings are old and some of the public landmarks remain, including the charming brick church/school built in 1880, the 1913 wood-frame school (now vacant), and the little white post office, operated continuously since 1928. In the mid-to-late-twentieth century some new structures have been added, among them a motor court, truck stop, cafe and gas station, plus a few houses and mobile homes.

Echo's economic demise and downsizing came in stages, one of the most recent being the removal of the Union Pacific's branch line to Park City. Many local workers found themselves suddenly jobless. The change to diesel locomotives in the 1950s also caused unemployment and outmigration. Several historic buildings have been removed, including the depot, ironically moved to Coalville, giving the town a much more open feeling than may have existed a century ago. So, despite having the most spectacular natural setting of any of Summit County's surviving northern towns, Echo has the appearance of being the most forlorn.<sup>7</sup>

West of Echo, the open fields leading to the river seem devoid of major farming or livestock activity, although the land west of the Weber River is put to good agricultural use. The road from Echo to Henefer passes through rounded, grass-covered hills and fertile croplands east of the tree-lined river, with only a few old farmsteads to mark the way.

### *Henefer*

Henefer is the northwestern gateway, after the other Narrows, into Summit County. As a sign along the main street through Henefer clearly denotes, the "California Trail, Mormon Pioneer Trail, and Pony Express Route" all passed through town in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1997, residents eagerly took part in celebrations commemorating the sesquicentennial of the coming of the Mormon pioneers to Utah. It was a family of these immigrants, the Hennefers, who first took note of this northwesternmost reach of the wide, water-rich, upper Weber Valley and thought it suitable to return and create a permanent settlement, Henneferville (later shortened to

Henefer). Given the expansive tracts of surrounding land, it appears that the area might support a larger population than exists in Henefer, although, again, the short growing season limits agricultural productivity.

Of north Summit's towns, Henefer may be the best example of the classic Mormon town layout. Its gridded, same-sized blocks extend uniformly to the west for three blocks from Main Street. There is some development to the east, including newer homes, but the Weber River confines expansion in that direction. Homes are also built along the main road as it runs north and south out of town. Newer houses now dot the foothills on the outskirts of town to the west in what is mostly residential farming territory.

The small downtown is limited to a large, historic, two-story, wood-frame commercial building, a post office, and the red-brick LDS chapel, a mid-twentieth-century edifice. For some reason, Henefer has had more of its historic houses replaced by newer homes than have the other towns in the region. Aside from the replaced and new houses, the twentieth century has left little visual mark on Henefer. The Daughters of Utah Pioneers's Relic Cabin, built in 1946, and the recently constructed fire station are among the few new non-residential post-war buildings.

### *South Summit*

In the Kamas Valley, communities like Oakley and Kamas offer an option to people who simply can't afford the price of property and housing in Park City. These towns also offer a "new frontier" to Parkites disgruntled by condos and furs, as well as opportunities for the more affluent to establish "ranchettes."

An economic and demographic spillover from Park City is profoundly affecting Kamas, City Councilman Randall Taylor reported, as more well-to-do people move in and land prices are forced up while wages and job opportunities remain stagnant. Kamas, he noted, is a town that once thrived on sawmills and mines that have long since either closed or drastically scaled back operations.<sup>8</sup>

### *Oakley*

Oakley, where five-acre lots in one new subdivision are selling for

\$160,000 each, recently adopted a development code that regulates everything from setback requirements on tennis courts to restrictions on the size of satellite dishes—both being items that no one dreamed of seeing around town a few years ago. But the development code's most unusual provision requires that all new subdivisions or master-planned developments be weighed against their impact on ranching and farming. Developed with the help of the Mountainland Association of Governments (which represents Summit, Utah, and Wasatch counties), the so-called "right-to-farm" provision calls for protection of irrigation access and livestock-movement corridors, and bans pet dogs from the vicinity of livestock operations. It also demands that newcomers recognize certain impacts of agriculture, such as noises and odors, that aren't typical of urban lifestyles. Oakley Mayor Ken Woolstenhulme explained it this way:

It's a stipulation that this is a cow-and-horse community, and if you come here you fully understand the type of environment we have and you're not going to try to change it. We just want to have it in black and white that you understand what we value. . . .

A majority of the newcomers blend into and contribute to the community. But there's a certain percentage of people who are just using this town for a bedroom. . . .

These projects are being marketed to a Deer Valley clientele, people who might not like that sometimes you need to cut an alfalfa field at night because of the moisture. It's getting so you can't be an average John Doe anymore."<sup>9</sup>

By 1997, the town had approved a 1,040-acre subdivision, the Mapleridge development, with a projected thirty-eight lots ranging in size from seven to thirty acres. Woolstenhulme predicted that the lots would be purchased by part-time residents who could afford the high priced acreage and build large homes. Four years in negotiation, the subdivision was expected to generate significant revenues that would help the city improve water systems, build a new town park, and offer other incidental benefits to the community. Included in the plan were at least 600 acres of open space. Park City developers John Olch and Brad Smith were responsible for the negotiations which involved annexing 900 acres to the town, giving Oakley authority that



otherwise would have stayed with the county. "The principal advantage for Oakley," Woolstenhulme said in a 1997 interview, "was that the town could have a say in how the land should be developed, encouraging clustered lots all over the mountain. The impact would be the same, they would still be traveling through the town, but this gave the town more control."<sup>10</sup>

In the mid-1990s, the town also embarked upon a \$1.7-million water project that included improvements in the main water supply out of Pinyon Canyon. Oakley's master plan set a goal that, before the year 2000, those improvements would include a new well, a one-million-gallon storage tank, and 2.5 miles of new water line.<sup>11</sup>

Making improvements in the infrastructure to keep up with growth is a never-ending process; but Oakley has accomplished a lot with volunteer labor and clever use of resources. A quarter of the town's annual budget was generated by the Fourth of July celebrations—in particular, the rodeo. During the spring of 1997, Oakley purchased seventy-eight acres on the road to Kamas to build a new city park and city offices, rodeo grounds, and ball diamonds. Other new projects begun in 1997 included a private school—the Snow Mountain Academy—which would house and educate a projected ninety-eight children in a four-year accredited school. The Serenity Home Care Center would provide long-term retirement care for elderly residents of the county.

### *Kamas*

Kamas was also experiencing growth in the mid-1990s, but the scale was not nearly as dramatic as in Oakley. In 1997, Kamas was on the brink of development and was involved in developing a master plan for growth, but it had not begun the process on a large scale. Kamas's rural, agriculture atmosphere was still preserved and protected by a strong sense of tradition. The majority of Kamas's 1,400 inhabitants were long-time residents of the county. Most locals, however, did not rely solely on agriculture for their livelihood but instead traveled some distance to their jobs, then returned home to raise crops or tend cattle on their own land.<sup>12</sup>

### *Peoa*

Most land owners in Peoa were also long-term residents. In this rural community, like Kamas, most of the people worked out of town—in education, perhaps, or in businesses throughout the county. Nevertheless, virtually everyone continued to be involved in some way or other in agriculture. This still was clearly a rural, agricultural community. But, because the economy made it so much more difficult to earn a living from the land, most residents coupled farming with some other occupation to provide a living for their families. A strong community ethic and cohesive community ties have been fostered in Peoa by long-term relationships.

### *Woodland*

In Woodland, which straddles the Summit-Wasatch county line, the sense of community was centered for many in the local Mormon wardhouse and the “Cash store,” which until the mid-1990s was the center of the community. Like Peoa, Woodland was not an incorporated town and functioned with an informal sense of place and community. Like Oakley, Woodland was in the midst of physical change in the mid-1990s. Traditionally held farmland and rangeland was being subdivided and developed. The Woodland Hills, Woodland Estates, Lower River Road, and Bench Creek Road developments brought newcomers into the area. Some became permanent residents, but by far the majority were part-time residents who came to enjoy the more pleasant seasons of the year.<sup>13</sup>

### *Francis*

In 1997, Francis continued to serve as a way station surrounded primarily by farm lots and a few family-owned businesses. Francis’s Frontier Days celebration over Labor Day weekend offered traditional western games and activities, including wild-horse racing, a softball tournament, and a rodeo.

In the South Summit School District, which includes the Peoa-Oakley-Kamas area, administrators say that a new school will soon be needed to absorb recent growth. However, some residents say a recent state ban on school-impact fees means that current residents will be shouldering much of the burden imposed by the newcomers.<sup>14</sup>

### *The Park City/Snyderville Area*

In 1960, about 31 percent of the county's nonagricultural jobs were in the "goods-producing" category—mining, construction, and manufacturing. By 1993, in spite of a local building boom, this figure had dropped to about 12 percent. Taking the place of the county's rugged industries are jobs connected to recreation and tourism. Between 1960 and 1993, the percentage of private-sector service-related jobs rose from about 34 percent of the county's nonagricultural employment to almost 75 percent.<sup>15</sup>

That period coincides with the emergence of Park City as an international destination for skiers. But the growing stream of tourists has spread beyond the snowy months. Until the 1980s, tourism was largely a one-season phenomenon; from May until October, parking spaces in Park City were a dime a dozen and restaurant waiting lists were rare—assuming, of course, that the restaurants were even open. However, in recent years, tourism in Summit County has become a year-round business, thanks to such events as outdoor concerts at The Canyons and Deer Valley, the Park City Art Festival, the Oakley Rodeo, and hot-air balloon festivals together with the boom in mountain biking and the construction of the Jordanelle Reservoir just over the hill in Wasatch County.

At the same time, families from both Utah and out of state were discovering that commuting to jobs in Salt Lake City from Summit County is often quicker and less stressful than commuting from the Wasatch Front suburbs. By 1994, more than a quarter of Summit County's civilian labor force was commuting to work in Salt Lake County.<sup>16</sup>

"That psychological barrier has been broken, and consequently we are becoming a suburb of Salt Lake in some ways," said Myles Rademan, Park City public affairs director, in 1995. "About 50 percent of the people in the valley area, the Snyderville Basin, commute to Salt Lake already. More than that, you'll see a lot of signs that we're a national suburb. Not only do they commute to Salt Lake, but they commute to Chicago and Los Angeles and New York and a lot of other places."<sup>17</sup>

Like other mountain communities in the West, Park City is



In the 1970s, Park City began to see new housing developments spring up in areas once devoted to agriculture. (Patrick Cone)

attracting professionals from other states who are using the revolution in communications—fax machines, high-speed computer modems, and the like—to move their offices out of the cities and into more scenic, relaxed environments. One of the newcomers was Bruce Tipple, who moved to Park City from Minneapolis in 1986 and set up shop designing training systems for the Toshiba company. “With data communication and computers and faxes, distance is not an issue,” Tipple told *Time* magazine in 1993. “We have easy access to our markets, most of which are on the West Coast. The airport’s 45 minutes away.”<sup>18</sup>

In Park City the assessed value of private property rose 80 percent in five years, from \$1 billion in 1990 to \$1.8 billion in 1995.<sup>19</sup> The city’s permanent population rose from 4,468 to 6,323 during the same period, an average annual increase of 8.2 percent. Enrollment in the Park City School District, which includes the Snyderville Basin, rose from just over 1,700 students to almost 3,000, an increase of 75 percent in five years.<sup>20</sup>

Interestingly, while the permanent population of Park City grew

more rapidly from 1990 to 1995 than it did from 1980 to 1990, the annual number of dwelling units built from 1980 to 1990 far exceeded the annual number of dwelling units built from 1990 to 1995. This means that most of the units built during the 1980s were seasonal units, while most of the units built since 1990 have been permanent residences.<sup>21</sup>

In recent years, the old working-class mining town has seen a new twist—the gated community, where private security guards keep gawkers away from clusters of multimillion-dollar homes. The phrase “trophy home” is bantered around by some local residents as an indication of the disdain they feel for this lifestyle. “We’re seeing building on hillsides we never thought would be built on,” said Myles Rademan. “What it comes down to is the political will to put a cap on it at some point. I don’t think there is that political will. There’s a political will to guide it, but those are minor midcourse corrections in what could be a lot more development.”<sup>22</sup>

City and county planners are struggling to keep up with a flood of applications for new subdivisions. In the past decade, Kimball Junction in the Snyderville Basin has grown from a tiny outpost with a couple of gas stations into a major commercial hub, complete with a factory-outlet shopping mall, two large discount stores, a supermarket, a bank, and several fast-food restaurants.

Ironically, many of the service workers required by the local economy can’t afford the inflated costs of housing in the Park City area. They must commute, either from one of the outlying communities such as Oakley, Kamas, Heber, or Midway or from the Salt Lake Valley. As a result, an odd traffic pattern has developed. In the mornings, many affluent residents of Park City or the Snyderville Basin hop into their vehicles for the trip down Parleys Canyon to Salt Lake City. At the same time, many Salt Lake-area residents head up the canyon to their service jobs in Park City.

This pattern is underlined by a startling statistic: in 1993, the average yearly earnings of a Summit County resident who worked in Salt Lake County was \$37,333. On the other hand, the average income of a Salt Lake County resident who worked in Summit County was only \$15,346. In fact, the average monthly wage earned by workers in Summit County—\$1,423—was only 78 percent of the

state average of \$1,823. When measured against inflation, the purchasing power of the average Summit County worker actually dropped 10 percent between 1983 and 1993.<sup>23</sup>

### *Defining the Future*

With Park City and Snyderville setting the pace, Summit County has seen a decade of explosive growth. Every year since 1988, Summit County has finished first or second in the state in percentage population growth. In the 1990 census, Summit County had a population of 15,518; three years later, state estimates placed the population at 19,724, an increase of more than 7 percent per year.<sup>24</sup>

In November 1995, the Summit County Commission sent an extraordinary brochure to county residents entitled, "Summit County, The Last Best Place to Live. How Can We Save It?" It warned that the county was facing radical changes, including soaring home prices and the loss of its agricultural heritage:

The average price of a home in the Snyderville Basin has risen to approximately \$400,000. The cost of a home on the east side [of the county], although not as high, is following the same trend. With the increase in housing cost throughout the county, it is difficult, if not impossible, for many to afford a home and raise a family here. Many who work here, including our teachers, other professional employees, retail, service, and resort workers have, by necessity, moved to Salt Lake City. They now commute to Summit County. This commuting labor force creates another set of problems related to transportation, air pollution and social services that we are not adequately prepared to address now. . . .

Once the stewards of the land and most of the open space, farmers and ranchers are now faced with many reasons to sell their land to developers and speculators and have few incentives to remain. . . . It is necessary that we work to help these people stay on the land as long as possible. Change will undoubtedly occur when they leave.

New development is causing an increase in the demand for services and amenities countywide, but particularly in the Snyderville Basin. For years, oil revenues helped pay for the cost of many of these services and amenities. Now, however, these revenues are dwindling.<sup>25</sup>

The commissioners named a number of issues confronting the growing county, including water, affordable housing, recreation, parks, trails, open space, and preservation of agriculture. They spelled out a program to develop a vision for the county and to manage the county's growth. "Development will continue," the commissioners concluded. "It results from the fact that Summit County is a wonderful place to live. It is protected by one of the values that is important to each of us, that being a belief in individual property rights. However, development cannot simply take from the community. It must contribute. To do so, it must fit into the community fabric, support the community's vision, and be consistent with our values."<sup>26</sup>

On 13 November 1995, the commission passed a six-month moratorium on all manufacturing facilities, planned-unit developments, and subdivisions of more than five homes in all incorporated areas outside the Snyderville Basin. The moratorium was designed to give planners time to take public input on a long-range plan for the county and develop a detailed development code.

On 6 May 1996, the Summit County Commission adopted a development code and zoning map designed to protect "the rural, agricultural, small town lifestyle, and natural resources of Eastern Summit County."<sup>27</sup> The Eastern Summit County General Plan established incentives for preserving active agricultural lands and operations, and attempted to make sure that new development was sensitive to the character of the area. Applicants for building permits were expected to sign a "Memorandum of Understanding" in which they acknowledged "there may be dust, noise, odor, prolonged work hours, use of roadways for the purposes of herding/moving animals, and other attributes associated with normal agricultural operations and rural businesses."<sup>28</sup> The accompanying map placed limits on development in designated agricultural zones.

Citizens and government groups were working on some of these issues long before the moratorium, however. Concerned about the need to preserve open space in their environment, which was quickly becoming urbanized, a group of county residents, including Chuck Klingenstein, who was subsequently elected to the Park City Council, formed the Summit Land Trust Association in 1990. Within five years they had ensured the preservation of about 900 acres of private land.

The group achieved one of its early successes in Pinyon Canyon above Oakley, which was identified as significant because it housed three city wells. Working with the Oakley Town Council, local real-estate businesses, and the new owners of the land, the land trust devised a permanent conservation agreement that allowed a house to be built on the property while protecting the town's watershed.

Another triumph of open-space advocates was the Swaner Memorial Park, near Kimball Junction in the Snyderville Basin. Beginning with about 220 acres donated by the family of Leland S. Swaner, a basin landowner who died in 1992, the scope of the park has grown to include several hundred more acres offered by adjacent developers. Leland Swaner's son, Sumner Swaner, envisions the land being restored to its natural state, with a series of hiking trails, fields of native grasses and wildflowers, trout-spawning ponds, bird-watching stations, a visitor center with interpretive displays, and a small amphitheatre.<sup>29</sup>

As valuable as these efforts are, however, they are dwarfed by the scope of development projects. In Park City, residents are bracing for the impact of Deer Valley's planned expansion into Empire Canyon. In the Snyderville Basin, developers and county planners are skirmishing over the proposed 3,500-unit Star Pointe project east of U.S. Highway 40.<sup>30</sup>

Within Park City's "Old Town," where miners' dwellings have stood shoulder to shoulder for more than a century, coexistence with open space and agriculture is less of an issue than coexistence with the past. New property owners often have little interest in preserving tiny one-story cabins that often were built without foundations and have little structural integrity. Local preservationists, on the other hand, argue that every effort should be made to save buildings that give the town its mining-camp character. Built in a narrow canyon with narrow lots and narrow streets, Old Town is struggling to adjust to the demands of a population very different from that which lived there one hundred years ago. Big houses, cars, delivery trucks, and snowplows weren't part of their grand plan, if ever there was one.

In November 1995, the *Park Record* began a series of stories on Old Town entitled "Commodity Or Community?" It related the story of people who fell in love with Park City twenty or thirty years ago,



bought old miners' cabins, and became part of the community. Many of these people voiced a familiar lament, that the Park City of today isn't that same town they were smitten with years ago. Multistory condominiums and hotels now cast shadows across their modest dwellings. Commercial establishments have crept into once-residential neighborhoods. Property values—and taxes—are soaring.

"There are a lot of opportunities now to make money in the historic district," said David Chaplin, a resident of Park City's Old Town since 1963. "For many years the banks would not lend you money to buy anything here. Perhaps the most destructive thing happening here today is people looking at the area as a commodity."<sup>31</sup> Chaplin's wife, Marianne Cone, was then director of the Park City Museum and a preservation advocate. But she told the *Park Record* that her frustration at the destruction of the character of Old Town was leading her to rethink her position. She empathizes with people who bought small, older homes, only to see them overshadowed by large new structures: "I think if that is the case, they [owners of smaller homes] should get to do whatever they want. They should get to build as high as their neighbors."<sup>32</sup>

That is also the conclusion of Burnis Watts, a local resident since 1964, a former superintendent of the Park City School District and a former chairman of the Park City Planning Commission. In 1970 Watts bought one of the finest remaining examples of mining-town architecture, a two-story house built in about 1907 by E.J. Beggs, the contractor who built the Summit County Courthouse. After watching for a quarter of a century as his quiet residential neighborhood changed into a bustling commercial hub, Watts decided he'd had enough. He applied for a permit to demolish his house and build a commercial structure on the site. Looking from his living-room window onto a bustling Park Avenue, Watts lamented:

I've lost my real reason to be here. I wanted to live here. I wanted this part of town to remain historically significant. But it's now been modified to the point where [it] isn't conducive to this neighborhood or to the lifestyle that I enjoy, or want. I don't like all this impact.

We've lost our residential [base] because there are no families

left, permanent families living here, that I'm aware of, in this immediate area.<sup>33</sup>

Steve Deckert of Alliance Engineering in Park City, who was first charmed by Old Town while on a ski trip during college, said he thinks Old Town has reached the point where it has become critical to preserve the character of the truly historic houses:

Everybody's trying to build three stories, and three stories is not typical of the old Park City houses. Two-story houses were rare. You have these big monsters looming over these tiny little houses and you're going to see more and more problems with snow shedding and ice dams onto these tiny little structures. But I don't know where the equity is.

The problem is that the remaining lots are going for such an astronomical price that you just can't get the square footage without going that high and without maxing out the property.

There's also the problem of infrastructure, and I don't think the city has been on top of infrastructure and parking problems in the historic district. The circulation of traffic, all of those things won't work with that many people. . . .

I don't know of too many people who think they'll spend the rest of their lives here. It may just become unbearable for full-time residents to live in Old Town. The traffic, the restaurants, the narrow side streets, the lack of parking, and infill of all the remaining vacant properties may make it undesirable as a year-round residential area. I can see Old Town becoming nothing but nightly rentals, which would be great for the resorts because of their proximity to Main Street.<sup>34</sup>

To handle the increasing traffic, the State of Utah recently widened Utah Road 224 from Park City to Kimball Junction from two to four lanes, and it anticipates doing the same to Utah Road 248 from Park City to U.S. Highway 40. According to the state's Draft Growth Management Plan, these suburban-scale roads create and reinforce a more auto-oriented character of the town. And for new visitors driving into town these roads present an image of Park City that contrasts starkly with the pedestrian-oriented streets of Old Town.<sup>35</sup>

If there's a common complaint among residents who moved in

during the 1960s and 1970s, it is that the town has lost the sense of community it once had:

Residents are finding that they are no longer able to know one another and to act out of an understanding and caring about each other's welfare. . . . Residents are also finding that newcomers may not have the same level of commitment to and involvement in the community as long-time locals, and that new residents may not have the same direction for the community as those who preceded them.<sup>36</sup>

"It's more than the physical buildings; it's a vibrant public culture that takes place," said Myles Rademan, Park City public affairs director. "One of the dangers is we will urbanize, but we won't urbanize right. We'll suburbanize and we will become sort of a mountain suburban slum. There's nothing to say that just because you're in the mountains, it's going to be nice. You put in houses all over and don't put in the bike paths and don't put in the flowers and pretty soon you've subtracted from what's there."<sup>37</sup>

The irony, of course, is that twenty or thirty years ago Deckert and Chaplin and Watts were themselves the agents of change. They were among a tide of strangers who swept into the town after the opening of Park City Ski Area. At that time, the frustrations were being voiced by the old mining families. Now, those "strangers" have become the old-timers, trying to adjust to a new set of changes brought by a new wave of newcomers.

As if these changes weren't putting enough strain on the county and its residents, in June 1995 came the announcement that the Salt Lake City area will host the 2002 Olympic Winter Games. Several of the events will be held in Summit County, including alpine slalom and giant slalom ski races, ski jumping, freestyle skiing, bobsled, and luge competitions.

Just how much impact the Olympic Games will have on Summit County remains to be seen, but the announcement raised tensions almost immediately. Within months of the announcement, tenants of buildings on Park City's Main Street were accusing owners of raising rents in anticipation of the 2002 Games. "Virtually every merchant I've talked to says their rent has gone up," Joe Tesch, president

of the eighty-two-member Historic Main Street Association, told the *Deseret News*.<sup>38</sup>

The coming Olympic Games are just one more indication that, in spite of the county's efforts to diversify, only two major trends have molded Summit County's character in the past decade: (1) the growth of recreation/tourism, and (2) the spread of bedroom communities for upscale urban refugees.

Will growth continue at a breakneck pace? Probably not. Interest in downhill skiing nationwide has been almost flat since the late 1970s.<sup>39</sup> The local real-estate market went through a couple of boom-and-bust cycles in the 1970s and 1980s, suggesting that another slowdown may be due. Utah's economy, one of the hottest in the United States in the early 1990s, was showing signs of cooling down by 1997. And, if development does continue to gobble up the wide-open spaces, the people who were drawn to Summit County for its pristine setting may well begin to gravitate to "undiscovered" areas in other, less-crowded states.

So what will Summit County look like a century from now? Will people still be drawn to the mountain setting the way they are today? What twenty-first-century inventions will help define the county's future the way the automobile, the jet plane, the chairlift, and the fax machine have done in the twentieth century? Without a doubt, the county faces more dramatic changes in the years ahead.

In adjusting to these changes, planners face some difficult challenges:

—Will there be enough water to go around? If the Snyderville Basin is to continue to grow, developers will need to find new water sources. Delivery is also a problem. To date, efforts to weave the county's web of private water companies into a centralized network have made little progress.

—Can the schools handle the huge influx of new students without compromising the quality of education?

—Can government agencies keep up with the other demands of an expanding population? Many of the county's urban refugees expect a high level of services such as snow removal, road repair, sewage treatment, garbage disposal, and fire protection. However, local government no longer can count on paying for such services

with tax revenues from the county's oil fields. Higher taxes seem inevitable.

—Can the county protect what remains of its agricultural heritage?

—Can the county preserve the striking natural setting that has drawn so many visitors and residents to the area?

The burden is on the citizens of Summit County and their leaders to make sure that the county remains, in the words of the county commission, "The Last Best Place to Live."

#### ENDNOTES

1. See U.S. Censuses of Agriculture, United States Department of Commerce.

2. C.B. Copley, interview by Allen Roberts, Coalville, 2 September 1997.

3. Dorothy Darcy, interview by Allen Roberts, Wanship, 1 September 1997.

4. "Summit County Historic Driving Tour," Summit County Historical Society, 1996.

5. Darcy, interview.

6. Mae W. Moore, interview by Allen Roberts, Spring Hollow, 2 September 1997.

7. An interesting reminiscence of these times is Robert S. Mikkelsen, "Growing Up Railroad: Remembering Echo City," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62 (Fall 1994): 349–62.

8. *Deseret News*, 30 September 1995.

9. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 12 November 1995.

10. Ken Woolstenhulme, interview by Martha S. Bradley, 3 September 1997.

11. Ibid.

12. *Park Record*, 23 August 1997. According to a recent survey, only 3.9 percent of east-side county residents said agriculture was the occupation of the head of the household.

13. Shauna Bradley, interview by Martha Bradley, Woodland, Utah, 3 September 1997.

14. *Deseret News*, 19 June 1996.

15. Labor Market Information, Utah Department of Employment Security, Salt Lake City.

16. Ibid.
17. Charlie Snyder, "Paradise Lost?" *Park City Lodestar* 18 (Winter 1996): 44.
18. Jordan Bonfante, "Sky's The Limit," *Time*, 6 September 1993, 23.
19. *Deseret News*, 20 August 1995
20. Draft Growth Management Element, Park City General Plan Update, Park City Planning Department, August 1995.
21. Ibid.
22. Snyder, "Paradise Lost?" 45.
23. "Summit County, Utah: Selected Demographic Labor Market and Economic Characteristics," Utah Department of Employment Security, Salt Lake City, 1994, 37.
24. Ibid.
25. "Summit County, The Last Best Place to Live. How Can We Save It?" State of the County Message from the Summit County Board of Commissioners, 6 November 1995.
26. Ibid.
27. Summit County Commission minutes, 6 May 1996, Summit County Courthouse, Coalville.
28. Eastern Summit County General Plan, 6 May 1996.
29. Raye C. Ringholz, "Without the Park It Would Be Just City," *Park City Lodestar* 17 (Summer 1995): 47.
30. *Deseret News*, 5 December 1996, 3 June 1997.
31. *Park Record*, 7 December 1995.
32. Ibid.
33. *Wasatch Mountain Times*, August 1995.
34. Snyder, "Paradise Lost," 46.
35. Draft Growth Management Element.
36. Ibid. In this section the authors are summarizing the sentiments expressed at a series of 1993 public meetings known collectively as "CommunityVision."
37. Snyder, "Paradise Lost," 46.
38. *Deseret News*, 11 December 1995.
39. According to the National Ski Areas Association, the number of annual skier visits grew only about 5 percent between the winter of 1978–79 and the winter of 1994–95, from about 50.2 million to 52.7 million.



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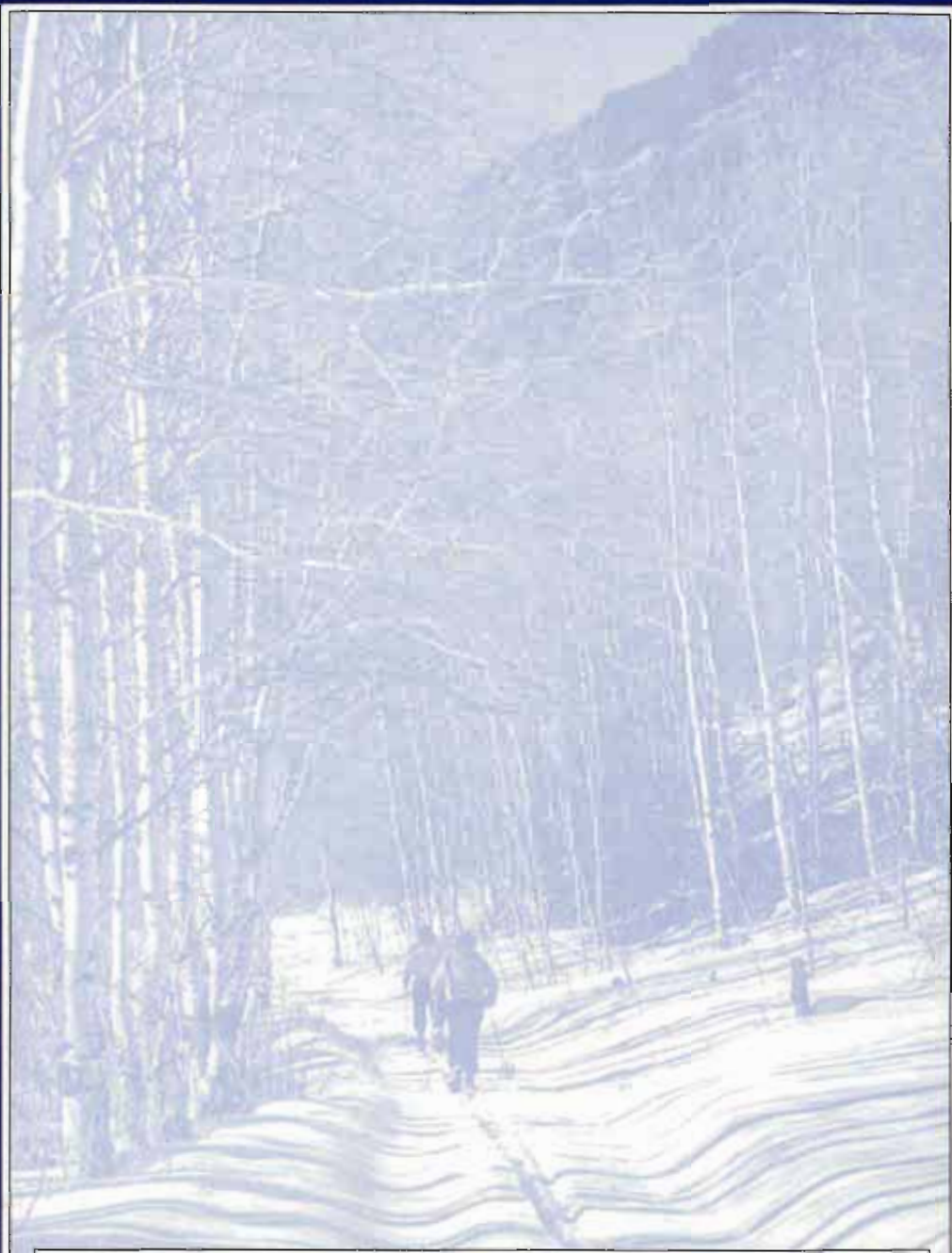
Allen Roberts (left) is a principal with Cooper/Roberts Architects and has designed major buildings and restorations in Park City. Former state architectural historian, he has written several articles and books on architecture, history, and religious issues. He co-authored the best-selling book *Salamander: The Story of the Mormon Forgery Murders*.

*Front dust jacket photograph: Summit County Courthouse, early 1900s; courtesy Brigham Young University, George Beard Collection.*

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