

A HISTORY OF

*Wasatch
County*



Jessie L. Embry

UTAH CENTENNIAL COUNTY HISTORY SERIES

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Native Americans used Wasatch County for hunting and gathering activities, but probably no permanent settlers lived in the area until the Mormons arrived in 1859. They established communities following Joseph Smith's Plat of the City of Zion. Rather than living on isolated homesteads, they lived in towns and set up their farms surrounding the villages. The harsh weather and distant water sources of the region also encouraged cooperation. The area became known for its dairies and cattle and sheep industries.

But while the towns in Wasatch County started as typical Mormon villages, they have become more dependent on outside economic forces. The state and federal governments have developed many of the county's natural resources, but they generally are used outside the area. The county includes much of the Uinta and parts of the Wasatch and Ashley national forests and boasts three reservoirs: Strawberry (1910), Deer Creek (1946), and Jordanelle (1995); however, the stored water is used elsewhere. Wasatch County's history is the story of a transition from independent Mormon villages to dependent colonies and bedroom communities of larger population centers.

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Jessie L. Embry

1996

Utah State Historical Society
Wasatch County Commission

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*Dedicated to
Ruth Grimshaw Witt*

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Acknowledgments

When the Utah State Historical Society hired me as a preservation intern during the summer of 1977, my initial assignment was to research the buildings in Heber City and Wasatch County. I barely knew where Wasatch County was before I was hired, but for six months Heber became my home. I worked long hours photographing buildings, searching titles, and reading past issues of the *Wasatch Wave*. I lived with Ruth Witt, who became my historical consultant, booster club, and nurse. Years later when Kent Powell asked me if I would be willing to write this centennial history of Wasatch County, I thought of Ruth. A citizen of Wasatch County by marriage, Ruth had adopted the area as her home wholeheartedly. She loved the land, the buildings, and the people. Because of her great devotion to the area and her support of my work, I have dedicated this volume to her. I sometimes tease Kent that I agreed to write this history because Ruth haunted me.

Actually, I was delighted to be able to do something with all my research on Wasatch County. I never finished my work in Heber City because I was transferred to Salt Lake City. For nearly twenty years

my research notes gathered dust. I started to write a book several times, but I never felt that I had enough material to complete a study. Receiving the contract for this history allowed me to complete my research and finally bring my study of Wasatch County to a close.

There are almost too many people to thank, but I don't want to just list their names because each person provided special support. Kent Powell and Craig Fuller from the Historical Society listened to my concerns and complaints and gave me encouragement. When I was deciding if I really wanted to take the contract to write the history, Danny Jorgensen, a sociologist and friend from Florida, traveled through Heber and Round valleys with me. His enthusiasm about the area was contagious.

The staff at the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University assisted in the research. Rebecca Vorimo was not only a research assistant but also a friend and "Mother Confessor." I am especially thankful for Rebecca's hard work in reading the Wasatch County census. Then she and her husband, Pasi Vorimo, developed the charts that are included in this volume.

Kris Nelson went beyond her job description as a secretary. She not only read the manuscript several times but listened to all my joys and complaints. William A. "Bert" Wilson, the Redd Center director, encouraged the project and told me that it was valuable. Other employees, such as transcriber Rachel Nathan, helped in processing Rebecca's oral histories.

I received valuable assistance from archives throughout the state of Utah. I enjoyed working with the staff at the Brigham Young University Library, the University of Utah Special Collections, the Utah State Historical Society, and the Utah State University Special Collections. I am especially indebted to my friends at the LDS Church Archives. Ron Watt and Mike Landon helped me locate records and discover information that I might have overlooked. Other archives which are not used as frequently also provided assistance. Bernice Mooney graciously opened the Catholic archives in Salt Lake City. I visited the Heber City office of the Uinta National Forest and received assistance from the staff there and from members of the Provo office. The staff at the Bureau of Reclamation office in Provo gave me the opportunity to look through their files. These

helped me understand the construction of Deer Creek Dam and Reservoir.

Wasatch County residents—past and present—have also helped with the project. The Wasatch County Commissioners made sure that the Redd Center was paid. I spent several days reading the Wasatch County School Board minutes in the school district office. The staff provided excellent working conditions. People in the Wasatch County courthouse and the Heber City offices also helped me find material. I am especially grateful for Bob Mathis's assistance. When I worked in Heber back in 1977, Bob had just started working for the county. He provided me with office space and discussions about historic preservation. When I returned to write this history, I interviewed him about his experiences watching the county grow and change. I enjoy discussing history with Bob. Finally Jerry Springer, Kenneth O. Kohler, and Barbara and Guy S. McDonald, Wasatch County residents, agreed to read the manuscript. Springer helped me understand the mining history better. Kohler explained the on-going research on Native American history. The McDonalds pointed out some embarrassing errors and gave valuable insights on Wasatch County history since 1940, especially aviation history.

Friends and family have also supported this project. Janet Embry, my sister, friend, and critic, agreed to edit the manuscript as my Christmas present one year. My father, Bertis L. Embry, who spent years developing irrigation projects throughout the world tried to explain water law to me. Ron Shook agreed to celebrate almost every completed task. And countless other friends listened to Wasatch County stories.

In other words, this history has consumed much of my time and thoughts for several years. County residents frequently asked me how my study would be different from *How Beautiful Upon the Mountains*. I worked very hard to explain how events in Wasatch County related to Utah and United States history. I also developed theories that tied the events together. I think I came up with some workable ideas that I hope will help Wasatch County citizens and others understand the area. But as with any study, these are my ideas. While others have helped and encouraged me, I am responsible for the final project.

General Introduction

When Utah was granted statehood on 4 January 1896, twenty-seven counties composed 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

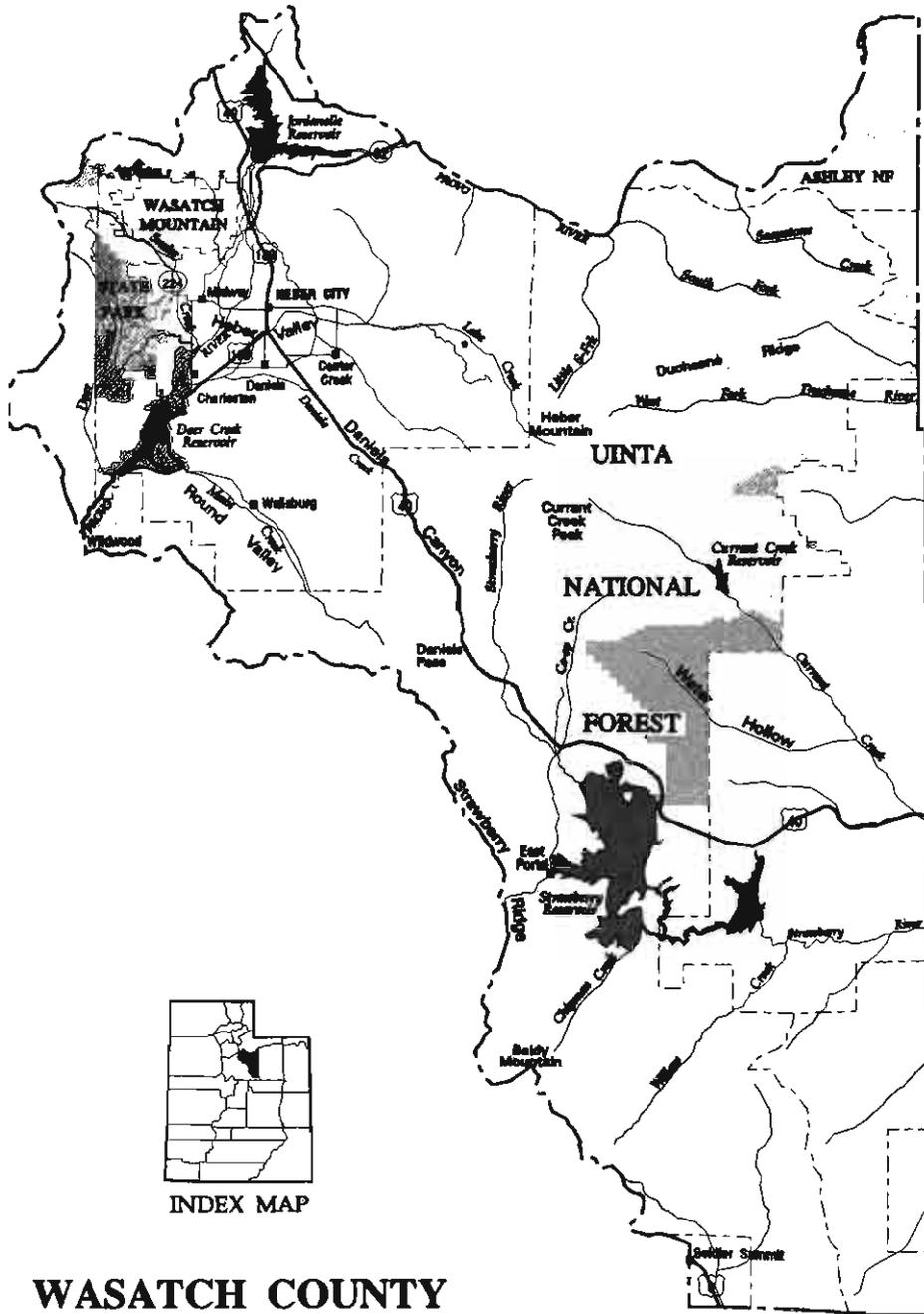
to help develop policies for distribution of state-appropriated funds and plans for publication.

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



WASATCH COUNTY

INTRODUCTION

Wasatch County is composed of several valleys nestled near the top of the Wasatch Range. Much of the land is in the Uinta National Forest; the Wasatch and Ashley national forests also spill over the county boundaries. The communities line up along the west side of the county, and nearly all of them are in Heber Valley. In 1990 Heber City (population 4,782), the county seat, was by far the largest community. Next in size were Midway (population 1,554) and Charleston (population 337). Daniel¹ and Center Creek have never been incorporated. Wallsburg, located in the smaller Round Valley south of the other communities, had a population of 273. The only other community, Soldier Summit, along the main Denver and Rio Grande Railroad line, was unincorporated by 1990. Soldier Summit's rise and decline based on changing railroad technology has been a unique part of the county's history.

Wasatch County is rich in natural resources. Two mountain ranges, the Uinta and the Wasatch, played roles in depositing rich soil in the valleys and minerals in the mountainous area that became the Park City Mining District. Two watersheds, the Colorado River and



Deer Creek Reservoir and Mount Timpanogos. (Utah State Historical Society)

the Great Basin drainage systems, give the area vast water resources and possibilities. But the county also has geological features which hindered the immediate use of these resources. First, Wasatch County includes three valleys set high in the mountains which are characterized by long, often severe winters and a very short growing season. Second, water and farming lands are distant, and the water must be moved to the land. Third, the valleys can be reached only after crossing steep mountain passes. As a result, for many years the area seemed virtually uninhabitable. Current archaeological research suggests that Native Americans visited only to hunt during the fall; they spent their winters in milder climates around Utah Lake. Later a few European explorers crisscrossed through the county boundaries, but they also did not linger.

Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS, or Mormons) were the first permanent settlers in Wasatch County. Ambitious settlers looking for greater economic opportunities crossed the mountains and considered the possibilities of living

in the area—but only after the lower valleys were becoming overpopulated. Even then some feared that the high altitude and short growing season would make the area suitable only for livestock. Despite these concerns, some newcomers to Utah County moved to the area after construction of the road up Provo Canyon made settlement possible. Mormons already living in Utah were the first to move; immigrants from England, Sweden, and Switzerland followed. Initially, most area settlers were immigrants who could not find places to live along the more populous Wasatch Front. But these newcomers soon made homes for themselves in Heber City, Midway, Charleston, and Wallsburg, and their children stayed. In a short time, most of the residents had been born in Utah. Soon new communities such as Center Creek and Daniel became the home for the increasing population.

The Wasatch County settlers established communities similar to those in the lower valleys. Rather than living on isolated homesteads, they lived in towns and set up their farms on land surrounding the villages. The federal government's block survey methods facilitated this type of settlement, as did the settlers' knowledge of New England towns; but they adopted this settlement pattern mainly because they were following Mormon church founder Joseph Smith's "Plat of the City of Zion." Mormon leaders encouraged this settlement pattern, and the Mormon villages in turn encouraged cooperation.³

The village plan thrived because it met the needs of the environment. In areas like Wasatch County, cooperation was necessary to bring the water from the mountain streams to the valleys. It took more than one person to build the necessary canals to transport the water, and the limited resource needed to be shared. The Mormons also had displaced the Native Americans, taking away their gathering and hunting lands. Being close together helped protect the settlers. In fact, many Mormon towns, including Heber, began as forts where homes were built in a square to protect the inhabitants from Indian attacks.

There were other elements that made Mormon villages distinctive. First, the church dominated all aspects of life. Almost everything could be considered part of worship, whether it was irrigating the fields, planting crops, or attending sacrament meetings. The church also controlled political life directly and indirectly. When the



Aerial view of Heber City, taken December 30, 1946. (Salt Lake Tribune Collection, Utah State Historical Society)

Mormons first established a town, church leaders formed the governing body. Later, as governments developed, the same men often held church and public positions. For example, the probate judge listed at the beginning of Wasatch County's property records was Abram Hatch, who was the area's first stake president and the area's representative to the territorial legislature.

LDS general authorities asked Mormons to be self-sufficient, to produce everything they needed themselves and not to depend on outside sources, especially non-Mormons. The church's general authorities tried several methods to encourage this self-reliance. One involved asking communities to establish church-operated cooperatives and united orders, a form of commune. Wasatch County's united order failed, however, as did many of its other cooperative attempts. Some blamed it on local leaders who, they felt, did not support the church's program. Another reason might be that the limited population struggling to survive in a harsh environment focused on



Aerial view of Midway, July 1958. (Utah State Historical Society)

self-interests. In many other parts of Utah, residents were able to move from subsistence farming as the population grew; however, the harsh mountain climate in Wasatch County made raising crops always a gamble. This focus on survival did not encourage the development of industry, everyone had to be a farmer first.

Residents did cooperate herding livestock because at first everyone had only a few animals and placing them together saved time, money, and resources. Gradually some men developed bigger herds and moved off on their own. The focus of local cooperative efforts then shifted to working for common interests. One concern was finding new grazing lands, which enterprising Heber Valley residents did in the federally owned Strawberry Valley and on the Uintah Indian Reserve.

Residents also cooperated on irrigation projects. Farmers in most communities developed companies to build canals and determine how the water would be divided. Towns like Midway that did not initially have water companies learned the hard way that working together meant more water for everyone. There were some individuals who struck out on their own and tapped unused water resources outside of the immediate settlement area. But such efforts were time-consuming, and it was difficult to move water from places like Strawberry Valley to Heber Valley. These residents actually transported water they had no legal rights to across federal lands. In addition, they could never develop the full potential of the land because they did not have the financial resources.

Once the federal government started paying attention to public lands, it curtailed many of these illegal activities. For example, the establishment of the Uintah National Forest restricted the grazing of Heber Valley and Round Valley residents' cattle, sheep, and horses. Over the years federal grazing policies virtually ended what was once a booming livestock industry in Wasatch County.

The federal government also ended Wasatch County residents' control over the water in Strawberry Valley. Without outside funds, it was impossible for Utahns to fully develop the water potential in Wasatch County. The water had to be moved too far, and residents could not afford to build extensive dams, reservoirs, and canals. The Newlands Act and the establishment of the Bureau of Reclamation provided some federal assistance to water users. But Wasatch County residents were not the ones who benefited from the congressional action. Instead, farmers from southern Utah County saw the possibility of using water from the Strawberry River. They convinced the Bureau of Reclamation to build Strawberry Reservoir and transport the water to them. This water revived dying Utah County towns, but Wasatch County residents lost water and grazing lands.

The transfer of water did not stop with Strawberry. Later, residents of northern Utah County and Salt Lake City expanded beyond their water resources. They found underutilized resources in the Weber, Provo, and Duchesne rivers. They convinced the Bureau of Reclamation to build Deer Creek Reservoir and transfer water from the three rivers to where it would benefit more people. Once again



Aerial view of Strawberry Reservoir, July 1958. (Utah State Historical Society)

Wasatch County residents suffered, losing water rights and range lands. The reservoir also buried much of the town of Charleston.

Mormons are often portrayed as an ethnic homogenous group who worked together for the common good. But in the construction of both Strawberry and Deer Creek reservoirs, fellow Utahns, in most cases Mormons, were looking out for their own interests and, as a result, taking from Wasatch County. This process was also noticeable in the development of Wasatch Mountain State Park in Midway. State, Mormon church, and county leaders developed the plan for the park, hoping it would bring visitors to the Mormon villages. Their motives varied: political leaders hoped for economic growth; church leaders hoped for positive publicity. The groups worked together because they had a common goal. Some area landowners, however, questioned the park and refused to sell. It took church leaders to convince them to accept the park.

Recent events have brought additional changes to the appearance

of Wasatch County. After years of debate, parts of the Central Utah Water Project have been completed, including Jordanelle Dam. The reservoir was filled in June 1995, creating another state park in the county. Deer Creek Reservoir is also a state-operated resort. There are plans to develop a trail connecting the parks. After years of debate over whether the county or the Strawberry Water Users Association was responsible for controlling vacationers on Strawberry Reservoir, the Forest Service now determines recreational policies there. Some Wasatch County residents have objected to the state and federal governments' takeover of property. The increased county visitation also has not brought some hoped-for economic growth. Most recreationists come from the Wasatch Front and bring their own supplies; they buy very little in the county; but the county is required to provide water, police, and emergency services for them.

These factors have transferred some control from Wasatch County to the federal and state governments. At the same time, other events have made rural areas throughout the United States—including Wasatch County—less self-sufficient. Between 1923 and 1950, scholars studied the community of Escalante, Utah, another isolated Mormon settlement, for changes in isolation, commercialization of its rural economy, and the impact of urbanization of the community's lifestyle.³ Because Wasatch County is closer to the population centers, it experienced many of these changes before Escalante. The construction of the railroad in 1889 meant that Wasatch County residents had more exposure to the outside world and wider markets for their goods. But it also meant that the county became more subject to these markets. At first they were proud of the number of sheep being shipped from their area. Later they were pleased that their homemade butter was used throughout the Wasatch Front. But soon the markets shifted, and it was not the butter made in the local creamery but the milk that was going to Salt Lake City, where it was made into butter. Local businesses closed down, and Wasatch County became the producer of raw materials that were processed elsewhere. Although they never became as self-sufficient as Mormon church leaders preached, as the years passed, Wasatch County residents depended less on their own industries. As roads improved and people wanted to move away from the populated areas, Wasatch County's

towns became bedroom communities (where residents lived but went elsewhere to work) and vacation resorts where outsiders built second homes.

Over the years, Wasatch County also became more dependent on the federal government. Just as it did in the rest of the nation, the Great Depression of the 1930s hit Wasatch County. Still recovering from the drop in farming and mining prices following World War I and the 1920s, Wasatch County and Utah found the 1930s ever harder. To help provide work, the county received money from the federal government to improve civic projects that they had struggled to build on their own thirty years earlier and to bring improvements they had not been able to afford. Using these funds sometimes brought federal controls which have continued. While they have brought needed jobs and money into the area, some conservative county residents feared the loss of independence.

By the 1990s, Wasatch County depended on other political and economic systems for its survival. In a worldwide economy, this condition is referred to as dependency. One economist explained, "By dependency we mean a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected."⁴ This same theory can be used to describe Wasatch County history. Just as with a country, there have been positive and negative effects.⁵

Wasatch County has passed through several stages. Native Americans and later European travelers used some resources but did not settle in the area. The Latter-day Saints established the first communities, and these resembled other self-sufficient Mormon villages. But these early settlers did not have the money to utilize the area's natural resources. Federal and state funds eventually developed the water resources, but the more populated areas of Utah often reaped the benefits. In addition, the federal government owned parts of Wasatch County, and federal agencies such as the Forest Service took control over these areas. Wasatch County continued to change in the 1990s as it became a bedroom district to the Wasatch Front. The following pages will detail these developments.

ENDNOTES

1. The residents of Wasatch County refer to Daniel Town and Daniels Canyon and Daniels Creek. United States Geological Survey maps and other sources call the town Daniels. This history will use the term Daniel for the town, since it is preferred by the residents.

2. Sociologist Lowry Nelson discussed the Mormon settlement pattern in his book *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1952), 39–40. According to Nelson, “the Plat of the City of Zion” developed by the church’s founder, Joseph Smith, Jr., combined “ideologies of millennialism, communism, and nationalism which they derived from the social environment of the early nineteenth century, and the Old and New Testaments.” While “they drew undoubtedly upon the rectangular survey method of the federal government, the New England town, and their knowledge of city layouts,” the plans were not the results of “external influences.” Instead, they were “the product of the group ideologies.”

3. Nelson, “Mormon Village,” 109.

4. Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), xvii.

5. Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Politics of the World Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) talks about the negative impacts of a more powerful state; 5, 170.

THE LAND BEFORE MORMON SETTLEMENT

The configuration of the land, the way rocks lie, the courses rivers flow, and the weather patterns all influence human activity in an area. Geology, geography, flora and fauna, and weather influenced when people came to the area now known as Wasatch County, how long they stayed there, and what economic ventures they attempted. The Native Americans who hunted in the Strawberry Valley, the trappers who traveled along the rivers, the explorers who surveyed the terrain, and the Mormons who established settlements did not understand all of the geological history, but they saw the effects.

Geology

Wasatch County is a part of several complicated geological features. The area lies in the Middle Rocky Mountains Province, with its mountains formed during the Paleozoic age. As marine water left the area, carboniferous and other sediment hardened into limestone, sandstone, and other sedimentary rocks. Geologists believe that as the earth shifted, its surface slowly folded and broke and the Rocky Mountains were lifted up. Wasatch County lies at the crossing of two

very disparate sections of the Rocky Mountains—the Uinta Mountains and the Wasatch Range. The Uinta Mountains run east and west and have little igneous rock. The Wasatch Range runs north and south and has an uncommon mixture of sedimentary, igneous, and metamorphic rock. The two ranges meet near Park City, creating “complex crossroads.”¹

Although both the Uinta Mountains and the Wasatch Range affect the geology of Wasatch County, the Wasatch Range is the most significant; the Uintas are farther removed. The Uinta Mountains played a role in the deposition of rich soils in the area. The Wasatch Mountains are mature hills rather than youthful mountains. Running water and glacial scouring helped form the Wasatch Range. Then running water formed V-shaped valleys such as Daniels Canyon. The glaciers of the Pleistocene epoch patterned U-shaped valleys including Pine, Snake, Center, Lake, and the mouth of Snake Creek Canyon.²

The primary valleys in Wasatch County (Heber, Round, and Strawberry) are part of a line of valleys—from Bear Lake Valley in the north to Thistle Valley in the south—sometimes called the “back valleys of the Wasatch.” Though lower than the surrounding mountains, these valleys are relatively high. They include hilly areas towering over the valley floors. Most back valleys were formed as the waters of pre-historic Lake Bonneville dropped. Heber Valley, however, was formed by glaciers.

After Lake Bonneville had shrunk, the region continued to change. According to some studies, the Provo River was once a tributary of the Weber River. However, as the stream’s course eroded and changed, the river started to flow south and west. Other geologists describe a huge landslide which created a natural barrier at the site chosen much later for the Deer Creek Dam. A natural dam flooded Heber Valley; Memorial Hill in Midway was an island. In time the Provo River washed out the dam and left only a mud flow near the mouth of Deer Creek Canyon. These past geological formations have now disappeared. Valleys, rich soil, potrock and hot springs, sandstone, and minerals remain.³ Settlers who came many years later used these natural resources to enhance their lives, little realizing the vast amount of time and enormous forces that had created them.



Deer Creek Reservoir and Mount Timpanogos. (Utah State Historical Society)

Physical Environment

The environment appeared stable when the Mormons arrived in the 1850s. As they traveled up the canyon along the Provo River, they located a valley nine miles long and six miles wide with a main elevation of 5,600 feet. At first they called it Provo Valley for the river and the canyon. Later it was referred to as Heber Valley after the largest settlement. There were other small valleys including Round Valley, a small indentation closer to the mouth of Provo Canyon, and Strawberry Valley farther east. The Latter-day Saints also found rivers and creeks such as Daniels, Lake Fork, Center Creek, Snake Creek, and the Strawberry River. Though they probably did not realize it at the time, the area had irrigation potential because two watersheds, the Colorado River and the Great Basin drainage systems, converged in the county. The problem was how to get this water to the land.⁴

A rich chestnut brown soil lay on the Heber Valley floor, developed over a long history of grass growth in a subhumid climate. On

the foothills was a darker chernozem soil. Along the river was a bog soil. Much of the soil came from glacial drifts. Some areas, including Hailstone and Dutch Hollow, had sandy loam. When the Mormon settlers arrived, they found what ecologists now call a grass-sagebrush ecosystem. In the valleys they found grasses, and along the streams there were cottonwood, box elder, river birch, and willows. On the foothills were sagebrush, a few junipers, June grass, and some native Indian rice grass. Up higher (between 6,000 and 7,000 feet) were scrub oak, sagebrush, snowberry, and some maple. In the next thousand feet they found aspen, chokecherry, snowberry, serviceberry, and oak. Coniferous forests topped the higher mountains with Englemann spruce, lodgepole pine, Alpine fir, and Douglas fir. Above the timberline, only shrubs, mosses, and lichens could survive. In 1859 James H. Simpson, an explorer searching for a transcontinental railroad route, explained, "The grass particularly in Round Prairie [Heber] where there is a great deal of meadow land is abundant, and I know of no place where stock could be better fed, sheltered, and watered during summer and winter." Simpson added, however, "I doubt that it will prove very productive."⁵

If today is any indication, the early settlers also found animals. Many of the birds and animals in the area were only seasonal, leaving to avoid the harsh long winters. Deer and elk roamed Strawberry Valley during the spring, summer, and fall. Other animals included moose, beaver, sage grouse, blue grouse, ruffed grouse, Hungarian partridge, mourning dove, and snowshoe hare. Some, including moose, beaver, and sage grouse, stayed year round.⁶

The Mormons were farmers, and their leaders had instructed them to avoid the worldly temptation of mining. But if they had looked, they would have also found minerals in the northern part of the county. Non-Mormons who followed found lead, silver, and gold in the Blue Ledge District near present-day Park City in Summit County. They also found copper in the Snake Creek area. Other minerals included coal, ozokerite, albertite, gilsonite, and elaterite.⁷

Native Americans

Scholars know very little about the valleys of Wasatch County before Mormon settlement. Because of the cold winters, it does not

appear that Native Americans resided permanently in the valleys. In the 1970s archaeologists from the University of Utah found four chipping sites in Strawberry Valley, but because the remains were few, they did not conduct extensive investigations. They concluded that natives from the Archaic period (8000 B.C.—A.D. 500) or Fremont people (A.D. 500–1300) used the area for hunting and gathering but did not live there permanently. Later the Utes—the Timpanogots who lived in Utah Valley and the Uintah band in the Uinta Basin—hunted for deer, sheep, and antelope in Strawberry Valley.⁸

More recently, archaeologists have looked more closely for Native American artifacts. Some believe previous scholars did not find examples of occupation on the mountains because they had already concluded that the Native Americans could not live there. In 1994, archaeologists studying a site at Wolf Springs found two “diagnostic projectile points” which they concluded dated from the early Archaic period between 6300 and 4200 B.C. and the late Prehistoric period from A.D. 250 to 1800. These people knew that materials were available in the mountains for making hunting tools and they did not bring them from the lower country. The points had bighorn sheep protein on them, confirming big-game hunting and meat processing in the mountains. They also found evidence of processed plant life. The scholars were not able to determine if the area was lived in year round. They also found no evidence of the Fremont or Ute cultures.⁹ Studies continue on the involvement of the Native Americans in the area. With the discovery of other artifacts, archaeologists will be better able to understand the Native Americans’ involvement in the area.

There is only one reference to a Native American settlement in the county. The Spanish friars Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Silvestre Vélez de Escalante passed through Strawberry Valley in 1776. Their guide told them that “a portion of Lagunas” had lived there, depending on the “river’s fishing for their regular sustenance.” But this band “moved out of fear of the Comanche.”¹⁰

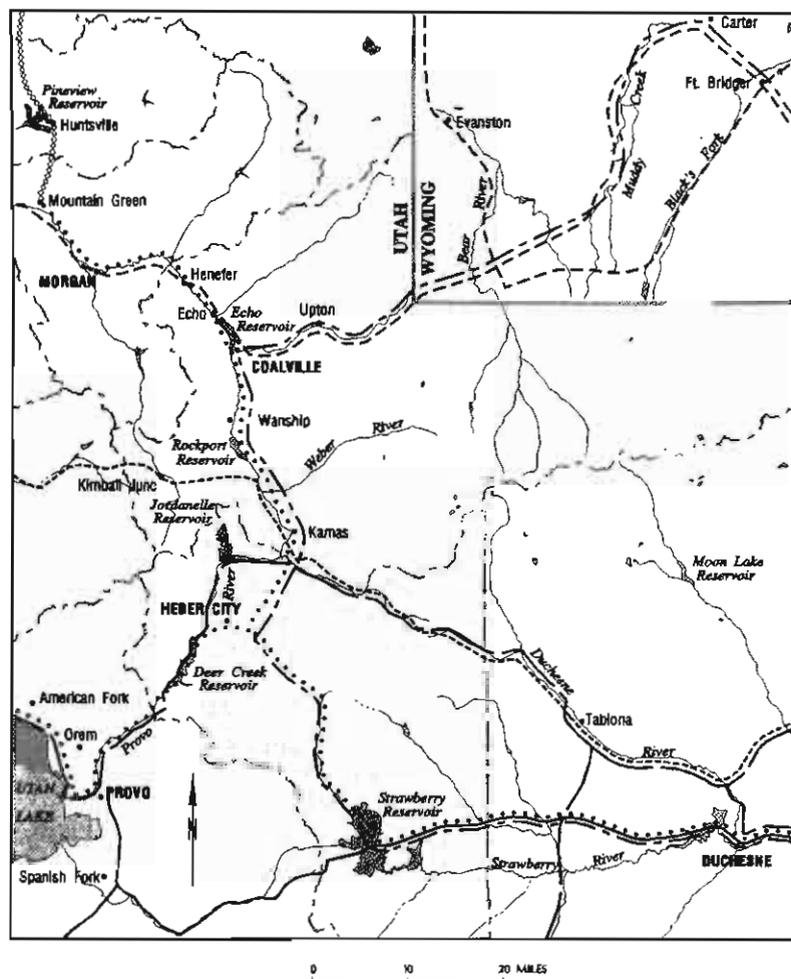
Domínguez and Escalante were the first whites to leave a description of Strawberry Valley. In their unsuccessful search for an overland route from New Mexico to California, these Spanish Catholic priests mapped some of present-day Utah. The friars passed through

Strawberry Valley on 20–21 September 1776. They described it as a “very pretty and pleasant narrow valley with the most abundant of pastures.” The first night, 20 September, they camped at the end of the valley, and Escalante recorded in his journal it was so cold that water froze close to the fire.

As the group continued through the valley, they described “bothersome sagebrush” and “long narrow valleys of very soft dirt and many small holes in which, because they lay hidden in the undergrowth, the mounts kept sinking and stumbling at every instant.” They arrived at a medium-sized river, probably Trout Creek, which is now submerged under the Strawberry Reservoir. There the guide caught fish with a spear. From Trout Creek they continued to Bryant Fork, now also under the Strawberry Reservoir. They passed through forests of “white poplar, scruboak [*sic*], chokecherry, and spruce.” The guide was anxious to return to his own people, so he traveled through the area very fast, a speed which worried the travelers. At one point, Escalante recorded that the poplar forest was “so thick that we doubted if the packs [on the animals] could get through,” but they did not have time to take them off because the guide pushed on.¹¹ From Strawberry the group went down Soldier Creek to Spanish Fork River and followed that stream into Spanish Fork Canyon and Utah County. They traveled only through the eastern section of Wasatch County.¹²

There is no record of other whites in Wasatch County for about half a century. At that time, some trappers and travelers left records which show that they had crossed part of the county. For example, in 1824 Etienne Provost and other trappers followed the Domínguez and Escalante route to Strawberry Lake, crossed the rim of the Great Basin, traveled down Center Creek to the Provo River, and continued on to Utah Lake. After he was attacked by Snake Indians on the Jordan River, Provost selected another route the next year. William H. Ashley hired Etienne Provost to retrieve a cache of furs buried on the Green River in 1825. On their way to the rendezvous that year, the party traveled through Strawberry Valley and across the mountains, following Center Creek to Heber Valley. They continued north to Kamas and the Weber River.¹³

Others also might have passed through the county. In 1842



- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|-------|---------------------------|
| ————— | <i>Escalante 1776</i> | ----- | <i>Whitman 1842</i> |
| | <i>Provost 1824, 1825</i> | ————— | <i>Fremont 1844, 1845</i> |
| ----- | <i>Smith 1824, 1825</i> | | <i>Ogden 1825</i> |
| ----- | <i>Ashley 1825</i> | | |

Early travelers in the Wasatch County area.

Marcus Whitman, a Presbyterian missionary in Oregon, feared losing his mission's funding. He traveled across the Kamas Prairie to the Provo River and continued along it to the source. He then crossed Wolf Creek Pass to the Duchesne River. John Charles Frémont might have gone through the area on his 1843 exploration trip. The next

year he went up Spanish Fork Canyon to Soldier Summit, and in 1845 he went through Wolf Creek Pass to the Provo River headwaters. He then followed the river to Utah Lake. Trappers and mountain men also might have continued to visit the area. Guessing where they actually were is difficult since the early maps are unreliable. The early explorers could not imagine an area where the water did not drain into the sea, one reason they kept looking for a Pacific route. In his 1843–44 travels Frémont finally concluded that the Great Basin had no drainage outlet. With that discovery, finally the maps could be drawn correctly.¹⁴

Summary

Centuries of land-shifting and movement developed the fertile valleys of Wasatch County. Native Americans passed through the area for years but never settled because of the high altitude and wintry conditions. Later European explorers followed, but they also found the valleys too cold to linger. Not until the Mormons arrived in the 1850s were there any permanent residents in the Wasatch County.

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MORMON SETTLEMENT OF WASATCH COUNTY, 1859–1888

The United States acquired Utah from Mexico in 1848, and Americans moved west onto newly acquired territory throughout the mid-1800s. Travelers came for a variety of reasons: to convert the Native Americans to various Christian religions, to acquire free land, and to become wealthy. At least one group came seeking religious freedom. In 1830 Joseph Smith, Jr., a farmer's son from New England, founded a church based on his revelations. Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were nicknamed Mormons because of their belief in the Book of Mormon. During the 1830s and 1840s Smith and his followers moved frequently, sometimes based on Smith's revelations, sometimes because of disagreements with their neighbors. In 1844 Smith and his brother Hyrum were killed by a mob in Carthage, Illinois, and shortly thereafter the Mormons abandoned Nauvoo, Illinois, their city along the Mississippi River. Before his death, Smith researched the West and considered relocating. Following a dispute over who should succeed Smith as leader, Brigham Young, the president of the church's Council of Twelve, led the majority of the Mormons west.

Young and an advance party entered the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, and the Mormons began building their empire. They established their own government, later replaced by a territorial jurisdiction appointed by Congress. The church retained effective control until 1857, because Brigham Young served as the federally appointed governor. In 1857 President James Buchanan, questioning the Mormon dominance, sent Alfred Cumming to become Utah's governor. Hearing of a possible rebellion and fearing the Mormons would not accept Cumming, Buchanan also sent an army escort headed by Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston. The Mormons reacted by raiding Johnston's supplies and preventing him from entering the Salt Lake Valley that winter. They also moved to Utah Valley, leaving their homes and partially constructed temple to be burned if the army did attempt to enter the Salt Lake Valley. Though the dispute was known as the Utah War, no fighting actually took place because the Mormons settled with the government.

After their experiences in the Midwest, the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints wanted to be as self-sufficient as possible. Young soon sent settlers south to Washington County to raise cotton. Others went to Iron County and tried to produce iron. Latter-day Saints colonized from Cache Valley in the north to St. George in the south. Some responded to mission calls; others moved seeking more land and better opportunities. By 1859 the Mormons had established approximately 130 settlements in the territory, most along a north-south line.

Wasatch County Settlement

Utah Valley was one of the areas settled along the north-south axis. A freshwater lake and rivers made it especially attractive. Mormons first moved to Provo, which became the main community, in 1849, and by the late 1850s residents had claimed the best lands. The children of the original settlers and newcomers were forced to look elsewhere for property. In 1857, Provo citizens working at sawmills in Big Cottonwood Canyon crossed over the mountains and examined a valley formed by the Provo River. The millers were impressed. When they announced their findings in Provo, local resi-

dents rejoiced, and some hoped to move. Most of Wasatch County's first settlers came from Utah County.

There were two major obstacles to settlement. First was climate. There were rumors of frost every month of the year. Despite these fears, cattlemen took their animals to the south end of the valley and started harvesting meadow hay for winter feed. During the spring and summer of 1857 others also explored the area and supported settlement.

An even more pressing concern was the difficult mountain pass. Provo Canyon was steep and narrow; there was no road except for a small Indian trail. William Gardner, an explorer, first proposed a road up the canyon in 1852, but nothing was done. In 1855 the territorial legislature passed a bill allowing a group of men from Provo to construct a road. The men had not started working on the route, however, before the Utah War in 1857 halted all such work. But before the "war" was over, a group of men proposed a road again to Brigham Young. He met with the citizens in Provo on 6 June 1858 and called for volunteers to help build the road. The next day he and Provo residents formed the "Provo Canyon Company." The road construction provided other benefits; it gave work to idle men who were living in Provo Valley because of the Utah War and provided a way for Johnston's army to move supplies to Camp Floyd without passing through the more populated Salt Lake Valley.¹

Government explorer James Harvey Simpson described the newly completed road in August 1859: "A company of citizens . . . have by dint of great labor, cut through these promontories, made deep excavations along the steep, and in many instances rocky, side-hills, and have built up reverted embankments." The result was "an excellent mountain-road, and one that does them a great deal of credit." Still, he added, the road was narrow, making it difficult for a six-yoke team of oxen to stay on the road and out of the river.²

With the road completed, Provo residents made plans to settle at the head of the canyon. During 1858–59 winter meetings, the focus was on how the settlers could protect themselves from Native Americans and how they could grow crops at the higher elevation. Some argued that the area was suitable only for grazing animals; others wanted to raise wheat. Despite these concerns, some group mem-

bers decided to attempt a settlement and chose William Meeks to lead the efforts. Meeks was born in 1815 in South Carolina and came to Utah in 1852 with his parents. He initially came to Heber Valley to cut hay, so he was acquainted with the area and its potential.

In the spring of 1859 a few adventurers set out up Provo Canyon. The spring was cold that year, and snow lingered, delaying the trip. Finally, at the end of April, eleven men left: Thomas Rasband, John Crook, Charles N. Carroll, John Carlile, John Jordan, Henry Chatwin, Jesse Bond, James Carlile, William Giles, Jr., William Carpenter, and George Carlile. Of the nine men there is information on, eight were born in England and one was born in Canada. They were between twenty-three and sixty-two years of age. The Carliles were all related. There were other family connections; Rasband and Crook were both married to members of the Giles family.³

Once the men were on their way, travel was slow. At one snowslide at the South Fork of the Provo River they took their wagons apart, carried the parts and their supplies across, and reassembled the wagons on the other side. When they finally got to Heber Valley, they found they were not the first settlers. William Davidson, Robert Broadbent, and James Davis were plowing near present-day Heber, and the Broadbent family was living there.⁴ The newcomers greeted Davidson, Davis, and the Broadbents, and together they selected a campsite on a spring about a mile from Heber. They named it London in honor of their home country. The group divided the land, each man claiming a twenty- or forty-acre plot. They then started plowing and planting. They also selected a townsite and started laying it out. Despite continued snow and visiting LDS authorities from Provo who repeated the fear that grain would not grow, the settlers had high hopes.⁵

At the end of May, William Meeks, now the LDS church's appointed leader, arrived with surveyor Jesse Fuller. They questioned land boundaries, so Fuller surveyed the townsite again. Following a pattern established in Salt Lake City, the newcomers held a lottery to divide the plots. The men's names were placed in a hat and each could claim twenty acres in the order they were drawn. John Crook recalled "a regular stampede" to get the best land. The first day the residents took nearly all the surveyed land.⁶

In June Fuller laid out city lots. A month later John Crook moved to the city and started hauling logs and building a house. He and the other settlers followed the advice of Heber C. Kimball and Brigham Young "to build their houses together in the form of a stockade" for protection from the Native Americans.⁷ So while the townsite was much larger, the first homes were crowded together in an eighty-square-rod area between present-day First West and Fourth West and Second North and Fifth North. The residents named their new town Heber after Heber C. Kimball, who had converted many of them in England. When Kimball learned of this decision, he reportedly said, "Now you people have named your little town after me. I want you to see to it that you are honest, upright citizens and good Latter-day Saints that I may not have cause to be ashamed of you."⁸

By late 1859 eighteen families lived in the fort. John Carlile died in September, leaving his widow Elizabeth in Heber. Henry Chatwin, Jesse Bond, William Giles, Jr., and William Carpenter were no longer listed. According to John Crook's diary, newcomers included Alexander Sessions, Bradford Sessions, Hiram Oaks, John Lee, Richard Jones, James Laird, John Session, Jane Clothworthy, and Charles C. and Elisha Thomas. Crook listed only heads of households, so there is no record of how many married women and children were living in the fort.⁹ The first winter was hard, and most of the settlers did not have enough supplies. They had to travel twenty-eight miles to Provo to get flour. Crook recalled that the group met for a fast meeting the first Thursday in March 1860 and prayed for the weather to improve; by noon the snow on the north side of the house started to melt.

Despite the harsh weather, the settlement continued to grow, and by spring 1860 there were sixty-six homes at the fort. Winters continued to be long and frigid. Crook frequently reported temperatures thirty and forty degrees below zero. Once it was so cold that a Mr. Miller thought the thermometer's mercury had frozen. Buckets of water froze solid next to the fireplace, and the logs in buildings cracked from the cold. The *Deseret News* reported in February 1862, "Communication with Wasatch County is entirely cut off by the snows that have fallen and drifted in heaps in Provo Canyon." The

Despite these obstacles, the pioneers survived. They raised grain and vegetables, which they traded to teamsters passing through on their way to the army encampment at Camp Floyd. Crook sold his crops for gold coins and wagon covers. During the summer of 1859 Crook remembered especially trading turnips and potatoes for a wagon cover to make pants and a blouse.¹¹

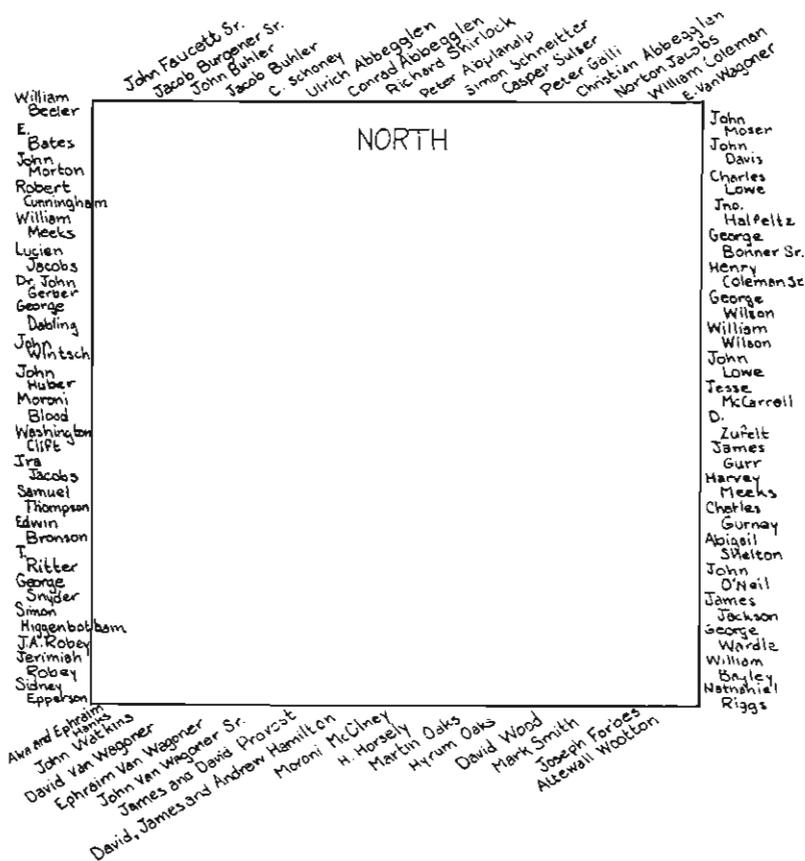
Heber developed gradually. James Watson described the town he encountered when he arrived in October 1864. Watson, a thirty-four-year-old Mormon convert from Scotland, came to the United States in 1855. After working in the east for several years, he came west. Once in Utah he went to visit a friend in Heber and decided to stay. Watson recalled, "There was nothing very attractive or picturesque to admire. . . . I do not remember that any of these primitive dwellings had anything better than a mud roof for covering. Still the people seemed to enjoy themselves and kept looking for better days to come." Brigham Young described improved conditions just five years later. After his visit, a *Deseret News* article reported, "Heber City and neighborhood are admirably adapted for the raising of stock and the manufacture of butter and cheese. . . . Fuel and timber are convenient, and . . . fine . . . red sandstone is within easy distance of the city." According to historian Leslie S. Raty, "In a little over a decade the people of Wasatch County passed through the pioneering stage and changed the frontier into a peaceful community environment."¹²

Additional Settlements

The first settlers in Heber Valley established communities where they could find irrigation water along Center, Daniels, and Snake creeks. Initially there were two settlements on Snake Creek three and a half miles apart. Mound City, the northern village, was the larger because limestone hot "pots," or hot springs, heated the ground and lengthened the growing period. The lower town, settled first, was smaller and had no specific name. By 1864 thirty-six families lived in Mound City.¹³ Other communities included Center Creek, Buysville, and Charleston.

Not all the area settlers went to Heber Valley. William Wall was among the first group who took cattle to the head of the canyon in the spring of 1858. Wall, a native of North Carolina, was born in 1821. He joined the LDS church in 1843 and came west in 1850. He

FORT MIDWAY FAMILY LOCATIONS



Map of Fort Midway showing location of early family homes. During the Black Hawk War, two communities united to form Midway. Residents lived in a fort arrangement at first. (*How Beautiful Upon the Mountains*)

lived in Provo and served a mission to Australia before he moved to Heber Valley. Wall had been involved in the construction of the Provo



House near Midway. (Utah State Historical Society)

Canyon road and in the planning meeting. He and his son-in-law, George Washington Bean, a surveyor and Indian interpreter, stopped in Round Valley. According to geologists this “asymmetrical synclinal valley . . . [was] eroded in . . . the sandstones of the middle part of the thick Oquirrh Formation.” The rich soil deposits either were formed as the Wallsburg Creek lost energy during the late Pleistocene period or through groundwater filtering through the quartzite between the mountains and surrounding the valley.¹⁴

Bean claimed the first property in the area, but in 1860 he sold his holdings to Wall. Four years later, Bean left the area. The first settlers in Round Valley had property in Provo and Heber, so they did not live in the area year round. By the winter of 1864–65 they decided to establish homes. They named their new community Wallsburg after William Wall. Wall became a presiding elder for Round and Heber valleys when William Meeks decided not to settle in the valley. Wall held that position until 1863.

Mormon Church

The Mormon church was predominant in early Wasatch County. All the early settlers were Latter-day Saints, and their lives revolved around the church. Church leaders played an important role in all decisions. For a time the county had two church-appointed leaders, one spiritual and the other secular. After William Meeks left, LDS church leaders placed William Wall in charge. In November 1860 Brigham Young and Daniel H. Wells appointed Joseph S. Murdock, from American Fork, to be the bishop of Heber Valley. Murdock was born in New York in 1822, and his family converted to Mormonism when he was fourteen years old. The Murdocks went with the Mormons throughout their travels in the Midwest. As the Latter-day Saints started to move west, Murdock joined the Mormon Battalion. In 1856 Brigham Young called him to settle Carson Valley, Wyoming. When that colony was abandoned because of the Utah War, Murdock returned to American Fork until Young asked him to be bishop in Wasatch County. For a year Wall continued as the secular administrator; Murdock was the spiritual leader. The Wasatch Stake "Manuscript History" reported, "There was more or less clashing between the two authorities."¹⁵ In 1863 Wall resigned as area president, and Murdock became president and bishop.

In 1867 the Mormon church leaders asked Murdock to settle southern Nevada. To replace him, they called Abram Hatch, a businessman from Lehi. Hatch was born in Vermont in 1830. He came to Utah in 1850 and settled in Lehi, where he ran a farm and operated a store. He served an LDS mission to England; two years after his return, Brigham Young called him to preside over the settlements in Wasatch County. James Watson felt Brigham Young could not have selected a better man, since Hatch was "a natural leader in temporal matters."¹⁶

On the surface, Mormon church leader Hatch performed the same duties as other stake and ward leaders, holding both civic and religious positions. He was a probate judge for six years in Heber and served in the territorial legislature for twenty-three years. However, he distinguished his church callings and his business and civic responsibilities in an unusual way. While most stake leaders

combined temporal and spiritual assignments, Hatch separated them. For example, Hatch reported in 1880 that Brigham Young had called him to establish a mercantile business in Heber, so he started what he called a co-op store. However, since he and Joseph W. Witt held 80 percent of the stock, some Mormons complained he was trying to monopolize the business. Hatch countered that the people could buy stock if they wished.¹⁷

During the 1870s Mormon church leaders encouraged more than just cooperative stores. In 1873 Brigham Young asked the residents of St. George, Utah, to “conform to the Revelations contained in [the] Book of Covenants to be one.” Erastus Snow, a St. George leader, then explained, “I have spoken much to the people of the south . . . during the past four or five years especially on cooperation. . . . I want to see action now instead of talk.” As a result, the residents formed many united orders. This term had many forms throughout the Mormon church. For some it meant communal living; for others it involved joint business ventures. Whatever their form, co-ops mushroomed throughout the territory.¹⁸

Heber City followed this trend. In August 1875 LDS church leaders George Q. Cannon and Wilford Woodruff came to Heber to establish a united order. Cannon explained the rules and then asked those who were willing to accept them to be rebaptized. The women of the church’s Relief Society frequently discussed the value of the united order in their meetings. In September 1875 Heber resident Margaret Muir explained that she wanted to be rebaptized and to follow the rules of the order. The men, however, rarely discussed the order in priesthood meetings. In 1876 Jonathan Cluff stated that he knew the united order was right, but he was not ready to enter it. He repeated those same feelings almost two years later. While he had tried to support the effort, no one had successfully followed the order’s rules.¹⁹

Besides the united order, the general LDS church leaders and the local bishops encouraged home industries. Members hoped they could produce everything they needed and not have to depend on non-Mormons. Wasatch County residents started some home industries. In 1875 William Forman recorded with pride, “We have started a tannery and expect to be able to make our own leather and boots,

shoes, etc.” In 1870 and in 1876 Heber residents praised the home efforts. As one exclaimed, “Co-operation is flourishing and is a decided success.” In 1877 Abram Hatch told the men in a priesthood meeting 10,000 sheep in the area would support a woolen mill in Wasatch County. Three years later he asked the residents to start a dairy, a wagon shop, and a furniture shop. These enterprises were not successful; however, while they were in operation, church leaders constantly prompted support. In November 1877, Hatch asked that more people patronize the tannery. In May the next year, Forman complained at a stake conference: “We are not doing much toward clothing ourselves here, not as much as we did 8 or 10 years ago.” Thomas Giles and John Crook repeated those pleas in 1885, maintaining that the local businesses would be successful if the people shopped there. The efforts continued to falter, however, and Hatch finally told the brethren in a priesthood meeting in 1888, “We have tried to establish three home industries and have failed at all.”²⁰

William Forman, the bishop of the Heber West Ward, felt that Hatch had not been fully supportive of the cooperative efforts because Hatch separated his church and business dealings. For example, Forman complained that Hatch did not support the church’s cooperative movement. Under this arrangement, members bought through the church’s network and gave 10 percent to ZCMI, the church-owned cooperative movement. Forman recorded that Hatch told the men at a priesthood meeting he would buy goods from the manufacturers and not from ZCMI. According to Forman, Hatch tried to monopolize business and took “a course to crush every man in the stake that will not comply with his wishes and trade at his store.” Even though he did not cooperate with the church store, Hatch was upset that ZCMI supported his competitor, Mark Jeffs. He invited local Heber Valley residents to buy from the manufacturers or from ZCMI, giving them a choice. Hatch’s definition of home industry was also different from Forman’s. Forman saw the movement as an attempt to have church control; Hatch saw it as locally owned businesses. As an example, Forman recorded in his journal in 1879, “President Abram Hatch said he wished we had a few more honorable Gentiles [non-Mormons] among us. He is in favor of helping William Britt start a drugstore.”²¹

Although Hatch did not combine church and state as much as did other LDS church leaders, the Mormon church was the dominant force in the communities. Residents used church meetings as an opportunity to discuss all aspects of life. For example, in 1862 church leaders told the organization's home teachers to visit those who were not working together in building fences. Fifteen years later these leaders told priesthood holders that good fences were salvation. Again, in 1879, Abram Hatch said that every man should fence his land or get rid of it. Other topics of conversation included crops, livestock, and general farming techniques. In 1862 and 1883 the men at priesthood meetings asked that the cattle herder be a man, since boys learned how to swear if they cared for the animals. As William Forman explained in 1883, herding was "injurious to the boys, calculated to lead them into bad ways." In July 1884 the Mormon men were encouraged to plant extra grain to feed young beef stock, because the price of grain was down.²²

District Schools

The Mormons also played an important role in education. The church teaches that "the glory of God is intelligence." In small Mormon towns, the first public building was usually a combination school and church. Heber residents wanted a school immediately, so some suggested a bowery. Others insisted on a more permanent structure. The double log cabin they built was primitive—the dirt roof, for example, leaked—but its construction showed the dedication to education. The twelve families living in the area all contributed money and labor to complete the building, starting work on 4 July and finishing on 24 July 1860.²³

As the communities in Heber Valley grew, the residents started small school districts. The early schools were unsophisticated. William Lindsay, who helped teach in the district schools in 1870, recalled that all the grades were held in the same classroom. He and the other teacher, John Galligher, had no teaching experience or education, and the school met for only three or four months during the winter. When John W. Crook started school, he attended in the log schoolhouse where a Mrs. Clark was the teacher. When she moved, he attended schools in private homes and then went to a district

schoolhouse. Once he attended school in the Mormon tithing office. It was as hard to hire a qualified teacher as it was to find a suitable building. The teachers were the best available, but they were usually not graduates of normal schools and could teach only rudiments of the three Rs, “reading, writing, and ’rithmetic.” School teaching was seen as a profession for those who could not physically or mentally do anything else. In addition, the schools were not always full of eager scholars. Students attended only in wintertime since most of the students helped farm the rest of the year.²⁴

During the 1880s there was an increased emphasis on education. Bishops from throughout the county asked local priesthood members to support the schools. Stake president Abram Hatch also asked the bishops to meet with the school trustees to advance education in their wards. Two years later local school superintendent Attewall Wootton reported some improvement but asked for more assistance. He encouraged districts to make certain instructors could teach. At the same meeting, Apostle J. H. Smith encouraged the Mormons to send their children to Mormon schools.²⁵

School and church continued to intertwine. Wootton reported on school conditions at the LDS church stake quarterly conferences in 1886. There were five district schools in Heber and two in Midway. The smaller communities of Charleston, Wallsburg, Center Creek, and Daniel each had a school. With more children attending, the current buildings were crowded. Wootton also complained about the teacher turnover rate, emphasizing that the community could not keep teachers because the salaries were so low. One of the problems was a lack of funding for schools. Residents questioned school taxes; in 1887 Abram Hatch told an LDS priesthood meeting that he supported limited school taxes but that some residents questioned their value at all.²⁶

Even though taxes paid for the schools, teachers included some religious teaching with the study curriculum. Mormon parents did not want teachers who taught values at variance with their families’ basic beliefs. Wootton stated that teachers could include religion, but he hoped the LDS church would have its own schools. Apostle Heber J. Grant said at the same conference that he would rather have his children be ignorant than “infidel.”²⁷

Wasatch County Agricultural and Manufacturing Society

Not all organizations were church sponsored. In 1868 the local residents formed a farming organization apart from the LDS church. Named the Wasatch County Agricultural and Manufacturing Society, the cooperative was similar to the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society chartered by the territorial legislature in 1856. Under the direction of Mormon church apostle Wilford Woodruff, that corporation conducted fairs, established experimental farms, and set up branch organizations in each county. It thrived during the 1860s and 1870s.²⁸ While there are no records that the Wasatch group was associated with the territorial organization, both had the same objectives. Local farmers like John Crook suggested meeting together to share ideas and methods and to obtain seeds. At monthly meetings the group discussed farming problems and solutions, encouraged the planting of new crops, provided seed, held socials, planned fairs, and promoted town projects such as shade trees and schools. Someone usually lectured on a farm or industry topic, followed by a free-wheeling discussion. The group also had an extension program. For example, in 1870 its "missionaries" gave lectures on agriculture in Midway and Round Valley. The federal government sent experimental seeds from Washington, D.C., in 1875. Members tested white-spine cucumbers, short-stem cabbage, early corn, Somerset oats, square-head wheat, and white wheat seeds. Local leaders also encouraged crop variety. When wheat prices declined in 1878, Abram Hatch suggested farmers grow peas and sugar beets as well as feed pork and beef. Several agricultural leaders also talked about rotating crops.²⁹

Men discussed improving and caring for their sheep, cattle, and horses at the agricultural society meetings. In 1869 speakers encouraged the group to limit animals in corrals, to distribute salt on the range, and to keep the sheep and lambs clean and not shear them too early. In addition, they complained, "Our horses and cows are much reduced by allowing young sires of a scrubby nature to run with them together." In 1860 John M. Murdock pioneered a cooperative sheep herd. Until people started developing their own herds, the local sheepmen hired a community herder. In 1870 the farmers again discussed hiring a herder and caring for the sheep on the range.

Murdock complained that he could not afford to take care of the sheep for the dividend the farmers offered. He asked for half the wool and half the dividends, about seven and a half cents per sheep per month, adding that if that was too high, he would retire. After a discussion, the company voted to continue to hire Murdock on his terms. Murdock's work impressed Abram Hatch. Three years later he reported, "When [Murdock] came here the sheep were in a very bad condition but now they are in a very fair condition."³⁰

The Heber cooperative also promoted a dairy in 1877 and 1878. At first it was suggested as an LDS church project, but William Forman argued that the leaders had enough responsibilities and asked that "this society take the matter under advisement for the good of all." The cooperative appointed a committee to discuss the dairy industry, and a month later the members planned a cheese factory.³¹

Wasatch County

Provo Valley—later known as Heber Valley—was originally part of Utah and Salt Lake counties. Utah County extended to about one mile south of Heber; Salt Lake County included both Midway and Heber City. In 1862 the new settlements in Heber and Round valleys, like other areas in the territory, had sufficient population to allow self-government. The legislature created several new counties including Wasatch County, named after the Wasatch range of mountains. The boundaries were the summit of the Wasatch range on the west, Summit County on the north, the territorial line on the east, and Sanpete County on the south. Because no attempts had been made to settle the eastern section of the territory, Wasatch County at the time included all of the Uinta Basin. The legislature split the county into two voting and four school districts. All of the area east of the Provo River was one voting district; the other included the land west of the river.³²

These boundaries did not long remain. Other counties attempted to reclaim areas. As Abram Hatch told the territorial legislature, "Gentlemen, it seems our protests are all in vain, but we of Wasatch County will have the satisfaction of being in similar conditions to the Savior, who was crucified between two thieves," Summit and Utah

counties. One of these disputes occurred in 1878 when residents of Rhodes Valley asked for a change in the line between Summit and Wasatch County. In 1880 the legislature transferred portions of Sanpete County to Wasatch County. Then in 1884 it added parts of Wasatch County to Utah County.³³

Indian-White Disputes

In the mid-1860s Utes raided Mormon communities. As in other areas throughout the United States, white settlement displaced Native Americans. While Mormons claimed to have special relationships with the Indians, who they felt were descendants of the Lamanites of the Book of Mormon, their actual experiences were much like those of other Americans. Problems with the Utes of northern Utah started in 1849 and continued throughout the 1850s. Prolonged conflicts occurred during the Walker War in 1853 and 1854. In response, Brigham Young attempted to establish Indian farms. When the federal troops arrived in the territory in 1858, the church passed the responsibility for the Native Americans to the U.S. government. Just a few years later the Civil War split the country and ended aid to the Indians. The Utes now were expected to provide for themselves even though Mormon settlements had destroyed the areas used for hunting, such as Strawberry Valley. In 1861 President Abraham Lincoln created an Indian reserve in the Uinta Valley for the Utes but provided no financial assistance because of the war.

Mormons also brought diseases the Native Americans could not resist. In late 1864 and early 1865 smallpox broke out among Indians in Sanpete County. That was also a very cold winter, and some Utes started stealing Mormon cattle. Not all of the tribe was involved; Black Hawk had at most about one hundred followers and many of those were Navajos and Paiutes. The Mormon settlers, however, saw the attacks as war. From 1865 to 1867 Black Hawk and his men stole approximately 5,000 head of cattle and killed as many as ninety settlers and military men. By 1866, 2,500 men had joined the militia to fight the Indians.³⁴

Most of the conflict was in Sanpete and Sevier counties, and communities there were temporarily abandoned. But there also were some raids in Wasatch County. Anticipating attacks, residents formed

militia companies and built a stockade for their cattle. The Utes looted the Mormons' livestock in 1866 and 1867. William Lindsay, an early settler, estimated that hundreds of cattle and sheep were lost. During the raids, Mormon church leaders asked residents of Wallsburg, Center Creek, Charleston, and the other outlying areas to move to Heber. John M. Calderwood of Wallsburg recalled, "They worked through the night and shortly after day break the next morning the entire population of Wallsburg was enroute to Heber." The Heber residents "furnished homes with considerable hospitality." Farmers traveled back and forth to work. By September and October most had returned to their homes. William Winterton, a sheep herder for the Decker family, came to Heber with the animals in his care. However, there were so many sheep that they stripped the pasture lands around Heber, so Winterton took the sheep back to the range. For several months he lived alone at the south end of the valley, fearing Indian attacks. During the Indian raids, Mormon leaders asked the settlers scattered along Snake Creek to move to a fort. Neither village was willing to relocate to the other's site, so the settlers compromised and moved to a point halfway between the two communities, creating Midway. The residents locked themselves in the fort at night and set guards to prevent raids.³⁵

In October 1867 Ute Indians led by Tabby-To-Kwana, a Uinta-ats leader who had settled in Strawberry Valley, informed the Mormons they wanted peace. The Indians came to Heber where Murdock presided over a feast, believing "stuff an Indian full of good things and he will feel 'heap good.'" The raids ended in Strawberry and the rest of Wasatch County, although they continued in other parts of Utah. However, in 1870, long after most of the raids were over, Indians raided Midway and took twelve to fifteen horses. The Mormons followed the Indians to the reservation and found some of the animals; Chief Tabby helped them find the rest.³⁶

After the Indian troubles were over, LDS leader Abram Hatch suggested that the Midway people remain in one settlement 1.75 miles north of the Provo River and due west of Heber where they could bring the Snake Creek waters through their town and fields, be in the center of the farming land, and not be exposed to Indians. The settlers surveyed a townsite. Within in a few days they had laid out

blocks thirty-two rods square and streets four rods wide, except Main Street, which was six rods wide.³⁷

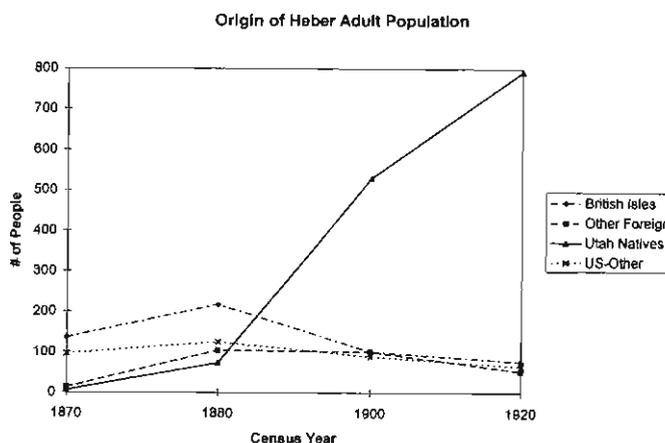
Land Distribution

Although the Mormons settled Utah Territory in 1849, they had no legal rights to the land until 1868 when Congress adopted “An Act to create the Office of Surveyor-General in the Territory of Utah, and establish a Land Office in said Territory, and extend the Homestead and Pre-emption Laws over the same.” This law allowed the president to appoint a surveyor general for the territory who could distribute the public lands. After the federal legislation was passed, the territorial government approved a bill in 1869 that allowed probate judges who had received title for land for claimants to “dispose of and convey the title to such lands, or to the several blocks, lots, parcels or shares thereof, to the persons entitled thereto.” The land was to be transferred with “deeds of conveyance.”³⁸ Abram Hatch was the probate judge in Wasatch County at the time this law was passed. Therefore, the county recorder books begin with Hatch deeding the land already settled to the individuals who were there at the time.

Residents to 1880

By 1880 there were 1,775 adults over age nineteen and 3,000 children in Wasatch County, a sixfold increase from 1860 to 1880. Impressive as that sounds, the growth did not keep up with the rest of the territory. Utah’s population as a whole increased thirteenfold between 1850 and 1880.³⁹ Most of the initial settlers were immigrants who had joined the Mormon church and moved to Utah. Over half (54.2 percent) of the 251 adult residents in the community of Heber in 1870 were from the British Isles, and nearly that many (46.5 percent) of the 86 adults in Round Valley, later known as Wallsburg, were from the same area. Very few of the adults were born in Utah—only 2.4 percent in Heber and 2.3 percent in Round Valley. Most of the remaining citizens were from the United States—38.3 percent in Heber and 47.8 percent in Round Valley. However, these people were not newcomers; 83 percent of the 405 children in Heber were born in Utah and 82 percent of the 122 children in Round Valley were also born in the territory.

Heber



The number of foreign-born residents increased slightly in the next ten years. Between 1870 and 1880 the adult population in Heber doubled (from 251 to 519) and the number of children increased nearly twofold (from 405 to 769). The percentage of British-born settlers dropped to 42 percent; however, other foreign-born immigrants rose from 5.2 percent to 20 percent. Utah-born residents increased to 14 percent; other residents originally from other parts of the United States dropped to 24.2 percent. In Wallsburg, whose adult population increased from 160 to 230, only 31.9 percent of the population was from Britain. A third were born in Utah, and 20 percent were born in the Midwest. The children in both communities were nearly all born in Utah (91 percent in Heber; 98 percent in Wallsburg).

Midway's adult population did not follow the pattern of Wallsburg and Heber. In 1870, 21.8 percent of Midway's 165 adults were from the British Isles, 9 percent were from Switzerland, and 14.6 percent were from other foreign countries. While only 4.9 percent were born in Utah, nearly half (49.7 percent) were American-born. Ten years later the town's population had doubled to 337 and the Swiss adult population had also doubled to 18 percent. The British

population (22.2 percent), and other foreign-born residents remained the same. Utah-born residents increased to 21.4 percent; other United States natives dropped to 26.8 percent. But, while Midway's adult population varied from the rest of Wasatch County, the children did not. Eighty-one percent of the 218 children living in town in 1870 were native-born; by 1880, 80.6 percent of the 377 children were originally from Utah. Midway stresses its Swiss heritage, but the Swiss were never a majority there. Including adults and children, only 14 percent of Midway's population was Swiss. By 1880, just as the adult population doubled, the number of adults and children of Swiss descent increased to 27 percent.

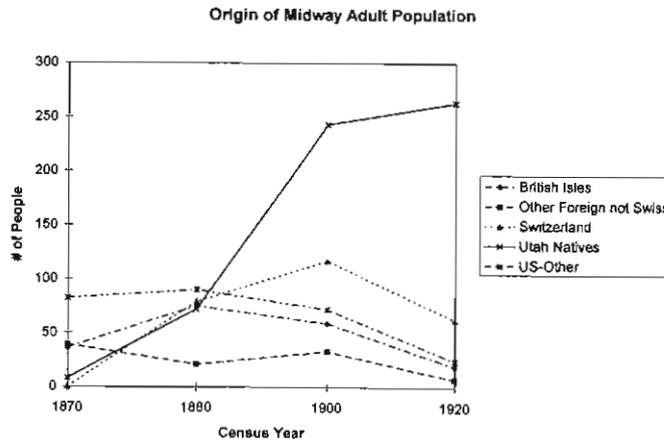
Though the Swiss did not overshadow other ethnic groups, they played a significant role in early Midway. According to family tradition, Ulrich Abegglen immigrated to Salt Lake City in 1861 but was homesick for his native country. Brigham Young suggested that he move to Midway because the mountains resembled the Swiss Alps.⁴⁰ More than likely, though, the first Swiss came to the area because there was still land available. They might have been more willing to settle there because they were used to high altitudes and had learned how to farm and raise cattle in similar surroundings.

Swiss immigrants continued to come to the area to be close to friends and relatives. In addition, fifteen of the eighteen Midway Mormons who went on missions between 1870 and 1902 went to Switzerland. These missionaries encouraged converts to move to Utah, the Mormon Zion, and especially to settle in Midway. John Huber, one of the first missionaries to serve from Midway, brought many of his converts to Midway when he returned home. Among those he baptized was Conrad Abegglen, who converted Ulrich Probst, who then baptized Fred Haueter and Johannes Sonderegger. The Swiss seemed to come to Midway in groups. The peaks were in 1864, 1872–74, 1886, 1891, 1897, and 1904. These dates correspond with the return of LDS missionaries from Switzerland.⁴¹

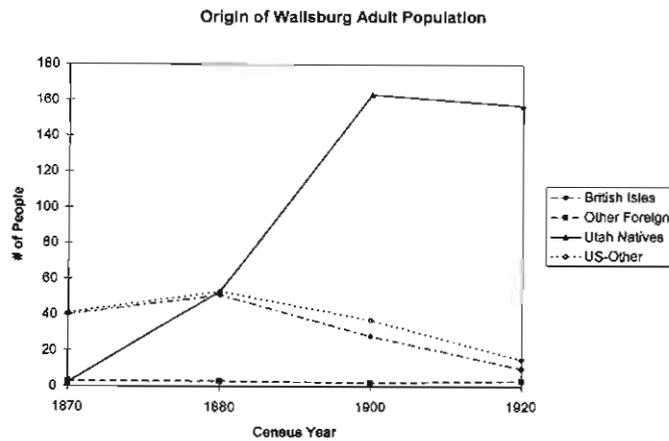
Residents, 1880–1900

Federal census data is not available for 1890, but a comparison of the 1880 and 1900 censuses shows that Heber's growth had slowed by 1900, increasing from 519 adult residents to 821. Two-thirds of

Midway

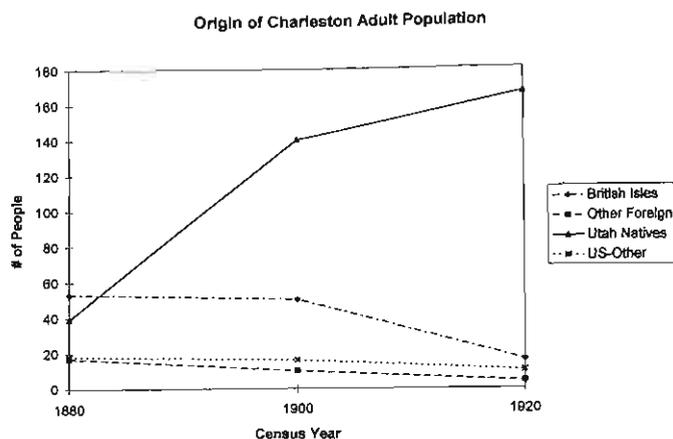


Wallsburg



these inhabitants were Utah-born (64.6 percent). A quarter were foreign-born (24.6 percent), half from the British Isles and half from other countries. Wallsburg's adult population increased by only seventy people, from 160 to 230. By then 70.9 percent were born in

Charleston



Utah; only 13 percent were foreign-born and nearly all of them were from Britain. Their children were also mainly born in Utah. Of Heber's 842 children in 1900, 97.2 percent were born in state. Wallsburg's number was even more dramatic: 99.4 percent of the 307 children were Utah-born.

In other Wasatch County communities, the first census records were for 1880 or 1900. Of the 127 adult residents in Charleston in 1880, 41.7 percent were from the British Isles, 30.7 percent were from Utah, and 13.4 percent were foreign-born. By 1900 the British-born adults had dropped to 23.2 percent and other foreign-born had also slipped to only 4.6 percent. Those originally from Utah rose to 64.8 percent. Nearly all the children (97.6 percent of 123 in 1880) and 97.4 percent of 272 in 1890 were born in Utah.

Between 1880 and 1900 Charleston grew faster than Heber; its population almost doubled to 216. Census records are not available for Center and Daniel until 1900. Just as people from Utah County settled Wasatch County because of overcrowded conditions, the populations of Charleston, Center, and Daniel increased as people started stretching out of Heber and Midway. Since they were the new places to live, they also had a slightly higher immigrant population. Center's

133 adult residents were from Utah (58.7 percent), the British Isles (23.3 percent), and other foreign countries (9 percent). Daniel's 139 adult inhabitants were born in Utah (56.8 percent), the British Isles (14.4 percent), and other foreign countries (17.3 percent). Still, they were not recent converts: 97.1 percent of the 173 children in Center and 94.7 percent of the children in Daniel were Utah-born.

While Midway's figures more directly matched the rest of the county by 1900, there were differences. Its adult population grew from 337 in 1880 to only 524 in 1990. Almost half (46.4 percent) were Utah-born; 11.3 percent were born in the British Isles, 11 percent were from Switzerland, and 17.6 came from other countries. Most of the children were born in Utah; 93 percent of the 669 were natives.

Assimilation

Mormon immigration to Utah during the nineteenth century is best described as a "melting pot." From its early days up to World War II, the LDS church was so small that members considered it a virtue to accept the dominant culture. For example, in a 1903 open letter "to the Swedish Saints: Instructions in Regard to the Holding of Meetings, Amusements, Social Gatherings, etc.," the First Presidency of the Mormon church emphasized, "The council of the Church to all Saints of foreign birth who come here is that they should learn to speak English as soon as possible, adopt the manners and customs of the American people, fit themselves to become good and loyal citizens of this country, and by their good works show that they are true and faithful Latter-day Saints."⁴²

Several factors helped newcomers assimilate into LDS society. Utahns understood the Mormon converts' desire to be in Zion. They also felt a religious obligation to accept and love their brothers and sisters in the gospel. Many oldtimers remembered what it was like to be new converts. Historians Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton wrote, "If the reality fell short of the ideal, it seems fair to say the usual harsh lines between different nationalities and between old and new arrivals were softened by Mormon values and programs." Newcomers assigned to work on the Logan Temple expressed the same idea. They inscribed in the wet plaster of an interior wall (using

phonetic spelling), "We are here several nationalities and the best of feelings with all men." Although estimates of Salt Lake City's foreign-born population during the 1880s ran as high as 80 percent, there were very few conflicts.⁴³

LDS immigrants also actively worked to adopt the English language and the American lifestyle. Scandinavian and German Lutherans in other parts of the country kept their state religion and cultural customs. They published native-language newspapers and conducted denominational schools in the mother tongue which held the communities together for generations. LDS converts, however, accepted becoming American as a part of becoming Mormon. Although non-English congregations and newspapers existed in Salt Lake City, the newcomers generally tried to learn English rapidly so that they could associate with Mormon neighbors from all countries. As a result, LDS Euro-Americans assimilated in one generation, whether they came to Utah during the 1850s or the 1950s.⁴⁴

The immigrants in Wasatch County followed this pattern. When there were only scattered foreigners, the newcomers had no special provisions to help them fit into Mormon society. For example, some Heber residents were from Sweden, and the LDS church did not provide separate language services for them. Yet when the group was larger, such as the Swiss in Midway, the church set up temporary foreign-language services. To help the newcomers who did not know English, Gottfried Buehler organized German-language sacrament meetings. The Swiss built their own hall at 144 West 100 North in Midway. Known as the "German Hall" or "the new music hall," the hall served other of Midway's social needs, including Andreas Burgener's brass band practices, John Huber's spelling and grammar classes, and community meetings and entertainment.⁴⁵ The Swiss immigrants were also members of the English-speaking wards, and church leaders expected them to also attend those wards. On a typical Sunday the Swiss would attend the Midway Ward Sunday School and then go to the German meeting. That meeting ended in time for them to attend the Midway Ward sacrament meeting. The Swiss attended the English ward "in an effort to learn the English language." It was difficult to adapt all at once, so some immigrants spoke German in the ward. During sacrament meeting the bishop called



Midway Pioneer Day Celebration, 24 July 1883. (Utah State Historical Society)

people from the audience: “The talks were always charged with spiritual fervor but were not models of organized thought and perfect English. . . . In our testimony meetings people often spoke in their native tongues.”⁴⁶

The Swiss intermixed with Midway’s citizens. Unlike in other areas of the United States and even in Utah, they did not settle in only one part of town. The census taker found them scattered throughout Midway, and, for the most part, they felt accepted. Jacob Probst recalled that “the people were hospitable and kind, serving us with the necessities of life” when his family came to Midway. His family lived with two other Swiss families until they found a home of their own. Probst, who became a bishop in Midway, recalled that the Swiss “were a united, industrious, God-fearing, jolly class of sturdy . . . pioneers.”⁴⁷

There were some negative experiences as well. Gottlieb Kohler recalled that shortly after he moved to the area people told him, “You have no job, no permanent home, and you will be a drain on the community. Take this money and go back where you came from.”

Other problems occurred with language differences. For example, Swiss immigrants had a hard time understanding the irrigation company minutes and requested a German translator. At first the English-speaking members refused the request, but later they selected a farmer to translate the records. In 1902 the High Council minutes mentioned that some "German Saints took exception with certain actions of the local authorities." Two representatives, Jacob Probst and John A. Forbe, talked to Gottlieb Kohler and resolved his concerns over where and who was performing baptisms. Kohler reportedly wanted "harmony" with his ward leaders.⁴⁸

Occupations

During the nineteenth century, most county residents farmed. The 1870 census listed 56 percent of the 128 Heber men as farmers; 25 percent had nonagricultural jobs; only 9.4 percent were business people. Farmers predominated because the settlers endeavored to grow their own crops in order to be self-sufficient in a new community. But agriculture alone was not enough to support them, so many were also involved in other occupations. In the late 1860s, for example, several men and women left the valley and worked on the Union Pacific Railroad. William Lindsay went to Echo Canyon to work on the railroad in 1867. When he and the other Wasatch County men there needed someone to cook for them, Lindsay returned to Heber and hired his mother and Mary Muir, his wife-to-be. The men received five dollars a day for their labor and ten dollars a day if they had a team. The men paid the women ninety dollars each for two months' work. John Crook worked in Weber Canyon and Echo Canyon on the railroad the next year. Since he had a team, he received \$210 for twenty-one days of work in November. He also worked in December, and that year the railroad paid him \$450.⁴⁹ In 1869 Crook sold hay to the men working on the railroad in Echo Canyon. During the 1870s William Forman worked at a lumber mill hauling logs to Heber and the Ontario Mine in Park City.⁵⁰ In 1871 and 1872 he hauled sandstone rock to Provo and Salt Lake City, adding that quarrying was always possible in Heber. John Crook recorded the amount of stone he hauled to local residents and to the more populated areas of the Wasatch Front.⁵¹

Farming was also the most prominent occupation in Midway. Of the town's eighty-three adult men, 55.4 percent were farmers. More than a third of the rest were laborers and only eight, about 10 percent, had businesses. The Swiss immigrants to Midway generally listed their occupation as farmer but also had to work other jobs to support themselves. According to the 1870 census, 81 percent of the native Swiss head-of-households were farmers, but family and local histories describe some of their other professions. Some worked on homes and public buildings in Heber Valley. Others sold wood and food to the miners, and some were miners themselves.⁵²

By 1880 there were fewer farmers in Heber. Of the 266 men, only 36 percent were farmers. The number of laborers also had declined to 13.2 percent. The increasing population provided a larger base for businesses, and 18 percent of the men worked in commerce. The largest jump was in mining. In 1870 the census listed no miners, but by 1880 14.7 percent of the men worked in the Park City Mining District. Wasatch County residents also continued to provide agricultural products to the workers in Summit County. In 1880 William Forman, true to his home-support philosophy, declared he was "sorry to see our hay being hauled to Park City when our own people need it so much."⁵³

Changes in Midway were not as dramatic from 1870 to 1880. Of the 214 men, there were fewer farmers (28 percent) but an increase in laborers (36 percent). Twenty-five percent were farm laborers; another census taker listed no farm workers in 1870. The number of business people also jumped from 10 to 15 percent. But, as in Heber, the biggest jump was in mining. There were no miners in 1870, but by 1880 17.3 percent of the men were involved in mineral extraction.

The reason for the jump in mining was that non-Mormons had started working in the rich ore areas along the county's boundary with Summit County—parts of the Park City Mining District in the area where the north-south Wasatch Range meets the east-west Uinta Range. Part of the Cottonwood uplift, the area was formed from the Carboniferous to the Triassic periods by uplifting, faulting, and glaciation, resulting in what geologist John Mason Boutwell referred to in 1912 as "the most extensive and richest ore bodies in the range." The mines produced lead, silver, gold, zinc, and copper.⁵⁴ While most



George Bonner Jr. House, constructed 1877 in Midway. (Allan Kent Powell)

of the rich ores lie in Summit County, the Blue Ledge Mining District about two miles north of Heber City is in Wasatch County. First established in 1870, it was combined with the other Wasatch County districts two years later. One of the earliest Park City silver producers was the Ontario Mine, which was purchased in 1872 by George Hearst and James Haggin of San Francisco.⁵⁵ Over the years the Ontario mine hired hundreds of Wasatch County residents.

Charleston was still an agricultural community in 1880. Of the seventy-three men, 49.3 percent were farmers and 32.9 percent were farm laborers. Only 8 percent were involved in business. In a new settlement, people were probably making a start on their own land, and they also were farther away from the mining along the Wasatch and Summit county border.

Lumbering was a small but important occupation. The area now included in the Uinta National Forest had large stands of aspen trees in the Wolf Creek area. Henry McMullin built the first sawmill for William N. Wall and James Adams in Center Creek Canyon in 1862. Over the years other sawmills and other timber-based industries



John Watkins House, constructed 1868 in Midway. (Allan Kent Powell)

developed to provide lumber for Wasatch County and the more populated Wasatch Front.⁵⁶

Figuring out women's occupations is very difficult. In 1870 the census takers reported that most women were "keeping house." In Heber, the census listed 86 percent of the town's 124 women in that category. Of Midway's 77 women, 92.2 percent "kept house," and in Charleston 75.4 percent of the 57 women fell into that category. The 1880 census did not list women's occupations.

Agriculture

Although many Wasatch County residents were farmers, raising crops in the area was difficult. As feared, the first crops froze in 1859, but the newcomers were not willing to give up and use the valley only for grazing. The grain crop doubled in the second year. John Crook's careful records show that area farmers cut their barley on 26 August and their wheat on 3 September. Growing crops continued to be

difficult, but the settlers depended on their faith and asked for blessings from God. In April 1862 at a high-priest quorum meeting in the Heber Branch, the leaders declared that the crops should be planted when the snow melted. Problems included late springs and early winters, drought, and grasshoppers. In 1859, for example, Crook and Thomas Rasband harvested grain the last day of September; it snowed on their way home. In 1862 frost came so early it was impossible to harvest in the fall. The threshing started in November, and because there was only one threshing machine in Heber, it was still not finished in January 1863. The problem in 1868 was drought—hay fields were bare.⁵⁷

Grasshoppers came periodically. In 1862, their first recorded visit, the grain had already headed, so they did very little damage. The next year they got much of the grain. In 1868 they came to Wallisburg “by hundreds of millions and devoured everything before them.” Residents saved only parts of two acres. William Richardson recalled that the insects ate all the community’s crops; some farmers did not even bother putting in their crops. In March 1870, residents found grasshoppers’ eggs in Heber Valley, but the crops seemed plentiful. William Forman complained the next month, however, “[The] hoppers are out by [the] millions.” John Crook spent May and June fighting the insects. By August, Abram Hatch reported that the grasshoppers had destroyed most of the grain. The peas and potatoes survived, and the residents were using the spare time to build homes. Two years later when the crickets returned, people were afraid to plant any grain.⁵⁸

Despite these hardships, the early settlers remained and continued to plant crops. The principal crops continued to be wheat and oats through the 1880s. But Mormon church leaders encouraged the members to plant a wider variety. Abram Hatch recommended in a priesthood meeting in 1884 that the residents grow lucerne. He also recommended that they cultivate apple trees. Over the years crops continued to improve. In 1885 Hatch reported there was a good crop of grain. John Huber called 1888 “a blessed year in every thing.” He harvested 235 bushels of wheat, 176 bushels of oats, 40 bushels of lucerne, a good crop of potatoes, and lots of fruit. He concluded, “Thanks be to the Lord for His mercies.” In 1897 J. M. Murdock

declared, “The Lord has blessed us and moderated the climate far more than they expected.”⁵⁹

Irrigation

Throughout Utah, agriculture was only possible with irrigation. Because the Mormons favored cooperation and because of the shortage of water, the Mormons based water rights on appropriation and beneficial use. They did not use riparian rights, a plan used where water was more plentiful. Riparian rights required geographical proximity. Beneficial rights allowed each individual water user rights as long as each had worthwhile functions. Wasatch County residents established some communities, especially Lake Creek, Center Creek, Buysville, Daniel, and Hailstone, near available water; but even these farmers had to transport water to their farmland. Those not as close to a stream had to move the water farther. Lacking capital, farmers banded together in cooperative efforts to dig irrigation canals. Water was then shared by all.⁶⁰

To encourage cooperation, the territorial legislature appointed county probate judges to control and manage all water rights in their counties. The first judge in Wasatch County, John W. Witt, used his authority to regulate the water so that it benefited everyone. In March 1864, for example, William Howard wanted to establish a sawmill on Snake Creek. Since it did not take water away from the farmers in the area, Witt agreed. However, when Joseph Allen wanted to use water from the mouth of Daniel’s Creek Canyon for “industrial purposes,” Witt denied his request because it would alter the water downstream. As part of this cooperative effort, residents formed two water districts in the county in 1862. Territorial law did not allow such organizations, but Witt authorized them because he hoped they would promote “greater communal and individual responsibility.” Three years later the territorial legislature approved such districts. The next year, in 1866, it passed a law legalizing districts formed before the 1865 law.⁶¹

Wasatch County farmers first used only water from local streams. However, during the Black Hawk War, residents crossed into the Uinta Basin and saw the water opportunities there. They started work on a canal in 1872. Richard Broadbent, committee chair, asked resi-

dents to set aside “selfish interests” for the public good. But the farmers also had private incentives to work on the canal. They received land for their work, a provision authorized by the 1865 territorial law. Heber Valley farmers also used the 1862 Homestead Act to gain legal rights to the land. Sometimes they bypassed the law by having one person file on the land. That person then quit-claimed it to the person who had claim because of prior use. In 1875, however, one family refused to deed the land back to the committee.⁶²

There were other disputes between individuals and irrigation companies. Center Creek residents formed an irrigation company in the 1870s and incorporated it in 1887 under the provisions of the 1880 law. The Center Creek Water and Irrigation Company built a canal and started providing water to its shareholders. However, Center Creek resident James Lindsay apparently felt that he would not receive enough water from the canal company. He found eight places in Center Creek Canyon where he could develop reservoirs. He formed another company, the Center Creek Irrigation Company, and its members built several reservoirs in Lake Creek Canyon. The original company held the primary rights to the water; Lindsay filed secondary rights. But he had no way to transport the water to the farms. He floated his water down the original canal since his secondary rights were on top of the other company’s primary ones. The original canal company felt that Lindsay did not have the right to use the canal and sued him.⁶³

Midway also had problems between individual needs and cooperative efforts. The residents dug private ditches from Snake Creek. These claims sometimes overlapped and led to disputes. In 1872 John Watkins asked the Midway bishop “to attend some of the water meetings and pour a little oil on the troubled water.” At first the residents tried to use the church to resolve differences. Watkins told a church gathering that the people should “not go to the law but listen to the counsel of the priesthood and establish peace among us in accordance with the law of the church.” Midway farmers eventually recognized that they needed a cooperative effort and organized an irrigation association in 1887.⁶⁴

Transportation

During the early settlement period, Utah County residents collected a toll for use of the Provo Canyon road. The 1855 territorial legislature had given the operators a twenty-year charter and the right to charge fares. Although this group did not follow through, the new owners set a fee when the road was completed. James H. Simpson complained in 1859, “Whether the great national route in this region of the Rocky Mountain passes by Fort Bridger or the Uinta Pass, it must pass down the Timpanogos. The Mormons now charge a heavy toll on the graded road down the canyon and across the bridge. This road should be free from charge to travelers.” Simpson wrote to William H. Hooper asking the Timpanogos Turnpike Company to sell its franchise rights. Hooper told Simpson the 1860 Utah Legislative Assembly had agreed to sell the road to the federal government for approximately \$20,000, but the plan failed and the legislature reincorporated the road for twenty years. Just six years later, however, in 1865, the legislature gave the road rights to a group from Utah and Wasatch counties. The new owners widened the road and repaired it for the right to charge a toll for twenty years. After the twenty-year period, Utah and Wasatch counties were to take control. Territorial leaders repealed that act two years later and gave a new group of men the same responsibilities.⁶⁵

Wasatch County residents found the tolls especially burdensome. In 1878 Abram Hatch told members of the LDS priesthood that the road should be free. Eleven years later, a Provo resident, Judge J. D. Jones, felt the road should belong to the county, adding it was a “sin to pay 50 cents for the privilege of jolting on rocks and through holes.” He argued that the owners should have reclaimed all their expenses, and he added that citizens paid for the upkeep of most roads with taxes, so they should not have to pay an additional fifty cents. Territorial taxes also paid for the upkeep of the Provo road. The Utah legislature paid \$1,000 in 1868, \$500 in 1869, and \$600 in 1870 on the Provo road.⁶⁶

Attempts to have the territory fund other roads were not always successful. In 1878 Representative Abram Hatch asked for \$1,000 to “improve the road between Heber City and Ashley City.” He argued, “The public interests of the Territory would be enhanced sufficiently.”

However, the Committee on Roads, Bridges, Ferries, and Canyons denied the request.⁶⁷ In 1886 Hatch presented a petition from fifty residents in Heber asking for \$3,000 to complete a road along the Provo River between Wasatch and Summit counties. The Committee on Highways recommended spending \$1,500, the legislature approved \$750, and then the governor vetoed the appropriation bill.⁶⁸

Entertainment

Life was not all work in Wasatch County; residents liked to play, but they had to create their own entertainment. During the winter of 1861–62 some locals formed the Heber City Dramatic Association. The first productions were so successful that there was talk of building a social hall the next year. Although the residents hauled sandstone to start construction, they did not complete it. John Crook claimed it was because the residents were not united; the bishop suggested that the people should build a church before they worked on a social hall.⁶⁹

Even without a hall, plays continued to be an important part of entertainment in Heber. Dramatic organizations frequently performed to benefit some worthy cause in the county. These clubs usually did not last long, since the actors and actresses had other responsibilities. When the players dissolved one company, other entertainers started another one. Heber citizens finally finished a social hall for plays and other cultural events in 1873. Midway also had plays and dances. In 1873 the residents started work on the “Old Pot Rock Tithing Office.” The next year it was used for plays and “amusements.” The main level had an assembly hall and was also used for dancing. In 1875 the Swiss Hall of Music was finished, and residents also used it as a dance hall.⁷⁰

In 1884 valley residents formed another dramatic company, with John Crook as president, and, when it faltered, another in 1888. In 1889 this group presented “The Social Glass” as Mormons gathered for a stake conference. When the group repeated the play in July, the *Wasatch Wave* wrote that the performance had improved, and the newspaper hoped the club would continue productions. In August the club put on another play, and the proceeds went to purchase fixtures for the stake academy.⁷¹ The dramatic club also staged performances to aid missionaries.⁷²

Besides plays, residents developed bands and choirs. Swiss native John Huber led a Midway choir. The German-speaking immigrants formed a brass band led by the “Swiss Music Man,” Andreas Burgener. Burgener had been a military-band leader in the Franco-Prussian War. Swiss settlers also amused themselves and others by yodeling. Some residents, including the Swiss, opened recreational businesses. The “hot pots” in Midway provided “health pools” where visitors could relax in water from seventy to one hundred degrees. In 1878 Simon Schneitter bought the most famous hot pot and created a resort with a swimming pool and hotel. According to family legend, swimmers were hungry when they got out, so Fannie Schneitter started feeding them in her dining room. This developed into a restaurant.⁷³

Summary

From settlement to incorporation in 1889, Heber City grew from a scattering of farmers to a thriving town. Other communities—Midway, Center Creek, Wallsburg, and Daniel—also became well established. They assimilated the newcomers, including Americans and immigrants. They developed homes, businesses, religious establishments, schools, and roads. In the early years the settlers struggled to survive. They farmed; they worked outside of the county where they could find jobs. Mining on the edge of the county helped improve the economy; a larger population brought in more businesses. But agriculture and livestock were the major sources of income, and most of the products were consumed locally. During this time period the Mormon church was the dominant force in people’s lives. Its leaders were also the civic and agricultural leaders. Important discussions dealing with issues from land to education were discussed in church meetings. Improved transportation helped open access to the rest of the world, but for the most part Wasatch County residents met their economic, social, and spiritual needs themselves.

ENDNOTES

1. William James Mortimer, ed., *How Beautiful Upon the Mountains* (Wasatch County Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1963), 4–6; John Crook, “History of Wasatch County,” *Wasatch Wave*, 23 March 1889, 1. (The Crook history was published in several issues of the *Wasatch Wave*. Future

references will list Crook, "History," and the date and page number on which the information appeared in the *Wave*.

2. J. H. Simpson, *Report of the Explorations Across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah for a Direct Wagon-Route from Camp Floyd to Genoa in Carson Valley, in 1859* (Reno: University of Nevada, 1983), 136–37.

3. John Crook, "History," *Wasatch Wave*, 30 March 1889, 1; Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 7. These brief biographies give some information about these beginning settlers.

Thomas Rasband was born on 21 December 1818 in Hinkley, England. He joined the Mormon church in 1850 and came to the United States that year with his wife, Elizabeth Giles Rasband, and his two children, John and Emily. The family first settled in Quincy, Illinois, and then came west in 1856. They initially settled in Provo before moving to Heber Valley. Rasband performed the first marriage in the valley for Charles C. Thomas and Emmeline Sessions in 1860. He became a counselor to the first bishop, Joseph S. Murdock, in 1861 and in 1862 became the justice of the peace for Precinct 1, which included all the area east of the Provo River. He died in Heber on 4 July 1884.

John Crook was born on 11 October 1831 in Trenton, England. He joined the Mormon church in 1847 and came to the United States in 1851. He came to Utah in 1856 with the William Giles family. He later married Mary Giles, one of the daughters. He served as a counselor to William Forman in the Heber West Ward in 1877. He died in 1921.

Charles Negus Carroll joined the LDS church in New Brunswick, Canada, and moved to Utah in 1854. He settled first in Farmington and Salt Lake City and then moved to Provo. He was in the group that was working at the sawmill in Big Cottonwood Canyon and first explored Heber Valley. In May 1868 he moved to Orderville, Utah.

John Carlile was born in Mission, England, on 25 May 1825. He joined the Mormon church in 1848. He married Elizabeth Williamson when he was nineteen years old. He left England in 1850 and spent two years in Council Bluffs, Iowa, before he moved to Utah. The family settled in Spanish Fork before they moved to Heber Valley. Carlile was injured bringing his family through the canyon, and he died as a result on 16 September 1859. He was the first settler to die and be buried in Heber.

James Carlile was born on 31 January 1829 in Mission, England. He was John's brother. He and his family came to America in 1849 and to Utah in 1852. They initially settled in Spanish Fork. In 1857 he married Emily Ann Giles. Carlile farmed in Heber Valley and served as "doorkeeper" for the Second Ward chapel. He died in 1917.

George Carlile, another Carlile brother, was born on 11 April 1836 in Mission, England. He joined the LDS church in 1848 and came to America

the next year. With the rest of his family, he came west in 1852 and settled in Palmyra, Utah. George married Laura Ann Giles in 1856 in Provo. Although Carlile went to Heber Valley with the first group, he did not move his family to Heber until 1860. In 1893 George and Laura separated, and the next year he married Susannah Daybell Pollard. He died in 1909.

John Jordan was born 4 January 1812 in Courtney, England. He came to Utah in 1852 and then moved to Heber in 1859.

Henry Chatwin was born in Lancashire, England on 30 December 1821. He and his new bride came to America in 1851 and to Utah in 1852. He worked as a teacher in Heber Valley, and died in 1908.

Jesse Bond was born in Huntingford, England, on 27 February 1832. He joined the LDS church in 1844 and came to America in 1854. He traveled to Utah in 1855 and then moved to Provo in 1857. He married Sarah Adams in 1859 and moved to Heber in 1860. He worked in the Second Ward meeting hall and the tabernacle. He died in 1916.

4. No biographical information is available on these men.

5. Crook, "History," 30 March 1889, 1; 6 April 1889, 1; Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 8.

6. Crook, "History," 6 April 1889, 1.

7. Howard A. Christy, "Open Hand and Mailed Fist: Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah, 1847–52," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Summer 1978), 219.

8. Crook, "History," 23 March 1889, 1; Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 8, 13.

9. There is no information available on most of these new arrivals. The exceptions are listed below.

John Lee was born in Mizson, England, in 1822. He was orphaned at age ten and worked for a farm for eight years. At the age of eighteen he married Sarah Roebuck and found employment in a foundry. He joined the LDS church in 1846 and came to Utah ten years later. At first he settled in Spanish Fork and lived there for three years before moving to Heber Valley. Lee participated in the Black Hawk War. He died in Heber in 1907. Sarah died two years later, in 1909.

James Laird was born in Bonney, Ireland in 1825. While working in coal mines in Scotland, he met Michael Rennie, a Mormon. After Rennie befriended him, Laird joined the Mormon church and married Rennie's sister Mary. The Lairds came to Utah in 1856, traveling with the Willie Handcart Company. They lived in Spanish Fork before they moved to Heber in 1859. They later purchased property in Parleys Canyon and lived most of their lives there.

10. Crook, "History," 13 April 1889, 1; 28 April 1911, 4; John Crook, Journal, volume 1, folder 1, Manuscript Division, Harold B. Lee Library,

Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 39–40; Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 8–9; *Journal History*, 26 February 1862, 2; 22 March 1862, 1. (The *Journal History* is a clipping file compiled by the LDS Church Historical Department. The original is at the LDS Church Archives, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. Other materials found at the same archives will be cited as LDS Church Archives hereafter.)

11. John Crook, volume 1, folder 1, 36–37, Manuscript Division, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Crook, “History,” 18 May 1889, 4.

12. Wasatch Stake Manuscript History, LDS Church Archives; *Deseret News*, 18:402; *Journal History*, 21 September 1869, 3; Leslie S. Raty, “*Under Wasatch Skies*”: *A History of Wasatch County, 1858–1900* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1954), 41.

13. Carolyn H. Tolman, “Sturdy, Industrious Saints: A History of the Swiss in Early Midway, Utah, 1859–1920” (BYU History 490 paper), copy in possession of author.

14. H. Bowman Hawkes, “The Back Valleys of Summit and Wasatch Counties,” *Guidebook to the Geology of the Wasatch and Uinta Mountains Transition Area*, Norman C. Williams, ed. (Intermountain Association of Petroleum Geologists, 1959), 31.

15. Wasatch Stake Manuscript History, LDS Church Archives.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 374–75; Wasatch Stake Council Meeting, 27 March 1880, LDS Church Archives; Heber East Ward Minutes, 3 April 1880, LDS Church Archives.

18. Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 156–58.

19. *Journal History*, 28 August 1875, 1; Relief Society minutes, Heber East Ward, 2 September 1875, 31–32, LDS Church Archives; Melchizedek Priesthood minutes, 25 November 1876, 23 February 1878, LDS Church Archives.

20. William Forman, Journal, March 1875, Utah State Historical Society Library; *Journal History*, 19 March 1870, 1; High Priest minutes, 23 November 1877; 27 March 1880, LDS Church Archives; Melchizedek Priesthood, 23 November 1877, 31 March 1888, LDS Church Archives; Heber East Ward, Stake Conference, 4 May 1878, 224, LDS Church Archives.

21. Forman, Journal, 20 September 1886, 1 January 1884, 7 February

1879; Heber East Ward Priesthood meeting, 5 January 1884, LDS Church Archives.

22. Heber Branch, Melchizedek Priesthood, 31 May 1862, 9, 26 April 1862, 8, LDS Church Archives; Heber East Ward, priesthood meeting, 1 March 1877, LDS Church Archives; Heber East Ward, 3 August 1879, 255, and 5 July 1884, 397, LDS Church Archives; High Priest minutes, 26 May 1883, 115; LDS Church Archives.

23. James B. Allen and Glen Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 276; Crook, "History of Wasatch County," 3 March 1911, 4; "History of Wasatch County," *Wasatch Wave*, 21 December 1906, 10.

24. William Lindsay, Autobiography, 36, LDS Church Archives; John W. Crook, 1884, 16, BYU; "History of Wasatch County," *Wasatch Wave*, 21 December 1906, 8.

25. Heber East Ward, priesthood meeting, 1 September 1883, 351; Heber East Ward, priesthood meetings, 4 August 1883, 140–41; Heber East Ward, quarterly conference, 2 May 1885, 431–32, LDS Church Archives.

26. Heber East Ward, quarterly conference, 8 February 1886, 469; 4 April 1886, 482, LDS Church Archives; Wasatch Stake priesthood meeting, 4 June 1887, 11, LDS Church Archives.

27. Heber East Ward, quarterly conference, 8 February 1886, 469; 4 April 1886, 482; Heber East Ward, quarterly conference, 4 October 1886, 512–13, LDS Church Archives.

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30. Wasatch Agricultural, 2 May 1869, 18 March 1870, 1 April 1870, 1 April 1873; Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 146.

31. Wasatch Agricultural, 26 February 1878, 26 March 1878.

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39. Fuller, "Irrigation," 53.

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61. *Ibid.*, 20–25.

62. Ibid., 36–46.
63. Ibid., 51–58.
64. Ibid., 81–83.
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68. *House Journal of the Twenty-seventh Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing and Publishing Company, 1886), 138–39, 149–50, 198, 303, 357.
69. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 223–24; Crook, “History,” 1 June 1889, 4.
70. Crook, “History,” 7 April 1911, 4; Epperson, *Story of Sidney H. Epperson*, 52.
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73. Tolman, “Midway.”

COMMUNITY GROWTH, 1889–1917

The latter part of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century brought substantial changes to the American way of life. As President Woodrow Wilson declared in his “New Freedom” address in 1913, “This is nothing short of a new social age, a new era of human relationships, a new stage setting for the drama of life.”¹ The Populists of the 1890s had attempted to expand the prosperity of the industrial cities to the depressed rural areas. The Progressives of the 1900s and 1910s prompted civic improvements in towns and cities. Throughout the United States, small communities developed municipal services. Many people no longer had to find their own water and provide their own heat and lighting; a growing number of towns and cities provided those services along with transportation and education.

Improved transportation also tied the country closer together. People could travel farther and faster, and so too could the goods they produced. Farmers could ship their wheat, corn, and other grain products from isolated places like Wasatch County to Salt Lake City and Kansas City. Or they could use their crops and ship the cattle,

sheep, and dairy products they produced. Technology also improved the ways ranchers and farmers could cultivate, irrigate, and harvest crops, as well as tend animals.

In this “new era of human relationships,” government on all levels played an increased role. Bureaucracies began to regulate the size of businesses and their activities. Federal agencies such as the Forest Service and the Bureau of Reclamation took over management of lands which had been open range. Towns and cities passed ordinances regulating construction and businesses. While these developments meant more governmental power, they also improved life for many. Large businesses were forced to be accountable. Railroads could not charge farmers and ranchers enormous sums to get their products to market. Overgrazed lands could regenerate because cattle and sheep could not roam at will. On the local level, many communities provided paved streets and waterworks. Tighter checks over house and business construction meant fewer fires, for instance; and when blazes did occur, the city fire department, rather than concerned friends and family, put them out.

The Situation in Utah

While Utah participated in these societal remodelings, there were some differences. For example, religion declined throughout much of the United States, but in Utah, religion—especially the dominant LDS church—continued to play an important role. However, even that changed somewhat. In 1890 Mormon President Wilford Woodruff issued a Manifesto beginning the end of the church’s practice of polygamy. Mormon leaders also dissolved the church’s political party and encouraged members to join the Republican and Democratic parties. The church no longer as completely dominated the economy. More non-Mormon businesses came into the region, and church leaders no longer tried to be self-sufficient through cooperatives.

Finally, Utah became a state in 1896. This new state government, like its larger federal counterpart and the smaller community and county governments, regulated life in the “new social age.” Government on all levels brought positive changes, but there were also negatives. Although people began to talk of the closing of the frontier by 1890, it did not mean that there were no longer empty

places where Americans could expand. Many remaining open places belonged to the state and federal government. Governmental agencies decided how the unsettled land could be used, and local residents could not prevent outsiders from using the resources.

With less available free land, many white Americans looked hungrily at the reservations the federal government had given the Native Americans. Believing that these original residents could not use the land properly, the Euro-Americans pushed the federal government to provide more homesteads on reservation lands. Native Americans were crowded into even smaller corners as whites lined up to grab the newly available acreage. More land meant more farms and more crops. Improved transportation meant farmers could ship the harvest throughout the country, sometimes flooding the market. An agricultural depression developed throughout the United States during much of the 1890s. Utah crops also sold for less throughout the rest of the country; but, despite the problems, many locals diversified crops, and commercial agriculture improved life for Utah farmers.

Wasatch County

Wasatch County followed the state and national trends for the most part. Farmers broadened their crop base. Instead of growing only hay and grain, they planted vegetables—especially peas and sugar beets. In 1889 the coming of the Rio Grande Western Railroad increased the markets for these agricultural goods as well as for local livestock. Many communities incorporated; the local LDS stake president and the ward bishops no longer regulated civic affairs. Municipal services increased. Schools improved, and a high school was finally established in the county in 1907. Theaters, bands, choirs, and ball teams provided entertainment. When the Ute Indian Reservation was opened, more settlers moved east, and eventually residents voted to form Duchesne County in 1914. The federal government created the Uinta National Forest in 1897; it occupied most of the eastern part of the new county. The Forest Service oversaw grazing and other uses of that land. In 1902 the U.S. Congress passed the Newlands Act, creating the Reclamation Service. Federal funds paid for dams, canals, and other irrigation projects to help “reclaim the arid West.” One of these projects, the Strawberry Reservoir, com-

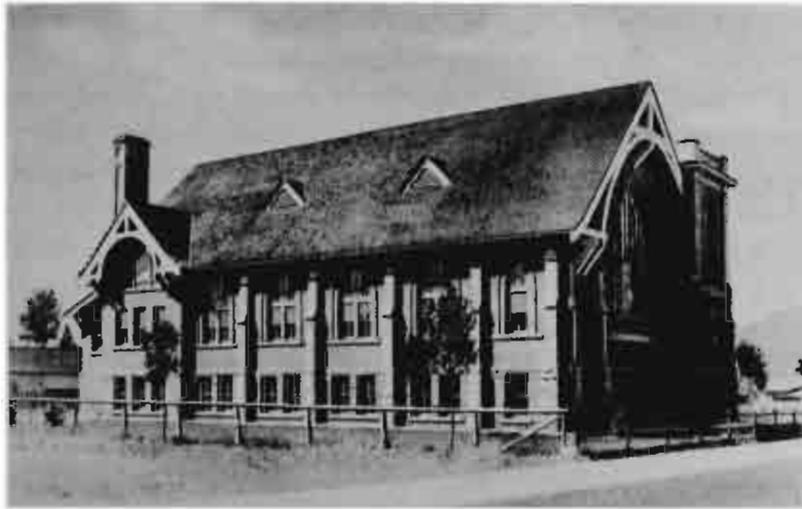
pleted in 1910, diverted water from the Strawberry River in eastern Wasatch County to farms in southern Utah County.² It was another instance of Wasatch County losing jurisdiction of its natural resources to the more populated Wasatch Front.

As in the rest of the United States, the increasing role of government brought positives and negatives to Wasatch County. More residents had access to expanded services, but at the cost of more regulations. Improved transportation meant residents could ship products throughout the country and that they could travel and receive news. But it also meant that people from the more populated Wasatch Front had greater access to the resources in the county, especially the land, water, and the products they produced.

In some ways, life did not change. As in much of rural Utah, statehood, the incorporation of towns and cities, and a diversified economy did not end the Mormon church's dominion. Most of the residents of Wasatch County continued to be Mormons. The church gatherings—priesthood and sacrament meetings—were still where nearly all the towns' residents met. The people used these settings to begin, support, or defeat new projects. And, about the turn of the century, a new Mormon stake president even tried to return to the Mormon cooperative plan.

Religion

Abram Hatch continued to lead the Wasatch Stake until 1901, a period of twenty-four years. According to a county history, "The accomplishments of President Hatch during the period were legion in religious, civic, business, and political capacities. His services will always stand as the backbone of early development and solidarity in the county."³ When Hatch was released in February 1901, the *Deseret News* reported the change was not due to "any misconduct in office or any desire on the part of the members under their direction." It was to give "a rest to the veterans who have for a long time borne the burden and heat of the day." Hatch's replacement was William Smart, who was born in 1862 in Franklin, Idaho. A devout Mormon, Smart had served on missions in England, Palestine, and the eastern states before he was called as stake president. He saw his work in Wasatch County as another mission. He recorded in his journal that on his



Heber City 2nd Ward, photograph taken shortly after the building was completed in 1915.



The Heber City 2nd Ward Building now the Saint Lawrence Catholic Church. (Lavon Provost)

way to Heber he met Mormon Apostle Matthias F. Cowley at the railroad station in Ogden. Cowley told Smart that Hatch “was becoming infirm” and “the people in Wasatch Stake are cold and unfaithful and the brethren felt that I [Smart] could do a good work among them.” Smart continued to hold the position until 1906 when church leaders called him to preside over the Uintah Stake, created after the Uintah Indian Reservation was opened for settlement and Mormons moved there. Smart was replaced by Joseph R. Murdock. Murdock, the first stake president not brought from outside the area, was born in 1858 in Salt Lake City. In 1864 he moved with his parents to Charleston. Murdock was also active in business and political activities in the county. He continued as stake president until 1928.⁴

City Incorporation

Until the 1880s, none of the communities in Wasatch County had been incorporated. Heber City organized its government first, in 1889; Midway followed in 1891. Charleston chose a government in 1899. Until these governments were established, Mormon church leaders, especially the ward bishops and the stake president, served as probate judges and provided community leadership. The establishment of town governments came because the area communities “had grown large enough that it was difficult for one man to carry both the Church and the civic responsibilities of leadership.”⁵

Elections

With incorporation came elected mayors and city councils. Initially, elections were not conducted along the two-party system found throughout the rest of the United States. Nor were they the non-party community-minded affairs that were to come later. In 1889 Utah still had its own unique two-party system—the People’s party (Mormons) and the Liberal party (non-Mormons). Since nearly everyone in Heber City was Mormon, there was essentially only one party there. For Heber’s first election, the People’s party nominated Henry Aird as mayor. Many complained, however, that they had a choice of voting for the People’s party or not at all. Some residents nominated another slate as the People’s Favorite party. Residents debated whether John Crook, the other candidate for

mayor, was qualified. The local newspaper encouraged residents to vote the straight ticket because “when you go to scratching you are sure to be beat.” Aird and the rest of the People’s party candidates were elected. Once they were in place, the newspaper demanded the council get to work. Suggested projects included cleaning the streets, passing public health and safety laws, and approving licensing ordinances for saloons, hotels, businesses, and entertainment.⁶

After Utah became a state, the Republican and Democratic parties became active. Both parties nominated slates for Heber City’s municipal elections. Most elections were quiet; but several times, according to the newspaper, there were bitter fights. To prevent these battles, in 1898 and in 1899 the newspaper asked the political parties to “fuse” for local elections. With a single ticket, there would be less tumult and the “strife and feelings raised in the campaign” eliminated, the paper declared, adding, “Both political parties have competent men sufficient to the conduct the affairs of the town.” In 1901 the parties agreed to nominate the same people, but they refused to support a joint ticket. Instead, each party listed the same officers. There was not a joint ticket in 1903, and only one Republican was elected. Democrats won most of the elections in Heber. An exception was when LDS stake president and prominent businessman Joseph R. Murdock, a Republican, was elected mayor in 1905. But two years later, Democrat sheepman James W. Clyde became the chief city administrator. Democrats won so often in Heber that when the city voted Republican in 1915 the local newspaper saw it as big news. By 1917 the Democrats again won what was described as a quiet election.⁷

The newspaper reported elections in Heber City; there are fewer details on voting patterns in other communities and in the county elections. In 1891 the Midway electorate chose Alvah J. Alexander as that town’s first board president. He and the board determined the town’s boundaries. With the passing years, Midway officials appointed a board of health, set quarantine rules, established a cemetery, brought telephone service to the town, worked with other communities to provide electric power, and developed a water system. In 1899 Charleston residents chose John M. Ritchie as their first town board president. The board used income from the county-wide electric plant to pave the streets and develop the culinary water system.



Wasatch Wave Building, constructed in 1901. The Wasatch Wave was started in 1889, the same year Heber City was incorporated as a town. (Allan Kent Powell)

Elections in Charleston were especially quiet. James Ritchie served as president of the town board from 1909 to 1958.⁸

County government changed when Utah became a state in 1896. All county offices became elected positions and included three commissioners, county clerk, recorder, auditor, treasurer, assessor, attorney, and surveyor. Wasatch County's population was so small that the positions of clerk, recorder, and auditor were combined in 1899. The first county commissioners were John Clyde, Isaac O. Wall, and Wilford Van Wagoner. These officials made decisions regarding roads, mining, and unincorporated areas of the county.⁹

Wasatch Wave

An important part of the development of Wasatch County and

other rural areas throughout the United States at the turn of the century was the establishment of a local newspaper. In 1889, the same year that Heber City was incorporated, William Buys, Wasatch County and Heber City attorney, started a county weekly. In the first edition, he penned: "In rafting the *Wasatch Wave* we realize it is but a tiny ripple upon the great ocean of journalism, but we sincerely hope and trust that it may grow and gather strength as it proceeds on its perilous journey."¹⁰ Initially, the *Wave* ran several pages of national news. Over the years, the newspaper purchased this nonlocal information, already set up and ready to print. The rest of the paper included columns about the comings and goings of local residents: who was visiting, who was traveling, who had a baby, who built a house. While the paper carried information from throughout the county, it was based in Heber City and concentrated on that community.

The *Wasatch Wave* and similar newspapers provided "the sweet intimate story of life." But these papers carried more than news. They also promoted development and what the community's founding fathers called "progress." As one professor of journalism in the early 1900s put it, "Without its newspaper the small-town American community would be like a school without a teacher or a church without a pastor." A sociological study noted: "The country editor may easily play the role of a public opinion leader for the community. Certainly countless community projects have been initiated and carried out through the efforts of the country weekly editor."¹¹

William Buys, the first editor of the *Wave*, fit this description. According to his obituary, fittingly published in his newspaper, "He was one of the leaders in procuring the telephone, the railroad, the waterworks, the electric lights; in fact, he was a leader advocate and indefatigable worker for every public improvement we have made since he took up his abode with us over thirty years ago." In his first edition, Buys supported the construction of a new flour mill in Heber City. He and the editors who followed him continued to promote civic improvements.¹²

Civic Improvements

Newspapers and government were not alone in promoting community projects. Businesses and public-minded residents also

encouraged civic improvements around the turn of the century. According to a history of Denver, "Public utilities were glamorous, for they were among technology's most spectacular contributions to modern urban life: water for indoor plumbing, safe drinking, and fire fighting; gas and electricity for industry power as well as heating, illumination, and the bright lights of the city; telephones for instant cross-town communication."¹³ Wasatch County residents were eager to have all of them.

The area did not establish these public utilities at once or without opposition. They cost money, which meant the communities had to collect taxes from their citizens. Since the taxes would come in slowly, it also meant that the towns often had to pass bonds and go into debt. Because conservative Wasatch County residents questioned taxes and debts, they had to be persuaded to vote for change. A collaboration of the town/city council, the LDS church, community boosters, and the local newspaper tried to convince townspeople to vote for bonds and increased taxes. A typical example was the establishment of waterworks in Heber City. The cooperation of church, state, press, and concerned citizens finally brought piped water to the community in 1905.

Just a month after the *Wave* started in 1889, it published "What We Need," an editorial calling for waterworks. The article explained that if the springs above town were "put in pipes to Main Street [they] would convey a head of 100 feet which would be sufficient force to throw the water over the tallest buildings." Each year editorials continued to appeal for waterworks, but nothing happened. The paper tried several approaches, including promoting intertown competition by declaring that Midway had constructed waterworks in 1896; but Heber still did not make that move. The decision finally to build waterworks in Heber was a joint effort of the *Wave*, local citizens, the LDS church, and the town council. A 1899 editorial suggested issuing bonds, adding, "As a general proposition we do not favor bonding or indebtedness of any kind, but in this instance we think it better than any other plan." In 1902 and 1904 the LDS church's stake high council talked about the need for water in town and approved passing a bond to cover the cost.¹⁴

All of these efforts failed until 1904 when Heber residents held



Heber City Main Street. (Utah State Historical Society)

another public meeting to discuss “pure water” in town. The *Wave* encouraged the residents to pass the bill, telling them they were “progressive minded people. A waterworks committee canvassed the town, and town officials held a mass meeting. The *Wave* ran editorials asking citizens to vote for the bond “and do your part toward making Heber a city second to none of its size in the nation.” The residents approved the bond by a vote of 164 to 32. After the election, city and LDS church leaders continued to work together. In August prominent businesspeople and former stake president Abram Hatch, current stake president William Smart, city officials, and other citizens visited a spring that was the source of Heber’s water to decide how the water system would work. By 23 December the water lines were in; a rush for home plumbing followed. Putting in a water system did not resolve all the problems. First, the city did not bond for enough money to complete the system. The *Wave* reported in March 1905 that it would cost \$4,000 to \$5,000 to complete the project but claimed it was worth it. In May the voters agreed to bond the city for an additional \$4,000. The measure passed by a vote of 78 to 4.¹⁵

Electricity

Each Wasatch County community set up most of its own public utilities. Just as with the Heber waterworks, the business community, Mormon church leaders, and town officials worked together in approving, funding, and completing each improvement. Not all the towns could afford individual projects, so a few county communities worked together. The development of electricity in the county is one example of cooperation.

It took several false starts before electricity came to Wasatch County. Talk started as early as 1899 when Joseph R. Murdock and Wilford Van Wagonen of Midway began working on plans for an electric plant in Snake Creek which could furnish power to Heber, Midway, and Charleston. Nothing happened. In 1903, Telluride Power Company operators of a plant in Provo Canyon told Heber that if the city would give Telluride a franchise it would bring electric lights to Heber. But electricity was still in the future. Murdock continued his plans to construct a power plant in 1907 with the Knight Investment Company of Provo. Jesse Knight's mining interests in Park City needed electricity, and Murdock hoped Knight would develop a plant that would meet not only his needs but those of Wasatch County. The first efforts failed, but in 1909 Murdock and Knight incorporated the Snake Creek Power Company. They completed the plant in 1910.¹⁶

At the same time, plans continued to develop city power. In 1905 LDS stake president William Smart turned down a suggestion that his bank, the Bank of Heber City (established in 1904), have electric lights; he wanted to wait until everyone had power. Two years later, Smart's Wasatch Development Company moved toward establishing a power plant. The *Wave* explained, "Usually when this company takes hold of a proposition it goes and we feel reasonably sure such will be the case in this instance." Again the decision to put in electric lights was a joint effort between the newspaper, LDS church leaders, and town councils. In the fall of 1907 then stake president Joseph R. Murdock suggested in an LDS high council meeting that the people subscribe to the soon-to-be-built Snake Creek plant.

In the end, Wasatch County residents did not support any of



The Heber Power and Light plant was constructed in 1909. The building has been demolished. (Utah State Historical Society)

these plans for electric power; they built their own plant. In 1908 citizens considered putting in a power plant four miles north of Heber. At a public meeting, promoters promised they could bring the water through the Timpanogos Canal. A. C. Hatch said that his father, Abram Hatch, owned the site and would sell it and his right-of-way through the canal at a reasonable cost. Those at the meeting voted to have the city council purchase the land. J. R. Murdock, W. S. Willes, and William Buys were selected to discuss the matter with the city council. About a week later, Buys and Willes, representing the Wasatch Commercial Club, presented the proposal to the Heber Council, which worked on plans all that fall for establishing a plant. In November Mayor James W. Clyde named George A. Wootton the superintendent of the electric company, and the city council named it the "Heber Light and Power Plant." In December town residents passed a \$32,000 bond issue by a margin of 120 to 8. Heber owned three-quarters interest in the power plant and Midway and Charleston each owned one-eighth.¹⁷

By November electric lights had arrived in Heber, but there were

no street lights because the city could not afford them. The *Wave* explained that those who wanted a light by their houses could purchase the fixture for \$2.50 and the city would install it and furnish the power. The editorial explained, "The power belongs to the people and the people ought to have the benefit of it." Having electric power in their homes thrilled Wasatch County residents. Melba Duke Probst, a Heber resident, recalled, "I remember the night it was finished. My father lifted me up and let me turn on the switch. I thought that was great, all that light. Up the stairway there was a switch. My sister went up and turned it off. We turned it off and on. We thought we were really great." Electricity also meant Probst's family could use a washing machine with a motor.¹⁸

The power plant continued to operate but was a constant headache. In 1912 Heber had a special bond election to improve the city-owned electric plant. In 1913 the state legislature passed a bill authorizing cities and towns to sell power plants, and the city council authorized the mayor and the superintendent of the electric lights to talk to Utah Power and Light Company about selling the plant. No action was taken. Again in 1917 residents discussed selling the power plant at several mass meetings. The plant was badly in need of repair, and the city held bonds for \$51,000. When Utah Power and Light offered to purchase the plant, the *Wave* favored the sale. However, Midway and Charleston voted to sell the plant and Heber voted to keep it. The *Wave* then took the position that the operators needed to make the plant profitable.¹⁹

Health Care

Health care is another area in which government became increasingly involved around the turn of the century. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, residents frequently shared contagious diseases. Lethe Belle Coleman Tatge of Midway described epidemic outbreaks of diphtheria and smallpox. At first the only ways to prevent spreading disease were to keep the sick people home and cancel public meetings. The Heber City Board of Health, established in 1898, set the rules for quarantines for Heber and one mile outside the city limits. The board of health enforced these rules and required the families to pay the city's expenses of posting signs. The president

of the health board could bar all public meetings when there was an epidemic. Even with these measures, disease control continued to be a problem throughout the county. When the local health board canceled public meetings, people still met each other and spread the infection. Communities tried several other methods. In 1902 the Midway Board of Health ruled that children under the age of sixteen could not attend public amusements. The board did not discontinue schools during an epidemic in 1906, arguing that while the students were in class they did not intermix as much with other residents.²⁰

At the turn of the century, many Americans believed government overstepped its bounds if it mandated newly developed vaccinations. The *Wave* editor stated he would favor compulsory vaccinations only if they were absolutely necessary, because he did not feel they were safe. Midway residents felt that requiring vaccinations was “unAmerican,” “unconstitutional,” and would not prevent the spread of the disease. This was a common belief in Utah, and in 1901 the state passed an anti-vaccination law. The *Wave* applauded the move: “In other words, it robs the tyrant of his power to rob the people of their right to ‘life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.’” In response to a *Salt Lake Tribune* article asking why allow quarantines and not vaccinations, the *Wave* said it favored quarantining but questioned the logic of requiring children to have vaccinations when others in public places had not. The debate continued. No final decisions were made, and in January 1901 Heber Central School decided not to bar nonvaccinated children if there were no new cases of smallpox. The next month the schools were opened to all children regardless of whether they had been vaccinated.²¹

By 1909 that opinion had changed. Dr. W. R. Wherritt, a local physician who also worked for several communities, called a public meeting at the Heber Second Ward meetinghouse. He requested money from the school fund to pay for vaccinations, and the *Wave* applauded the idea. State and county citizens continued to debate the issue, and in 1922 the state board of education encouraged but did not require vaccinations for smallpox.²²

Railroad

Waterworks, electric power plants, and health boards improved

the quality of life in Wasatch County. But the county residents also demanded better access to the rest of the state and the nation. Transportation needed to be improved. For example, at the turn of the twentieth century, Wasatch County mail went through Park City. Service suffered. Residents were upset in 1898 when the Union Pacific changed its schedule to Park City and all the county mail sat in Summit County overnight. After they complained to Utah Senator William King, the Union Pacific promised better service to Park City.²³

But Wasatch County citizens wanted a railroad of their own. In 1889, when the *Park Record* reported plans to build a railroad up Parley's Canyon to Park City, the *Wave* editorized, "Let it be immediately completed to Heber." Heber, the article contended, was an excellent shipping stop for supplies to the Indian reservation, and it continued in true booster fashion, "We have almost within the limits of the town, the finest sandstone quarries in the west and we believe the finest in the United States. . . . Had we a railroad here, this sandstone could undoubtedly become an article of considerable value." Other editorials claimed that a railroad would also help mines, provide coal to Park City and Wasatch County, open the Uinta Basin, shorten the route to central Colorado, turn the valley into a summer resort, and develop Heber as a manufacturing center.²⁴ This dream was short-lived.

Talk of a railroad through Heber City heated up again in 1896 when a Rio Grande Western employee talked to Abram Hatch in Heber and J. R. Murdock in Charleston about purchasing a right-of-way. The paper suggested residents not demand too much for the right-of-way, concluding that if people were generous with the railroad it would be built sooner. Again, however, no railroad resulted. When plans for a railroad were announced again in 1899, the *Wave* was skeptical, pointing out that there had been so much talk that people were losing faith. However, this time more positive steps followed. The *Provo Herald* reported that the Rio Grande Western would arrive by winter and that the company was already talking about grading. The 3 March 1899 issue of the *Wave* included a notice for grading bids.²⁵

The railroad wanted help from the local residents, though. In

June railroad officials met with twenty Heber citizens and asked the town to furnish the depot ground and \$2,500 to purchase the right-of-way from the Wright Bridge to Heber. The company was not sure that the railroad would come all the way to Heber, but it would come at least twenty-two miles up the canyon. The townspeople accepted the proposal. In August the committee was still \$700 short, and the *Wave* asked the people of Heber to help. The community responded, and on 22 September 1899 crowds gathered to watch the first train come to Heber. The next day 10,000 sheep were loaded and shipped from the city. By the end of the week two trains ran through Heber each day.²⁶

The railroad made a difference: the train carried the mail, people came from Provo to visit, and Heber residents returned the “favor.” But getting the railroad did not solve all the problems. Keeping service was difficult. Only two years after service began, the Rio Grande Western Company threatened to cut it to one train a day. The *Wave* editor complained. With two trains, business leaders went and returned the same day, and the second train cleaned the snow drifts that often blocked the tracks in the winter. The railroad did cut service to one train that arrived in the morning and departed in the afternoon. But about two weeks later, in response to the public outcry, the company changed the schedule again, providing a morning departure from Heber. By the summer of 1902 there were again two runs a day.²⁷

The Heber train service changed frequently. The *Wave* editor complained in 1903 that the people had met their part of the bargain, but by then trains were only running semiweekly. The newspaper asked if only one train a week would follow. The editorial even suggested that maybe it would be better to go back to receiving mail from the Union Pacific through Park City and the stage rather than depending on the Rio Grande Western. This and other community pressures brought daily service again in February 1904 but the service was on a new schedule which made it difficult for Heber Valley residents to go to Provo and Salt Lake and return in a day.²⁸

Even though service was not consistent, the railroad made an important difference in Wasatch County. According to a 1915 article, “the canyon through which this road is built is unsurpassable in

grandeur by any of the scenic parts of the Rockies.” Heber shipped an average of 360 cars of sheep, 280 cars of hay, 40 cars of cattle, and 60 cars of sugar beets each year.²⁹

Agriculture

The railroad meant farmers could ship products throughout the state and even throughout the nation. This contributed to the county’s agriculture moving from “subsistence” to “commercial” farming during the 1890s. A 1906 Wasatch County history declared: “The sage brush plains have been changed to grain and hay fields, orchards, and garden spots. The wild lily gave way for the sweet peas and roses. . . . The elements were modified so that agriculture became a leading industry.” Commercial farming was not only economically motivated. As Utah moved toward statehood, citizens wanted to become part of the American society. Cultivating crops was no longer seen as a way of building the Kingdom of God; instead, farming was a business, a way of making a living. Farming in Wasatch County became part of “the Americanization of Utah agriculture.”³⁰

Initially Wasatch County farmers raised hay, wheat, oats, and potatoes. John W. Crook, a local resident, carefully recorded his yearly farming yields from 1891 to 1903. He consistently grew wheat, oats, and potatoes and harvested lucerne and wild hay. In 1891 he also grew carrots, beets, and turnips. In 1902 he grew peas.³¹ The U.S. agricultural censuses in 1890 and 1899 showed that Wasatch County residents planted alfalfa and other grasses such as hay and forage. They grew wheat, barley, and oats. The main vegetable crop was potatoes. Local residents used most of these products, but two crops—sugar beets and peas—were attempted as commercially viable products.

As part of the Mormons’ attempts to be self-sufficient, members of the church tried to grow sugar beets and produce sugar as early as 1852. The early effort failed. Nearly forty years later, after additional experimentation, the Mormon church organized the Utah and Idaho Sugar Company in 1889, and a local Mormon bishop constructed a factory in Lehi in 1891. The economic success of the company in Utah Valley was clearly evident as more farmers contracted to grow sugar beets.³²

Wasatch County leaders also recognized the potential of sugar

beets. In November 1900 local farmer and historian John Crook published the results of his successful growing experiments: “The time has arrived it seems to me when the beet industry will pay in this valley.” The *Wasatch Wave* editor continued, “Now is the time to consider this subject during the winter months. The possibility of the sweetness of the beet has already been established.” That winter U & I Sugar signed its first contracts with county farmers. The first year harvest was a success—farmers shipped 430 tons of beets to the Lehi factory. The processors judged the beets to be of superior quality, having a higher sugar content and purity than the company standard. Community and LDS church leaders promoted the beet industry. Local farmers planned a union to regulate prices with the sugar company. LDS priesthood leaders asked county residents to raise sugar beets, even encouraging them to rent land if they did not own any.³³

The sugar beet industry in Heber Valley, however, went in cycles. When LDS church and civic leaders pushed for more beets, farmers responded; but, if there was no special encouragement, they preferred not to plant beets. Sugar beets took more effort to grow than other crops, harvest time was labor intensive, and workers were hard to find. Local church leaders and the *Wasatch Wave* argued that, despite these limitations, beets were profitable because they were a cash crop, provided jobs for the young people, and also restored fertility to the soil. The sugar company in Lehi also wanted Wasatch County beets and tried a variety of threats and bribes. First, the company threatened to close down the scale and platform at the railroad depot in the county if the residents did not grow more beets. When the threat failed to increase the sugar-beet acreage, the company promised to build a sugar plant if the people would plant more sugar beets. Despite all this, farmers were not convinced raising sugar beets was profitable.³⁴

Farmers were also encouraged to raise peas. After several offers and false hopes, the Davis Pea Company agreed to build an area factory in 1918. In 1920 farmers planted 400 acres of peas, and the Woods Cross Pea Factory in Heber produced 60,000 cases of peas. Six years later the company converted the original factory into a warehouse and constructed a new building. In contrast to the sugar beets,



The Woods Cross Canning Company agreed to build this plant in Wasatch County if the farmers would raise peas. (Lavon Provost)

peas caught on because they took less work to harvest and the crop was processed locally. Melba Duke Probst started working at the pea factory in 1921. She recalled, “We would have to sit and pick the broken peas off of the belt as they came along. It would make me dizzy as it would go by. I remember that year I earned \$16.75 for my work. I guess I was sixteen.”³⁵

Another important part of the agricultural economy in Wasatch County was raising livestock, mostly beef cattle, dairy cows, sheep, and horses. Around the turn of the century livestock totals increased dramatically. The number of beef animals went from 1,642 in 1880 to 7,215 in 1890, and then jumped to 13,310 in 1900. It dropped slightly to 11,313 in 1919. The number of sheep went from 2,036 in 1880 to 4,200 in 1890, and then jumped to 68,225 in 1900. Sheep remained constant; there were 68,728 in 1919. Despite the limited growth, the sheep industry’s reputation grew. In 1913 Professor Caine from Utah State Agricultural College declared, “When people speak of sheep that means Heber.” Until the railroad was completed, Heber Valley residents shipped their sheep from Park City. Once the railroad was completed to Heber, “the valley leaped into national prominence as a fat lamb shipping center.”³⁶

As the livestock industry grew, Wasatch County residents worked together. In 1909 local stock raisers formed the Heber Cattle and Horse Growers Association to help those interested in the business. Its purposes were to protect the members' interest as grazers on the Uinta National Forest, make applications for grazing, buy and distribute salt and feed, hire herders, place bulls on the range, and care for the livestock. Members paid assessments to the association; if they did not pay, the association reported them to the Forest Service office, which could take away the permits.³⁷

Irrigation

Commercialization of agriculture in Heber Valley placed additional demands on the limited water resources in the valley. "Irrigation in this valley is the real life blood of the community," editorialized the *Wave* in 1902. As in the past, valley farmers turned to the LDS church for advice and direction. At a meeting of church priesthood leaders held in 1902 to determine how to find more water sources, Apostle Reed Smoot encouraged Wasatch County residents to develop the lakes at the headwaters of the Provo River into reservoirs. He cautioned them, however, not to go into debt. Later in the year at a stake conference in Heber City, Smoot encouraged church members to return to a spirit of cooperation among the water users of the valley. "There are hundreds of acres uncultivated in this valley," he said. "If there were unity here in the stake of Zion there would be water to water every acre of it."³⁸

Taking this counsel from Smoot, a committee of water users approached stake president William Smart and the stake high council with a plan to develop several Uinta lakes into regulated reservoirs. Concerned with the church's involvement in this water project, Smart at first discouraged stake leaders from getting involved with this private enterprise; but he did encourage greater cooperation among the water users in the county.

A committee of Heber Valley water users was formed and concluded, "All that is needed to procure plenty of water is a little energy and plenty of muscle." A month later, J.R. Murdock reported back to the committee that county residents could reclaim ten thousand acres with little effort if the canal companies worked together. Smart heard

of the cooperative efforts of the committee, reversed his earlier position, and agreed to get involved personally as stake president.³⁹

Water users from Summit, Utah, and Salt Lake counties grew increasingly concerned over the plans of the people of Wasatch County to develop lakes in the Uinta Mountains. For years these lakes, working as natural reservoirs, released water during the critical summer growing season; transforming them into regulated reservoirs might disrupt the flow of the Provo River. A group of Wasatch County water users met with Utah Stake leaders and the mayor and city council of Provo to outline their plans. They agreed to organize a new committee with representatives from Wasatch, Utah, and Summit counties. The new committee elected William Smart as chair and Joseph W. Musser, the Wasatch Stake clerk, as assistant secretary.

Smart and other members of the multi-county water users committee planned to study the lakes. A committee of twenty-two, ten each from Wasatch and Utah counties and two from Summit County, conducted a survey. In October, William Buys, a member of the committee, reported that two of the larger lakes and three of the small lakes could furnish 3,735 acre-feet of water to downstream water users.⁴⁰

In December 1902 representatives from the three counties met again, choosing Smart as chair of the meeting, A.M. Carter of Utah County as elected vice president, and James W. Musser as elected secretary and treasurer. The committee appointed Wasatch County residents William Buys, J.R. Murdock, and Robert Duke to supervise the transformation of the lakes into reservoirs. They hoped that the new reservoirs would irrigate 3,000 additional acres of farm land in Heber Valley and 7,000 acres in Utah Valley by 1909.

The development of these lakes remained a concern for Wasatch County residents and residents of the downstream counties. Returning to the tradition of seeking advice from church leaders, William Smart proposed early in 1903 that the church sponsor a special meeting of stake leaders from all the counties who were using water from the Provo River. Meanwhile, the people of Salt Lake City protested the plan of Smart and the others, fearing there would be less water in Utah Lake, a primary water source for farmers of the Salt Lake Valley. As a result, interested parties, including LDS apostles

John R. Winder and John Henry Smith, held a meeting in Salt Lake City to arbitrate water problems associated with the Provo River. Smart informed those attending from Salt Lake County that there would still be water from the Provo River flowing into Utah Lake and that it would not be diminished because of their intended development of the Uinta lakes.

Over the next several years Wasatch County farmers transformed the lakes into reservoirs. J.R. Murdock, who was sustained as the new stake president in 1906 following William Smart's release and move to the Uinta Basin, organized the Provo Reservoir and Irrigation Company with representatives from Summit, Wasatch, and Utah counties, including bishops from the Wasatch Stake and leading businessmen who served on the board of directors. The company directed the construction work at the lakes and managed the reservoirs after they were completed.⁴¹

The company first built a road from the Steward Ranch on the Provo River to haul men and equipment to the lakes. Men could only work during the summer months when snow and ice were gone from the lakes and mountains. H. Caldwell Clegg recalled his work on the reservoirs: "The mosquitoes continued to present serious problems for us at the lakes. Some of us including John Day and myself sought a means of escaping from the insects. We proceeded to build ourselves a small raft to float out onto the lake where we hoped we might be relieved from the insects. As we reached near the center of the lake, the raft overturned dumping us into the icy cold water. We had to swim to shore to put on dry clothes. . . . Our naked bodies provided perfect targets for the blood sucking insects."⁴²

Strawberry Reservoir

Following the removal of the Ute Indians from along the Wasatch Front to the Uintah Indian Reservation, Wasatch County farmers recognized that there was water available from the Strawberry River to irrigate their land in Heber Valley; but first they had to find a way to divert the water over the Wasatch Mountains. Late in the 1880s several county farmers successfully engineered and constructed a 1,000-foot tunnel through the crest of the Wasatch Mountains, thereby diverting water from the Strawberry River to



Strawberry Reservoir was built by the Bureau of Reclamation and provided water to southern Utah County. Wasatch County residents lost water and grazing lands that they had been using. This photograph shows the West Portal Camp near the Strawberry tunnel, looking east. (Utah State Historical Society)

their farms. Two decades later, desperate Utah Valley farmers also turned their attention to the Strawberry River for water. State senator Henry Gardner of Spanish Fork led this effort. Seeing the earlier success of the Heber Valley farmers, Gardner envisioned a similar effort by the farmers from Utah Valley, but on a much grander scale. The water project, however, proved to be too expensive and too complex for the farmers of Utah Valley. In 1902 the United States Congress passed the Newlands Act, which established a revolving fund as well as the Reclamation Service (Bureau of Reclamation) to aid in the construction of reclamation projects in the West. In 1903 plans were presented to the federal government by the Utah Valley farmers, and within a year work began on the Strawberry Valley Reservoir.⁴³

For the farmers of Utah Valley, the Strawberry Reservoir was a savior: new farm lands were taken up, additional water was provided to older farms, and the community of Payson (which was withering from the lack of water) was revitalized. According to one historian, “It is difficult to conclude that the Strawberry Valley Project has been anything but successful.”⁴⁴

The project, however, was not without costs for the people of Wasatch County. For nearly a quarter of a century, ranchers and farmers from the valley had leased summer grazing land in Strawberry Valley from the Ute Indians. The development of the Strawberry Reservoir limited summer grazing opportunities for livestock of the ranchers and farmers of Wasatch County. A further limitation was placed on Strawberry Valley in 1910 when U.S. senators George Sutherland and Reed Smoot pushed through a bill to protect the Strawberry watershed from overgrazing and to raise additional money to help repay the construction costs of the reservoir. As a consequence, higher grazing fees were levied on the farmers and ranchers of Wasatch County.

The Strawberry Water Users group managed approximately 52,000 acres of choice grazing lands. County stockmen were opposed to the higher grazing fees and the withdrawal of additional acres. A pamphlet, “Some Facts You People of Wasatch County Should Know,” apparently prepared by some people of Wasatch County, claimed that Senator Smoot, a supporter of the bill, was not being honest with the people of Wasatch County. The pamphlet authors indicated that Smoot responded to criticisms by giving “one of those explanations that doesn’t explain.” The authors of the pamphlet called for citizens to vote for men who “by their deeds have demonstrated that they are for you good people” and not the “kind that sit idly by while big interests grab up your birthrights.”⁴⁵

Grazing continued to be a disputed issue between Wasatch County stockmen and the Strawberry Water Users group. But problems with county residents using the Strawberry Valley antedated the construction of the reservoir. Historically county farmers and ranchers did not have enough land to graze their animals on the private land near the communities in Heber and Round valleys. Consequently, they took their animals to the public domain and the

Indian reservation. At first they trespassed on the Indian lands in the Strawberry Valley where the rangeland was good; but this created problems with the Utes. In 1887 the area Indian agent wrote, "These cattlemen have given me more trouble than all my Indians or business of both Agencies [Unitah and Ouray]. For years they have controlled this reservation and most of its affairs. They have pastured their cattle for years on this reservation and swindled these Indians at every opportunity." However, Wasatch County residents continued to graze their animals on the reservation, although they eventually had to pay a fee for the privilege.⁴⁶

When Congress allowed Indian reservation lands to be leased for farming and grazing in 1891, the federal government took bids. The first bids—by James Clyde of Heber for \$250 and Preston Nutter for \$100—were considered unrealistic. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs informed the bidders that nothing under \$7,000 would be considered. Eventually Preston Nutter matched the government's request. He was from then Emery County (now Carbon County). Local cattlemen were upset. They objected to Nutter having the range, and so simply allowed their animals to drift on to the reservation, forcing Nutter to police the area. In 1901 the government divided Strawberry Valley and other parts of the reservation into grazing districts, and Heber residents won the bids. In 1904 and 1905 sheepmen from Heber leased other Indian reservation lands for winter range.⁴⁷

Wasatch County residents lost other Strawberry Valley leases in 1904 when the Bureau of Reclamation agreed to build Strawberry Reservoir. While the project was still under construction, the federal government leased the land to sheepmen. John C. Cummings from Wasatch County held the lease from 1905 to 1907. During this time, American Fork sheepmen tried to obtain permission to run sheep on the project, but the government told them that too many sheep and cattle already were on the land. In 1907, Heber City residents James W. Clyde, James S. Murdock, Davis Smith, Joseph R. Murdock, and Albert Smith acquired a lease from the U.S. Reclamation Service which allowed them to be on the land from 1 June to 31 December 1907. The Heber men were able to hold on to their leases by outbidding sheepmen from Utah and Salt Lake counties as well as other

sheep owners from Wasatch County with a bid of \$10,408 to run 25,000 head of sheep in Strawberry Valley. When the group did not exercise its option to renew in 1909, the property came open for bid again. The same group got the land but had to pay \$192 more a year. In 1911 the highest bid was only \$6,126. The project engineer claimed that the sheepmen had kept the bids down, and he refused to accept any of them. A group from American Fork and Lehi finally bid \$9,126, and Wasatch County residents lost the use of the Strawberry lands to Utah County. By 1915 the Strawberry Valley Reservoir project manager contended that the lease should go to the highest bidder.⁴⁸

Forest Service

The federal government put other restrictions on the use of the public domain. In 1897 the Uinta National Forest was created following the passage of the Forest Reserve Act of 1891. At first the General Land Office supervised these reserves, but in 1905 the management of these lands was given to the Department of Agriculture and the National Forest Service. Wasatch County residents considered federal regulation of these lands a mixed blessing. Charleston citizen Hyrum S. Winterton applauded the creation of the Forest Service. He thought the range had been overgrazed and that cattle were going on the summer ranges before the sheep. American Fork sheepman Delbert Chipman also supported the federal authority. He said before the Forest Service came, the range “wasn’t too good. It was open to everybody and there wasn’t much supervision to it. . . . There was no limit on who could use it to my recollection, so it was sort of abused.”⁴⁹

Originally sheep and cattle had equal access to the forest reserve. Once the Forest Service took over, however, it established new regulations. Cattle were allowed on the reserve from May to the first of November; sheep could only be on federal lands between July and the end of September. The federal agency believed cattle could be on the range longer because they caused less damage to the range than the sheep. This angered sheepmen who believed the opposite and felt that the policy had created a hardship on them, since they had to buy feed and rent spring feeding grounds from the cattlemen after the

cattle had moved onto the range. The cattlemen disagreed with the federal sheep policy which allowed 2.5 head of sheep per one head of cattle on the range. They were also upset about the way in which permits were distributed. Cattlemen were allowed thirty-five head per permit and had to own two-thirds of an acre for every animal they ran on the forest. Sheepmen, on the other hand, only had to own an acre regardless of the number of animals. Also, they frequently combined permits, resulting in one partnership having more than 6,000 sheep on the range.

The new grazing policies of the Forest Service led to arguments between the service, local sheepmen, and the Heber Horse and Cattle Growers Association. Local livestock operators expressed concerns that sheepmen from Utah County and elsewhere were infringing on their traditional summer grazing lands. Why should outsiders be granted grazing privileges, argued Wasatch County stockmen, when those coming to the area were nonresidents, nonlandowners, and nontaxpayers? The Heber Horse and Cattle Association contended that the county could only support small-scale stock raising because the high altitude limited "the farming possibilities to the production of hay and similar hardy plant life," making the county "essentially a cattle raising locality." Cattlemen needed to use the forest lands close to their homes for summer range. The association argued that the area population had dropped because people could not make a living in the area and had been forced to move. Without the ability to graze cattle it was "impossible to make a decent living from the land." The Heber population did drop almost 5 percent from 1910 to 1920. The district forester told Heber residents that they needed to have a better balance of cattle and sheep rather "than to insist upon maintaining one class to the exclusion of another." Outsiders continued to graze their sheep on the excellent summer ranges. This became one more example of the use of the county's resources by people of the Wasatch Front.⁵⁰

The establishment of federal forest reserves dramatically altered the management and use of public lands in the county and throughout the West. The county's mountains were a valuable resource, containing lush growth of grasses vital for summer grazing of livestock; thousands of acres of Engelman spruce, Douglas fir, and subalpine

fir suitable for lumber production; various important minerals for mining; wild game for hunting and trapping; and magnificent scenery for recreation. Residents and visitors used the national forest not only to graze animals but also to cut timber and produce lumber, to prospect for minerals, to trap animals, and to recreate. Around the turn of the century there were four sawmills and three shingle mills in the county. Charles E. Thacker operated a shingle mill in the Mill Hollow area. Thacker's son, Dave, recalled using a ten-yoke team of oxen to skid the logs to the loading area and the steam- and water-powered saws. The family left the area in 1901; four years later Dave Thacker returned to work at a sawmill at Sugar Springs up Daniels Canyon. This mill owner had been using horses on his skids, but, because it was so expensive, he hired Thacker to show the operators how to use oxen. The Wasatch Lumber Company also thrived in the timber business. The company operated three mills in Strawberry Valley and had a lumberyard in Heber City.⁵¹

Professional trappers continued to work in the mountains. Hyrum Cummings trapped animals between Duchesne and Heber starting in the 1880s. He trapped bears when they killed sheep and also caught beaver. When he started, he received sixty-five dollars per pelt, and during the high season, sometimes as much as \$350 a day. Cummings continued to trap each winter until he retired in 1949.⁵²

The recreational value of the Strawberry Valley was recognized early. People throughout the area knew it as one of the best fisheries in the state. Hyrum Cummings recalled catching his limit of fish in the Strawberry River in half an hour without bait. He threw back everything under twelve inches. Virgil F. Fraughton also hunted and fished with his father in the early 1900s in the areas around Strawberry and Mirror Lake.⁵³ The filling of Strawberry Reservoir provided additional opportunities for county residents and people from the Wasatch Front to fish and boat. Within a few years, Strawberry became a prime fishing hole in the state, attracting anglers by the thousands. Strawberry also attracted fishers to the other rivers, streams, and lakes in the county, making Wasatch County one of the heaviest-used fishing spots in northern Utah. The state of Utah recognized the excellent fishing possibilities, and as early as 1912 the state fish and game department planted in excess of one

million salmon, rainbow, and native fishes in the county. The construction of Strawberry Reservoir also encouraged camping around its shores. By 1921 the Strawberry Water Users Association established and leased camping sites.

Dairy Industry

Wasatch County is well endowed with water and an abundance of natural grasses. Professor L. B. Linfield of Utah State Agricultural College observed in 1875 that Heber Valley was “fertile and well watered” land in which fodder crops grew remarkably well. The Utah Agricultural Experiment Station at the Utah State Agricultural College prepared a lengthy study of types of farming in the state in 1936. It indicated that Wasatch County received sufficient water to mature crops on 85 percent of the total irrigated land (23,051 acres at the time). Only two other counties in the state had a higher percentage than Wasatch County.⁵⁴

Although well endowed with some essentials for making the area a highly productive agricultural region, the short growing season endemic to back valleys of the Wasatch Mountains prevented farmers from growing a variety of agricultural goods. However, the earliest farmers, especially in the Midway area, discovered that dairy livestock did well in the county. In 1875 the *Deseret News* reported the “success of our two Swiss dairies in the White Pines” of Heber Valley. These dairying activities were usually located at the west end of the county, while the cattle and sheep activities were on the east, closer to the national forest grazing lands. The dairy industry grew around the turn of the century. The number of cows was slightly down in 1890 from 1880 (1,320 to 1,082) but from 1890 to 1900 the number of cows increased to 2,708 and remained at that level through 1919 (2,829).⁵⁵

At least three creameries were established in the valley at the turn of the century to process milk produced in the county. A group of Midway dairy farmers formed the People’s Creamery around 1900. In 1894 George Daybell started a creamery in Charleston. Joseph R. Murdock soon invested two thousand dollars in Daybell’s dairy operation and the two men formed the Charleston Co-operative Creamery. The first year the company shipped milk to ZCMI in Salt

Lake City. Like earlier cooperative efforts, the owners asked for LDS Wasatch Stake priesthood members to support the creamery. Within two years the company was processing between 10,000 and 20,000 pounds of milk a day and was planning to manufacture more than cheese and butter. In 1915 the Charleston Creamery had expanded to the point that it moved to the larger community of Heber while maintaining a sweet cream station locally. Most dairy shipments were sent by rail to Salt Lake City. The first year in Heber the plant processed 4,000 pounds of butter and 250 gallons of cream per month.⁵⁶

Creameries were soon established in the county, including a creamery owned by Mark Jeffs, the Wasatch Creamery Company (1897), and the Mutual Creamery Company. The *Wave* editor supported increased competition. “More creameries will be a benefit to the county rather than a detriment, for opposition is the life of all trade in most instances.” Besides, Heber needed “home industry, more labor for your young men at home and more cash coming into this county and circulating among the residents thereof.” Most attempts were short-lived. Utah state inspectors cited poor management, low-quality cows, and unsanitary facilities as factors. Equally important was the fact that dairymen could receive higher prices by selling their milk to Salt Lake factories. By 1915 two companies in Salt Lake—Clover Leaf and Jensen Creamery—were buying most of the county’s milk. Once again, Wasatch County was producing raw materials that would be processed in more populated areas.⁵⁷

Mining

Geologically, Wasatch County is located adjacent to the American Fork and Park City mining districts, two very productive mining regions in northern Utah. As a result, mining continued to be an important part of the Wasatch County economy around the turn of the century. In the eastern part of the county, prospectors explored the Uinta National Forest looking for minerals. Many came seeking a lost gold mine that the Native Americans reportedly told early Mormons about. Though claims were filed, few minerals were found and mined. In 1912 some Price residents found what they thought was the lost Spanish mine and filed a mineral claim in Heber City.

Nothing came from this claim. Explorers found a wax deposit of some value in Daniels Canyon around the turn of the century, and by 1909 William S. Bethers, J. P. Jordan, Ephraim Bethers, and George Bethers started developing the wax. It became known as the Chinese Wax Mine. According to geologists, it contained a small deposit of a waxy oil embedded in the Oquirrh formation on the Charleston thrust sheet.⁵⁸

While prospecting on national forest land was largely unsuccessful, the Snake Creek area adjacent to the Park City Mining District sporadically produced nominal amounts of ore up to the 1950s. Other mines were more successful. Between 1911 and 1918, mines in the county produced \$10,182,432 in gold, silver, copper, lead, and zinc. About three-quarters of the money came from silver and lead. In 1911 there were two producers in the county, and three years later there were five mines. Five years later there were only three active mines. Regardless of the number of producers, ore totals remained about the same. For example, in 1913 two producers mined 54,234 short tons; the next year five operators only produced 54,960 tons, and the total value dropped from \$1,007,250 to \$897,506.⁵⁹

One of the most productive mines in the Park City/Wasatch County area was the Ontario. In 1899 the *Salt Lake Mining Review* declared that it had produced the most dividends of any silver mine in the West. A major problem with the Ontario Mine was water seepage, and the only practical solution was to drain the mine. Working from both ends, miners constructed more than three miles of tunnel between the Ontario Number Three Shaft (one mile south of Park City) and Keetley. When it was completed, it was estimated that 20,000 gallons of water per minute passed through the Keetley portal.⁶⁰

The Park City mines provided jobs for many residents of the county. As many as 60 percent of the miners employed at the Park Utah mine were residents of Heber and Midway.⁶¹ Along with the mining jobs came mining accidents, injuries, and deaths. In 1902 the miners struck water at the 1,700-foot level. The rushing water knocked down three sets of timber and frightened those underground, but the workers soon pumped the excess water through the drain tunnel. That year, a powder magazine exploded in the Daly-



The Ontario mine buildings (Utah State Historical Society)

West Mine, and twenty-eight men in that mine and six in the Ontario Mine were killed. Three Wasatch County residents—William Simons of Heber and John Burgi and Mike Crowley of Midway—were killed. In June 1904 a fire destroyed the hoisting plant, causing \$3.5 million of damage. The company had no insurance and laid off its 200 men. Two weeks later work started to rebuild the plant. The mine had several owners over the years. In 1907 the Bamberger family, leading businessmen from Salt Lake City, purchased the mine and instituted new draining plans. Work was not steady because the mine was frequently flooded. In 1910 only fifty men worked there. Two years later the *Salt Lake Mining Review* looked forward to renewed work because of more explorations and improved methods for utilizing low-grade ore and “unwatering” the mine.⁶²

Mining occurred in other areas of Wasatch County. Residents filed claims at the Southern Tier, Big Four, Heber City, and Wide West mines on Snake Creek, and in 1904 they were seeing results. The *Salt Lake Mining Review* declared, “Keep your eye on Snake Creek.” In 1911 Midway citizens leased the Southern Tier claims which were no

longer in production.⁶³ In the eastern part of the county, Provo residents attempted to find the Lost Josephine Mine on Currant Creek and started digging in July 1908. The *Wasatch Wave* reported the founder thought he would be able to find “sufficient of the yellow metal to secure financial independence,” and added, “We hope he will not be disappointed.” A month later the miners found gold in the tunnels they drove in the bedrock and started to build cabins for the winter. They took some of the concentrates to Provo and found not only gold but a high amount of silver. The mine continued to have some success. Elsewhere in 1910 George Buckner of Provo found copper and gold in Decker Canyon west of Charleston.⁶⁴ Mining at Park City added to the county’s economy in other ways. The demand for fresh agricultural staples encouraged farmers of the county to market their products in bustling mining communities in Park City as well as the scattered mining camps located in American Fork Canyon. William Lindsay recalled that economic conditions in Wasatch County improved after 1880 when farmers in the county received higher prices for their goods in Park City. Midway farmers hauled their eggs, butter, cheese, and vegetables to the mines in American Fork Canyon.⁶⁵ Residents no longer were satisfied with being self-sustaining; mining provided area farmers with the opportunity to earn hard currency, which was in short supply in the county around the turn of the century.

Other Businesses

Most of the Wasatch County businesses at the turn of the century focused on agriculture and livestock; but some service industries also thrived. From 1889 to 1917 several businesses opened their doors in the area. The *Wave* declared in 1909 that Heber City was on the verge of a business boom, pointing to the construction of church buildings, Wasatch High School (1909), the Heber Power and Light plant (1909), and the Bank of Heber building (1904). Earlier notices in the *Wave* show that the boom started earlier. Between 1900 and 1915 a variety of new businesses came to town, including a green grocery, a Studebaker dealer, and a farm-implement business. There was also more competition as new meat markets, general stores, and millinery stores opened. In the millinery business, for example, an

1889 *Deseret News* article announced the opening of a new hat shop. “Our favorite milliner, Mrs. Duncan, it has been said, has buried seven millinery shops, but we think she will fail to do so with this one.”⁶⁶

Abram Hatch operated one of the first retail stores in the valley. During the 1860s Mark Jeffs, a LDS convert from England, saved seventy dollars from his work on the railroad. He invested his savings in a small store in Heber City which grew until Jeffs sold his business to the Heber Mercantile Company. In 1891 Tom Clotworthy and Heber G. Crook opened the first meat market in Heber City. The next year Addison and John Hicken bought out Crook, and then in 1898 they also bought out Clotworthy and combined with the Hicken Brothers Butcher Shop. Eventually all town meat markets became part of the grocery stores.⁶⁷ As Heber City grew, it was able to support more businesses. Midway, Charleston, and Wallsburg also had small businesses that provided services for the local residents.

Wasatch Development Company

One new business in Wasatch County that started around the turn of the century represented an attempt to return to Mormon cooperatives. At a time when Mormons had become Democrats and Republicans, non-Mormon businesses competed with Mormon businesses freely, and the church moved to close its schools in favor of public high schools, stake president William Smart, according to the *Wave*, “adopted the policy of harmonizing the spiritual with the temporal.” Smart wrote shortly after he became stake president in 1901, “The end of all spiritual work is the accomplishment of good and no stronger sermon can be preached than by our leaders taking a straightforward course in temporal matters.” Smart’s first attempt to organize a united order with just members of his stake presidency involved failed, but he was not willing to give up easily. He wrote to church president Joseph F. Smith about establishing a company that would bring unity to the valley. Smith suggested the company be “under the auspices of the citizens rather than the priesthood.” Smart followed that advice technically, but the leaders in the new company, the Wasatch Real Estate and Development Company, were bishops and other LDS church leaders in the community.⁶⁸

The new company became the umbrella for the Heber Mercantile Company. In 1905 and 1906 several small stores merged, forming the larger business. Smart explained that Mark Jeffs, who had owned a store in Heber since the 1860s, had asked him to help him incorporate his store. Several other small businesses including that of J. W. Buckley, Wootton Brothers, and the Midway Co-op also became part of the new company. Abram Hatch, however, held out. Smart complained in his journal, "President Hatch and son Joseph, both strong financial men and large landowners" did "not show a more interested disposition in the store." Even without Hatch's support the new "merc" became the largest store in Heber City and was always closely associated with the church. Years later, many Heber Valley residents still believed they were being disloyal to the church if they traded at another store. Some in the community felt Smart was trying to create a "monopoly" and control all of the businesses in town. He answered the charge at an LDS stake conference in October 1905 saying the new store was not "an accessory" to the church and it was not trying to monopolize business. He called the venture a cooperative and urged others to be involved. Smart's company also bought the *Wave* and helped start the Bank of Heber City.⁶⁹

Opening of the Uintah Reservation and County Division

Smart's Wasatch and Real Estate Company also promoted development of the Uinta Basin. In 1902 the federal government planned to open part of the Uintah Indian Reservation (about fifty miles from Heber City) to non-Indian settlement. Smart wanted Mormons to settle the area exclusively. In November 1903 he asked President Joseph F. Smith for permission to inform bishops and stake presidents that the reservation would be opening to settlement and that interested settlers should contact Smart. He then sent a letter to LDS bishops in Utah explaining that the Uintah Reservation was in Wasatch County and Wasatch Stake and suggesting church members contact the stake presidency for help in settling on the newly opened lands. The *Salt Lake Tribune* published Smart's entire letter and then protested that Smart's offer was evidence of LDS church control and "the great land steal." In response, the *Wave*, another subsidiary of Smart's Wasatch Real Estate Company, published an article saying

that church members had always worked together and that Smart's letter was simply part of that tradition.⁷⁰

Smart and other Wasatch Stake officials also petitioned the state legislature to support a bill in Congress which would put the federal land office in Heber City. A running battle developed. While Vernal, Provo, and Heber City, largely Mormon settlements, all bid for the land office, the *Salt Lake Tribune* and many non-Mormons feared a Mormon influence and wanted to see the office in Price, a town where Mormons did not dominate. Price residents claimed it was the best place for the office because of the railroad and the town's commercial connections. After describing Price's virtues, the article dismissed Heber. "Heber is the terminus of a branch line off the main traveled roads, during part of the winter it is practically inaccessible from the reservation side, and under the best conditions it would be inconvenient for settlers to make the trip to an office located there." The article continued that "nobody . . . wish[ed] to deprive Heber of any good thing," but Price made more sense. When Congress placed the land office in Vernal, the *Wasatch Wave* supported the move since it was not Price. Smart's development company set up an office in Vernal, and, according to the *Wave*, helped settle many people on the newly released reservation lands. Smart also moved to the area.⁷¹

Once the reservation was opened to settlers, Wasatch County officials had to regulate new communities many miles from Heber City. Because they were so far away, the new settlers wanted the county divided. Organizing a new county required that the state legislature pass a bill and that county residents approve the measure. Attempts were made in 1909, 1911, and 1912 to create a new county, but the efforts were unsuccessful. In 1913 the bill passed the legislature. The new law required that 25 percent of the voters from each side of the county petition the county commissioners for a division. Some leading businessmen in Heber Valley rigorously opposed the division while LDS church leaders including stake president Joseph R. Murdock and the high council favored the division. When the election was held, Heber citizens opposed the division 440 to 158. Midway voted 151 to 45 in favor. While some people bragged that they had "licked the Church," President Murdock said that it had not

been a church fight and that he hoped there would be a better division soon.⁷²

The next year, the county commissioners supported the split, arguing that geographical conditions called for a division. Communication was difficult; there were only two roads to the Uinta Basin and both were closed during part of the year. The county was too large for the commissioners to cover and the courthouse was too small. The *Wave* also published articles advocating the separation. Still, the first election in 1914 also failed. William Lindsay recalled: "In 1914 we had quite an exciting time over the division of the county. Pres. Murdock and all the leading men were practically in favor of the division for several good reasons especially because the people on the reservation were cut off from the county seat entirely in the winter. But the opposition was so strong that a majority voted against it. However later they saw their mistake and next election they voted for division by a good majority and those who opposed division so strongly were made to see their folly." Even then, the second try in 1914 election was close. In Heber 308 opposed the division while 324 voted in favor. Midway supported the division 234 to 22. In the entire county, though, there were enough votes in favor of the split. As a result, Governor William Spry signed a proclamation dividing Wasatch County and creating Duchesne County.⁷³

Religious Schools

Various religious denominations sponsored schools in Utah until a public education system was established in the Enabling Act which authorized the writing of a state constitution in 1895. The Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, and the Methodists as well as the Mormons all had schools in Heber. By the turn of the century, nearly all had closed. The Mormon church leaders felt it unnecessary to pay for additional schools when church members paid taxes which supported the state schools. Other groups also felt the competition from the free schools. Many denominations had based their appeals for mission school funding on the evils of Mormon polygamy; they lost one of their main selling points with the issuance of the Manifesto in 1890. The national economic panic of 1893, which continued throughout the decade of the 1890s, also meant there was less

money available for education. Finally, the churches admitted that their attempts to convert Mormons had not been very successful.⁷⁴

Most of these evangelical churches came to Utah initially to gather their scattered members. When they found few of their own, they tried to convert Mormons. Converting adults was difficult, since many had belonged to these churches before becoming Latter-day Saints; but the churches recognized an opportunity. By providing free education, they hoped they could gain children's loyalties before they became indoctrinated as Mormons. These schools usually emphasized loyalty to America, Bible reading, religious teaching of redemption through grace, and Christian monogamy.⁷⁵

The schools achieved mixed results. In 1881 Presbyterian church leaders bragged: "Our schools unsettle the faith of the children of Mormonism and many adults are found to confront the alienation of their property as the price of their Christian confession. These schools develop into churches as a rule. They are the entering wedge to split parental opposition through the children." School leaders soon had to admit that, while the Mormons sent their children to the free schools, there were not many converts. An official for the Congregationalist New West schools declared in the 1890s: "The major result of the Utah Christian schools appears to be that we are training Mormons to serve as Sunday School teachers, young folks leaders and bishopricks in the Mormon church. They take our . . . education but not our religion, and use it to strengthen their own institutions."⁷⁶

In 1889 the New West Commission purchased a lot to build a schoolhouse with three rooms. At the time the *Wave* declared, "We are pleased to have such acquisitions to our little mountain town." In 1892 the school transferred a Miss M. C. Nicol from Trenton, Utah, to Heber. According to the press release, "The Heber school is now well equipped for graduating pupils to the academies of the New West and to other higher schools of learning and it expects to receive more fully the patronage of the citizens of Heber." Each year the *Wave* announced the teachers for the New West School, the school's opening and closing, and the transfer of teachers. In 1902 the school added a ninth grade, since there was not one in the valley; the next year they added a tenth grade. Still, the school was not large, with

only thirty students enrolled in 1905. Although schools closed in other areas of the state, the New West school was holding classes in 1919. It added classes for five-year-olds during its last years of operation.⁷⁷

Methodists started a school in Heber in 1887. The Congregationalists were upset in light of the attempts of the various denominations to cooperate and not have competing schools. That year the Congregationalists had agreed not to have a school in Oxford, Idaho, and they asked the Methodists to withdraw from Heber. The Methodists refused even though the town could not support both schools.⁷⁸

Mormon church leaders objected to members sending their children to other churches' schools. In a priesthood meeting in the fall of 1884 Wasatch resident T. H. Giles complained that one of the district schools had to be closed because there were not enough students. J. M. Murdock added, "A good faithful Mormon teacher would eventually turn out good faithful Latter-day Saints while the other, the infidel, would turn out infidels." Later, H. McMullin said he would rather have his children die than have them go to a non-Mormon school. In 1886 Bishop H. Clegg was surprised that one hundred children in Heber were going to the Congregationalist or the Methodist schools. He complained that the Saints had been gathered to be taught the ways of God and then they send their children to non-Mormon schools. In 1902 William Smart asked church members not to send their children to the mission schools of other faiths. Five years later at stake conference, James C. Jensen, a counselor in the stake presidency, explained, "The one purpose of other denominational schools is to wean our children from the faith of their fathers. Let us not toy with this temptation in our midst, probably sent as a test of our obedience, as we have no high school in our midst this year."⁷⁹

District Schools

The Mormon church abandoned its elementary schools early in favor of the district schools. But at the turn of the century, the district schools were only nominally secular. For example, in 1901 school trustees pressed to avoid hiring a non-Mormon teacher although it was difficult to find a Latter-day Saint who could pass the

tests. Even with Mormon teachers, many Heber City residents refused to support the schools. The city's district schools struggled to remain open around the turn of the century. In the fall of 1889 the *Wave* reported that there were enough students to hold classes in the East, West, and Southwest schools in Heber City and that they would run all four terms. The year before, the West school had closed because there were not enough children. Two weeks later the paper announced that only the East and Southwest schools would be operating.⁸⁰

Why were there problems with the district schools? One was that many residents still wanted to see the LDS church sponsor academies instead of having tax-operated, government-regulated schools. The district school buildings, which were supposed to be “temples of knowledge,” had never been finished. There were broken windows, unsafe doorsteps, and broken locks. Some were without a proper ventilation system, and the students almost froze when the windows were left open. A *Wave* article pointed out when people complained about the schools that they should realize they could not have “first class results with third class facilities.” The major problem was too many scattered schools throughout the towns. To solve this problem, a *Wave* article called for everyone “with the good of the community in mind” to support a single school. After some encouragement, Heber Central School finally opened in 1892. By 1898 it was overcrowded. In 1905, after much discussion, the school board approved a new school, the North School.⁸¹

Construction on any school—district or combined—was slow because residents were reluctant to pay school taxes. John Crook recalled a school tax narrowly passed 52 to 51 in 1889. In 1905 it looked like the schools would have to close after seven months because of lack of funds, and the board decided to charge tuition to keep the schools open. As the local educators reported to the state, “There are none of our districts able to employ teachers for the full school year, as this is a community of small farmers, with a few cattle and sheep men whose property is out of the county, therefore a high rate of local tax brings but little income to the schools.”⁸²

High School

The district schools extended through the eighth grade. Those students wanting more education were forced to leave the county. As early as 1880 Wasatch Stake president Abram Hatch asked the Relief Society women to use their influence in establishing a high school. However, that never happened. As in other areas of Utah, the Mormon church sponsored a local stake academy. The Wasatch Stake Academy started in 1889, and initially thirty-one students enrolled. The academy struggled from the beginning. Some claimed it was because Abram Hatch did not support the school, but Hatch denied the charge. Whatever the reason, attempts to continue the academy and construct a building failed even though land was donated. Seeing the failure of the academy, in 1902 church president Joseph F. Smith asked the stake to turn the land back to Elisha Averett, the former owner, at cost and to return all donations. Students were encouraged to attend Brigham Young Academy in Provo, and the Wasatch Stake rented a home in Provo for the students from the county.⁸³ Those who did not send their children to the church school in Provo sent them to Salt Lake City to attend what was viewed by many Mormons as the increasingly gentile-oriented University of Utah, which Abram Hatch's children attended.

The only option for post-elementary school continued to be out of the county until 1895 when a high school was added to Heber's Central School. Tuition was five dollars a term, and the *Wave* carried an extensive article on the curriculum the school would offer. This high school was on and then off again. In 1899 the Heber District agreed to a tax to support a high school. While the newspaper editor preferred a school with Heber, Midway, Charleston, Daniel, and Buysville, it was glad that Heber would have one.⁸⁴

The local high school received very little support; many students still went to Salt Lake City and Provo for school. In 1898 the *Wave* questioned why parents sent their children to places where they had to pay eight to twelve dollars a term plus board when the students could go in Heber for only five dollars. But the appeal failed. By 1900 the school board decided it was too expensive to keep the high school open for the ten to twelve students who were attending. Attempts to

form a high school continued until 1907. Even the support of Mormon church leaders did not enable the short-lived schools to last more than a short time. Money was often a problem; for example, in 1904 the residents of Heber voted to levy a four-mill tax for the school district but defeated a two-mill tax for the high school.⁸⁵

One reason Heber Valley had so much trouble maintaining a high school was because school districts could not combine to form a high school district before the law changed in 1907. After several false starts, the high school bonds finally passed in 1912. In 1913 local stake president J. R. Murdock dedicated the new high school building located on Main Street between First and Second South.⁸⁶

Religion

Mormons were not the only religious group in the area. Besides sponsoring schools, other churches also held services. The Methodists used their school to hold classes starting in 1889. Ministers came and went; sometimes Heber was combined with the Park City circuit. When services resumed in 1901 after a short break, the *Wave* explained, "After so long a lapse of time it would seem almost impossible to marshal the forces together in such a short time but the people here showed a lively spirit and had been anxious to help along the work." There was a small scandal when minister J. A. Holmes was forced to resign the year after he married Ida Duncan from the area. The *Salt Lake Tribune* carried an article which implied that he had to resign because his wife was a Mormon; but the *Wave* pointed out, "It will be a surprise to the people of Heber to learn that Miss Duncan was a Mormon. She never was a member of the [Mormon] church and hers is not a Mormon family." Despite these setbacks, the Methodists continued to be mildly successful, and in 1909 they bought the lot at the corner of Center and First West to construct a church separate from the school.⁸⁷

There were disagreements between Methodist school officials and city officials. The city wanted to ring the New West school bells to announce curfew, but the women teachers objected to the marshal coming into the school, since they used part of the building as living quarters. Non-Mormon groups did not always feel welcome. In 1889 boys disturbed Methodist meetings with "boisterous and ungentle-

manly conduct,” throwing rocks at the door. The Methodist minister did not press charges, and stake president Abram Hatch told the LDS priesthood leaders to allow the Methodist meetings to continue in peace. But problems continued. In 1895 a man published a letter in a Swedish newspaper about the Methodist experience in Heber. He said the church “had a meeting house here but their minister meets with poor success in his efforts to introduce Christian morals among these semi-barbarians.” According to the article, “It is risky enough for a non-Mormon to attend a Methodist meeting, when the ‘Saints’ have gathered and are blockading the entrance to the chapel. How they do carry on.” There was “a boisterous running in and out and bombarding the church windows with pebbles.” The *Wave* pointed out that it had complained about the “hoodlums” breaking up the meetings.⁸⁸

Other religious groups came to the area, although very little is known about their activities. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, for example, sent missionaries to Wasatch County. It had a small congregation in Wasatch County from the 1870s to 1901. Most joined during the 1870s. There were nine members in 1876; by 1881 there were twenty-nine. The entire membership records for Heber listed thirty-three members. Almost 61 percent came from Sweden; 21 percent were from England. About half (sixteen) became members in Midway; thirteen joined in Heber. In 1900 their missionaries set up a tent on the courthouse yard and held debates with the Mormons. In 1904 others spoke at the Heber Hall. In 1911 a missionary spoke at the LDS Second Ward meeting house on “The Origin of the RLDS.” After his lectures, John H. Murdock, a Mormon, replied. The *Wave* editor complained that Murdock should have had equal time but added, “However, no converts were made to the Re-organized Church.” The Independence, Missouri-based church dissolved its Heber branch, along with many other RLDS Utah congregations, on 31 August 1901.⁸⁹

Summary

Around the turn of the century, Wasatch County was typical of many small Utah and American communities. Residents voted to incorporate; a local businessman started a newspaper. People pushed

for civic improvements and better transportation. With increased means of travel, farmers and ranches transferred their products out of the county and state. But other groups came in and took some resources. Wasatch County started its history of being a colony to the Wasatch Front.

In many ways the county was like other rural Utah areas but very different from American communities. The Mormon church still dominated residents' lives. Wasatch County was especially unique when stake president William Smart attempted to start a new Mormon-related business in town. His attempt at a new united order ended when he moved to the newly opened Indian reservation lands.

During the first part of the twentieth century, Wasatch County no longer had self-sufficient Mormon villages. The railroad brought improved transportation, but it also meant that many products, such as sheep, left the area. Dairy farmers found they could get more by selling their milk to Salt Lake City companies than at the local creameries. Gradually, most local industries closed. During this same time period, governments—city, state, and federal—directly impacted the residents. The closer the government was to home, the more useful the services.

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WAR AND THE ROARING TWENTIES, 1917–1929

By the end of the second decade in the twentieth century, the United States' position in the world had changed. World War I started in June 1914, and complex alliances drew in other nations, resulting in a worldwide conflict. When the United States entered the war on 6 April 1917, Americans responded to President Woodrow Wilson's appeal to protect democracy. Although it was a worldwide conflict, many Americans felt that they were basically fighting Germany. They supported the war effort by fighting in Europe and doing without on the homefront. Following the war, Americans welcomed back their soldiers and sought to return to life as before. It was too late. The United States had become a recognized world power.

While the war affected the United States, events closer to home had more immediate consequences. More Americans died during the flu epidemic that swept the nation from 1917 to 1919 than were killed during the war. The Spanish influenza, as it was called, was so severe that schools and churches closed. In some places there were no public gatherings—only small outdoor funerals could be held.

For much of the nation, the Roaring Twenties symbolized the

end of the war and disease. It was a happy-go-lucky period of prosperity and hope. Agricultural and mining areas, however, did not share in the abundance. The war had brought high prices for agricultural and mining goods; but, with the end of fighting, prices dropped. Utah, like other areas with similar economic bases, entered a severe depression a decade ahead of the rest of the nation which suffered during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Other changes throughout the United States included a desire to eliminate the “evils” of alcohol. Utah called for statewide prohibition in 1917; the United States passed the Eighteenth Amendment which outlawed intoxicant drinks nationwide in 1920. During the 1920s Americans tried either to enforce or to outsmart this legislation.

The national government impacted Utah and Wasatch County in other ways. Federal agencies especially continued to play a role in controlling water and land policy.

World War I

Like most Americans, Wasatch County citizens first opposed United States involvement in World War I. Heber resident William Lindsay recalled, “It was August 1914 that that terrible world war started that finally involved practically all the nations of the earth and in such a terrible slaughter of men and destruction of property.” He saw President Woodrow Wilson as a “man of peace” and felt Wilson won reelection in 1916 because he promised to keep the United States out of war. Lindsay believed that Wilson was unsuccessful in fulfilling his campaign promise because he feared what would happen if Germany won.¹

Once their country entered the war, Wasatch County residents were willing to make sacrifices to win. One way was by fighting. At a Fourth of July celebration in 1916, mothers pledged to give their sons to the war, if necessary. Between 1 April and 30 June 1917, twenty-one men volunteered from Wasatch County. When the United States Army later drafted men, residents accepted the call to serve. Vernon H. Probst, a Midway resident, remembered seven friends volunteered to go into the army. He had a broken foot at the time, so he had to remain at home. In 1918, however, he was drafted and served for six months. When these soldiers left, the local residents sent them off

with fanfare. In patriotic meetings, community leaders explained, "War is a most terrible thing but it is far better than dishonored cowardice."²

Wasatch County also supplied ozokerite, a wax material used to insulate and waterproof electric wires, make stronger power candles and wax figures, and manufacture rubber. The refined product, ceresin, was substituted for carnauba wax in floor polish, leather polishes, and sealing wax. The main source of ozokerite prior to the war was Austria. When that market was cut off, the only other place in the world it was available was near Soldier Summit. Prospectors first located the ore in 1879, but no one attempted to mine it until about 1903 when the Summit Placer Mining Company of Salt Lake made an unsuccessful attempt. Other companies also failed because the mining operation was too expensive. In 1915 Wasatch Ozokerite Company took over the operation from American Ozokerite Mining Company. The new company built a mill and treatment center capable of processing 500 pounds of refined wax per day, which sold for 50 cents a pound. The federal government predicted it would completely replace the Austrian product. Although that did not happen, the Wasatch County product met a need during the war.³

For those who stayed at home, a labor board checked that all men were involved in war-essential occupations. Nels Joseph Johnson operated a flour mill, which was considered essential to the county's war effort. In fact, the government demanded so much flour that the Johnson family operated the mill day and night. Nels's son, George W. Johnson, ran the mill at night and went to high school during the day; his father ran it during the day.⁴

With the nation at war, American citizens feared a direct enemy attack. Federal agencies saw government-funded projects, including the recently completed Strawberry Reservoir in the eastern part of Wasatch County, as possible targets. The reservoir project manager wrote to the local cattle association, asking it to hire watchmen to protect "the irrigation works of the West" which were "among the most important structures of the Nation." These guards were to be "American citizens whose loyalty to the United States is beyond question and can be vouched for in writing by the President and Secretary of your Company." Elijah M. Hicken, a guard, recalled, "Twenty reser-



Early picture of Heber City Main Street. (Lavon Provost)

voirs! What a target for the enemy! What havoc that ocean of water could cause if let loose!” The water commissioner told Hicken and the other local employee to question anyone who came into the area and to always carry their guns. Hicken continued, “Despite the instructions we had received, we were unable to cover all the ground” including four trails leading into four canyons. Hicken recalled once confronting a group who at first refused to state their intentions. However, when he found out that they were employed by his cousin and looking for a mining claim, he let them go. Hicken told them, “I am sorry to have to treat you this way, but this is war.”⁵

The federal government also asked those at home to increase food production. The Forest Service allowed more animals on the range to the point that the forest had more livestock on it than ever before. That livestock population remained high until 1940, when it dropped to what it had been in 1906. County farmers grew more crops, while local residents conserved food. According to the local newspaper: “Every reasonable economy we can practice is a saving . . . and in these things every one of us can find . . . loyalty and patriotism.” Heber residents responded by letting children out of school to farm. The Wasatch County School Board passed a resolution “that on account of the extreme lateness of the season and the stress of cir-

cumstance throughout the district” the schools would excuse “all children whose services are requested by parents . . . for enlistment in national defense or for tilling of the soil.” These students reported to their teachers or principal weekly and received credit for the time they were out of school. The board asked the students to return to the classroom as soon as possible. LDS ward teachers asked their assigned families to help the war effort by growing wheat and potatoes. Joseph R. Murdock, the LDS stake president, headed a conservation agricultural committee and represented Wasatch County on state and national committees.⁶

As part of this effort, county residents observed food-saving days. In June 1917 Herbert Hoover, the national food administrator, asked Americans to save food one Sunday a month. Ministers asked their congregations to “save the waste and win the war.” Citizens also supported wheatless and meatless days in which they did not use those ingredients in cooking. Even restaurants did not serve wheat products on Mondays and Wednesdays. Residents also followed government requests to use only one and a half pounds of wheat a week. At first rye and barley were recommended substitutes, but by April 1918 they were also in short supply. Then the government suggested corn and oats be used for baking, and the *Wasatch Wave* carried a recipe for potato soup as a wartime dish. According to one newspaper article, “Many thousand families throughout the land are now using no wheat products whatever, except for cooking purposes, and we are doing so in perfect health and satisfaction.”⁷ The *Wave* published one person’s reaction to these cutbacks, addressed to Herbert Hoover. “O Hoover, My Tuesdays are meatless, My Wednesdays are wheatless, Am getting more eatless each day; My bed, it is sheetless; My coffee is sweetless, Each day I get poorer and wiser; My stockings are feetless, My trousers are seatless, My God, how I do hate the Kaiser.”⁸

People also contributed time and money to the Red Cross. Residents organized a Heber City chapter on 31 August 1917. A national Red Cross worker who visited Wasatch County in March 1918 called the chapter there the best organization she had seen in Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, and Utah. The *Wave* reported that she was surprised to find such a good organization in a Mormon community. Her only complaint was that Heber City had the only auxil-



Posters created by the federal government encouraged Americans to buy bonds during World War I.

iary. However, just before her visit, the Red Cross chapter had expanded to include the entire county. By January 1918 there were 1,048 members in the Heber chapter, and 20 percent of Wasatch County residents were members. Stake President Murdock urged the Latter-day Saints to be active in the Red Cross Fund “as a means of assisting to victory in the world conflict in the defense of principle, of human liberty and individual freedom.” Mormon church Relief Society women knitted socks and scarfs and folded bandages in the Red Cross headquarters, located in the city council offices. Melba Duke Probst, a twelve-year-old Heber City resident, remembered knitting Red Cross wristlets for the soldiers out of khaki yarn. In addition, the government asked Utahns to give \$500,000 to the Red Cross drive in 1918; Wasatch County’s allotment was \$2,000, which a *Wave* article calculated at \$2.50 per family. The organization also asked every cattleman in the county to donate one or more heifers.⁹

The U.S. government also asked Americans to purchase liberty bonds. Slogans and exhortations from local leaders encouraged residents to comply with the federal request. Wasatch County residents were told, “If you can’t fight, your money can.” Several times a year the government declared Liberty Bond drives and asked Americans to meet quotas. For example, the third drive started in the fall of 1917. In October the LDS stake presidency and clerk announced at a priesthood meeting that they would give \$10,000 and asked church members to also contribute. James W. Clyde, then a state senator, chaired a local defense council that set a goal to sell \$80,000 worth of bonds. On 21 October 1917, declared Patriotic Sunday by the federal government, speakers at all LDS sacrament meetings spoke on the value of purchasing bonds. The money came in slowly; the *Wave* editor reported on 26 October that only \$70,000 had been raised. By the next day though, President Murdock thanked the Wasatch County people for raising \$100,000—\$20,000 more than the county’s quota. As the third Liberty Bond drive ended in April 1918, the *Wave* proudly declared that Wasatch County was second in the state for per capita purchase of thrift stamps. (When people purchased enough stamps, they could be exchanged for bonds.) The Red Cross held a parade in honor of the sale and then sold donated cows to augment the total.¹⁰



William Smart, the stake president in Wasatch County was instrumental in starting the Heber Bank and the Heber Mercantile Company. (Lavon Provost)

By the time the final results were in from the third drive, the fourth had already started. Wasatch County's quota was \$68,760 in bonds; Heber's allotment was \$42,000 and Midway's was \$8,750. Committee chairs in each LDS ward encouraged sales. The war also brought interfaith cooperation when Methodist minister the Reverend P. A. Simpkins spoke at a monthly LDS stake priesthood meeting about buying thrift stamps. Wasatch High School students bought bonds. In 1923 the last students who had purchased the bonds graduated and decided to use the funds to buy a radio for the school. Americans saw the war as an all-out effort to make the world safe for democracy, and they felt that buying bonds was part of that process. Wasatch County residents read in the *Wave*: "Now is the time to pay your compliments to the Kaiser in the form of money with which to buy shells to be delivered by Wasatch boys now serving in France. . . . We hope the Kaiser will be 'moved to tears' by our gifts."¹¹

When the war was finally over, Heber residents celebrated. Perris Jensen recalled that there was a false alarm a week before the armistice was signed. A spontaneous celebration that started died

quickly when it became clear the war was not over. The next week when the end finally came Jensen explained: "The town simply went wild. Every place of business closed up; people were parading up and down the street, getting their horse and buggy and riding like mad. I got on my bicycle, and I pumped that thing faster than I had ever pumped it before. I went riding up and down the street, yelling at the top of my voice because the war had disrupted the whole community life." Again in March 1919 Heber leaders declared a half-day holiday, and the community sponsored a program and banquet to welcome the soldiers home.¹²

Flu Epidemic

The war was not the only problem county residents faced. As throughout the United States, a flu epidemic hit Heber Valley. Some Wasatch County residents first got sick in training camps. For example, on 4 October 1918 the *Wave* reported that Wasatch County's John Barnes, a young soldier at Fort McHenry in Baltimore, Maryland, was "very dangerously ill of influenza and pneumonia." He was the first Heber City resident to die from the disease; but soon people in the county were also suffering from the ailment. By the next week, the *Wave* carried several articles about flu victims. Some thought James A. McDonald, a thirty-six-year-old local resident, died of the Spanish influenza, but it turned out to be typhoid pneumonia. He was buried without a service because residents feared an epidemic. To prevent further spreading of infection, the state canceled school, church, and other public meetings, including funerals.¹³

The *Wave* carried many articles and advertisements on how to deal with the influenza. These ranged from government officials' common-sense advice to unreasonable suggestions from enterprising businessmen. For example, a state board of health representative suggested a temporary hospital to help the more serious cases. When doctors complained about being called in when the patient was not seriously ill, the *Wave* published the U.S. Surgeon General's advice: rather than rushing to the doctor, patients should be kept in a well-ventilated room with handy supplies, and the caretaker should wear a gauze mask. Not all suggestions were so neutral. A chiropractor in Heber City advertised: "Do you think you have influenza? If you

think so, go to bed, keep warm, drink plenty of water, call the Chiropractor, get some adjustments, have the fever reduced, remove the cause and get well.” He offered to come to the people’s home or have them come to the Turner Hotel. Another advertisement advised plenty of Vicks VapoRub along with bed rest.¹⁴

The flu hit Wasatch County communities unevenly. Heber City reported the most cases. Several members of the James McDonald family died and others were seriously ill as early as October 1918. By the middle of November, the fourth member of the family passed away. Melba Duke Probst, her two sisters, and her mother had the flu. The family moved the patients into a room where they were separated from the rest of the family, and her father continued to go to work at the mercantile store. While no one in her family died, Probst recalled that members of friends’ families died as a result of the disease. Her sister Anna sang at small outdoor funerals, and her father, who had a reputation of having the gift of healing, gave blessings to people.¹⁵

Other communities also suffered. There were three deaths in Midway by 26 October, including LaMar Van Wagenen. All of the Van Wagenen family had been “afflicted with the disease and [were] not able to move about at the . . . time.” Charleston reported sixty cases the first of November 1918, but “all [were] on the improve.” Daniel was more fortunate. According to the local correspondent, “The ‘Flu’ has stayed away from us all, so far, and we trust it will not come our way.” Wallsburg reported in early November 1918 that it was “now free from Spanish influenza and we have taken the step to quarantine the town.”¹⁶

As people improved and fewer cases appeared, community leaders tried to determine when they could resume public meetings. By 22 November 1918 Dr. W. R. Wherritt thought schools could reopen in December if there were no new cases of the influenza. Schools did reopen in Daniel, Charleston, Center, and Wallsburg during the first part of December. Daniel still had not had any flu cases; the other cities had not had any cases for a month. People were still sick in Heber City, though. The city board of health members reported new cases and quarantined any house with influenza. The committee explained that having people stay at home was “much better than the

muzzle we have been accustomed to wearing.” By 20 December 1918, cases in Heber had declined and the schools in Heber City, including the county high school, were opened. The board of education traced all new cases to one source “and the epidemic seemed to be past.” As in other quarantine situations at the turn of the century, school officials felt “the children will be well off, or even better off [in school] than they are running at large in the communities.” On 6 January 1919 the school board told students they would not be promoted that year if they did not start attending classes.¹⁷

Other public meetings did not immediately resume. Christmas was quiet in 1918. A *Wave* article explained, “Due to the quarantine rules regarding influenza our holidays are not being spent as usual,” adding that there had been no public celebrations. But the article concluded, “We are more than willing to forego pleasure to get rid of the disease.” By the first of January 1919 residents read in the paper, “There are many who do not take kindly to matters as they now stand and the rumble is growing in volume.” Some were upset when others held house parties. And while the *Wave* believed public parties might be better because larger buildings had better ventilation, the editors concluded, “We shall not die of fright no matter how soon the ban is lifted.”¹⁸

Quarantines continued throughout January 1919. On 17 January 1919 the county commissioners, the town boards of Midway, Charleston, and Wallsburg, and the city council of Heber City published new rules. First, these officials discouraged all travel into Wasatch County. Those who did come were to be placed in “solitary quarantine, under guard” for four days. Train passengers had to depart at regular stops; those coming on the highway had to be in licensed stages or their own vehicles. With these guidelines, “the influenza ban [was] lifted” on 31 January 1919. Churches could meet on Sundays. Picture shows could start, but children had to take a certificate from their doctors showing that they had had the influenza. School administrators gave shots to students who had not had the flu. The emergency was finally over.¹⁹

The flu epidemic had a profound impact on the lives of Wasatch County residents, but it is difficult to catalogue since there were no public meetings and therefore no public records kept. During the cri-

sis, the LDS Deseret Sunday School Board suggested that church members have meetings in their homes each Sunday. The LDS Wasatch Stake presidency asked bishops to visit the members in their homes since they could not have meetings, adding, “May the Lord bless you in your labors and keep you free from disease and contagion, is the prayer of Your Brethren.”²⁰

The *Wave* editor especially praised those—usually women—who nursed the sick. A Mrs. Clinger cared for James A. McDonald during the first part of the epidemic and died as a result. On 22 November 1918 a newspaper article reported, “Since our last issue, another of our self-sacrificing young ladies [Lecia Murdock] who have given time and to all the attention of those distressed, has paid the price of her service with her life.” Alice C. Wood, a clerk for the Wasatch County School District, also died. In a flowery tribute, the paper explained, “She did her part when, in response to conscience’s call, she refused to withdraw from the sick beds of suffering humanity when her own body was worn and weary but when no other help was nigh.” Her employer, the school board, also extolled her efforts, declaring that “she has made as complete a sacrifice as any who died in action for their Country’s cause in the front lines of battle; that she faced conditions as deadly as charging through bursting shells or the pattern of machine gun or rifle bullets. That the miasma of the dread disease she breathed proved for her as deadly as the poisonous German gas waves or shells, and that her nursing numerous restless sufferers of fever-tortured bodies and congested lungs and the similar suffering of her self, was as pitiful as any death from wounds or bayonets thrusts or shrapnel rents.” The board concluded that her memory would be “enshired on hearts of the children and the multitude of loving and lamenting friends.”²¹

Other diseases continued to be a problem in Wasatch County. In 1917 there was a measles epidemic in Wallsburg. In 1924 there were cases of scarlet fever in Midway and Heber. The Midway schools were fumigated, and Heber students who were out sick had to have a doctor’s certificate to return. In 1926 there were cases of smallpox and students were vaccinated. However, the board ran out of the vaccine and it was difficult to get to the schools outside of Heber. Since no

cases of smallpox had been reported in the outlying schools, those students were not given the vaccine.²²

Prohibition

The flu and other epidemics were obvious illnesses. Many Wasatch County residents, as well as other Utahns and Americans, felt that alcohol also damaged people's lives. Progressive Era reforms included plans to eliminate this "devil's brine" and all of the evils some people associated with it. But prohibition was not a new idea in the 1910s. For years religious and reform groups had encouraged state and local governments to pass laws prohibiting or restricting the sale of alcoholic beverages. The Mormon church encouraged its members to abstain from the use of liquor. In Mormon communities in Utah, including Wasatch County, church and civic leaders took a variety of steps to curtail the sale of liquor. In March 1879, during a Heber East Ward priesthood meeting, stake president Abram Hatch proposed a ban on whiskey. The next year the evils of alcohol continued to be discussed in local priesthood meetings and at quarterly conference. Some Mormons, especially those involved in selling alcoholic beverages, were uncomfortable with these talks. In defense of his actions, saloon owner Thomas T. Watson maintained in a priesthood meeting that he did not bring liquor into the county to make a profit but to "oblige his neighbors." Watson was not alone in providing this service. Despite church leaders' attempts to stop the use of liquor in the valley, there were two saloons in Heber City in 1888. Some local residents were especially concerned since young men went there to play billiards; city ordinances allowed pool tables only in the saloons.²³

County residents dropped prohibition discussions for almost a decade. Then, in 1895, just before Utah became a state, Wasatch County residents started a new drive. Stake president Abram Hatch asked each ward to hold a prohibition meeting. At the same time, the *Wave* carried an article from the *Salt Lake Tribune* about the Salt Lake Minister Association's call for a ban on intoxicants. These efforts had little impact on business; saloons continued to operate for the next twenty years. In 1902 Joseph Hatch complained to the city council about the "disturbance caused by drunkenness" creating more work



Before prohibition, Heber City had five saloons including one housed in this building. (Utah State Historical Society Preservation Office.)

for the police. He concluded that the saloons should have to “contribute handsomely for their suppression.” In 1903 at a bishops’ prayer circle, David McDonald spoke on the evils of liquor and advocated prohibition or high license fees to curtail the saloons. New Wasatch Stake president William Smart, however, felt that missionary work was better than prohibition. In 1906 stake president Joseph R. Murdock told the high council that LDS members needed to observe the church’s ban on liquor.²⁴

Despite all the negative publicity, Heber had five saloons in 1906. The *Wave* editor figured that after paying for licenses, rent, and employees, it cost \$25,000 to operate them, which was twenty dollars a year for every man, woman, and child in Heber. City officials were also appalled that Heber supported so many saloons. The governing council decided to control the sale of spirits by passing stricter ordinances controlling these businesses. In 1905 they passed an mandate requiring “the interior of saloons . . . to be kept open to inspection from the exterior on Sundays.” They also outlawed the drinking of intoxicants in parks and other public places. When the saloons con-

tinued to draw customers the city council raised the cost of a license, hoping to force the taverns out of business. However, three of the five paid their license fees by January 1907 and another saloon took out a permit in April. With such high fees, the saloons felt they should have an exclusive right to sell liquor; the owners asked the city council for help when drugstores started selling it.²⁵

When the increased fees failed to close down the saloons, the city council decided to make the saloons as depressing as possible. They passed an ordinance prohibiting owners and patrons from playing games of chance in the bars, and they raised the license fee for a pool table. They also barred all musical instruments. The law even said the saloon owners could not have chairs where patrons could sit down inside. The businesses initially responded by putting the seats on the street, and the patrons moved outside to drink. A *Wave* editorial complained that the men were harassing passersby, especially women. As a result, the city council passed an ordinance outlawing seats in front of the buildings.²⁶

When the saloons remained open despite all the attempts to discourage them, many Wasatch County residents felt that outright prohibition was the only solution. In November 1908 Reverend Louis S. Feeler, the superintendent of the Utah Anti-Saloon League, gave a lecture in the LDS Wasatch Stake Tabernacle encouraging support for the anti-liquor campaign. At the same time, local resident John H. Murdock circulated a petition to close all saloons by the first of 1909. It read: "Believing that the saloons are a menace to the prosperity of our city, a curse to the inhabitants, and a trap to demoralize and ruin our young men and women; And believing that the liquor traffic is the despoiler and destroyer of happy homes; We the unsigned citizens of Heber City, respectfully petition your honorable body to refuse to issue saloon licenses to grant permission to any person to sell intoxicating liquor within Heber City." He eventually collected 450 signatures. At first the city council members tabled the petition, but they eventually passed an ordinance outlawing saloons. The law took effect three weeks later on 8 December 1908.²⁷

Residents were not sure how long the new law would remain on the books. The city attorney maintained that prohibition was a temporary measure. He expected the council to establish a city dispen-

sary where city officials would control liquor sales. But when the saloons closed in Heber on 31 December 1908, the city did not provide an alternate source. After 1 January 1909, only drugstores could sell liquor by prescription. By August, M. M. Smith reported in the *Wave*, “Heber has substituted drinking fountains for open saloons and all good citizens testify that a great improvement is evidence in many respects.”²⁸

The adoption of the prohibition ordinance in Heber was a part of a wider movement to eliminate liquor. The *Wave* carried excerpts from Salt Lake City ministers’ sermons on the evils of alcohol. LDS apostle and U.S. senator Reed Smoot praised Heber City along with Springville, Morgan, Huntsville, and Wellsville for eliminating saloons. In 1908, just before Heber passed its ordinance, the county commissioners decided not to issue any more licenses for saloons, and Midway and Charleston raised the price of a license. By 1910 there was no “liquor traffic” in the county. The *Wave*’s editor praised the county lawmakers for “set[ting] a worthy example,” adding that the whole county was doing much to “aid weakened humanity.” The editor favored expanding this effort statewide. On 28 January 1910 the paper reported that all but four states had absolute or local option prohibition laws, but that Utah was one where “rum still bears sway.”²⁹

In 1911 the Utah State Legislature passed a bill allowing local communities and counties to decide whether they would have prohibition. The new law required each town, city, and county to hold an election. The first vote was mandatory; a recall to reverse the decision from that election required a petition. The Utah Supreme Court ruled that all prosecutions for liquor violations before the 1911 law were illegal. So Heber City’s law was not valid until the state passed its local option law. In June the LDS church in Wasatch County held a temperance meeting and organized a committee to make sure that all eligible voters went to the polls. Heber voted 459 to 32 to ban the sale of liquor. Midway also chose prohibition by 178 to 27. The election in Charleston was 72 for and 10 against. In 1917 the Utah legislature eliminated the local option and the entire state went dry.³⁰ National prohibition did not go into effect until 16 January 1920.

Prohibition caused new problems for Wasatch County law-

enforcement officers as it did throughout the country. When intoxicating beverages were first banned in Heber in 1909, all sources did not dry up. For example, that year the Fisher Brewery Company advertised in the *Wasatch Wave* that it would ship "Utah's Favorite Beer" to Heber. Two years later rumors circulated that the former saloons—now pool halls—were still "rendezvous for the unlawful use of intoxicating liquor." Residents told the city council the owners were sometimes drunk "and became the leader[s] of rabble[s]," and that the proprietors also used "language which was wholly unbecoming." To control these problems, the city set strict guidelines for obtaining a pool-table license: the person in charge had to be sober on duty, all blinds and screens had to be removed from the front of the building, and no liquor could be used in the building.³¹

The law was not successful. In August 1909, Heber residents told a visitor, "Wink at the druggist if he be not a girl and the spirits of ferment come forth." But the visitor added, "Don't signify that as a failure. Close the saloon doors and you have removed nine-tenths of the liquor traffic." In January 1910 the *Wave* editor asked residents about the law. Mayor James W. Clyde said the city had hired a detective who worked four days in Heber and two days in the county. With this patrol, the mayor felt that people could not purchase liquor in town although some people brought it from Park City. Others felt sales had been slowed. But T. W. Turner of Abram Hatch and Company felt that the law was a complete failure and that there was free access to liquor.³²

Law officers arrested violators. In 1911 police seized whiskey from the Schneitter Hot Pots and the Heber Drug Company, destroying the whiskey seized from the resort. Throughout the next years the *Wave* continued to carry articles about people picked up for unlawful possession of alcohol. The most difficult to control were the drugstores which could have liquor if they employed a registered pharmacist. For example, one drugstore insisted that the law allowed it to have the liquor, but the city maintained it had no right to have the whiskey as medicine since there was not a licensed pharmacist in the store. The *Wave* also reported on 20 September 1912 that Levi Turner and Mae Tilt were fined \$100 and then \$200 for two charges of illegal sale of liquor; the judge dismissed one case. A month later Turner

and Tilt applied again for a drugstore license, and the city council granted it as long as they filed an application, had no intoxicating liquor in violation of city ordinances, and did not allow people to gather in their backyards to drink liquor. Problems continued, and in 1913 city leaders denied Turner Drugstore a license. About six months later the city once again agreed to give Turner and Tilt a druggist license if they could show the city council that they had cleaned out all liquor and had a registered pharmacist. In other action, a move was made to close the Heber Drug Company because of illegal liquor sales.³³

Wasatch County commissioners hired spotters to stop bootlegging in Heber. When Joseph Hatch challenged the county's right to hire detectives or to employ the Heber City attorney to prosecute the cases, the district judge ruled against Hatch on the grounds the county could enforce a state law in the city and the court had no control over how the county chose to spend funds to detect crime. Despite law-enforcement officers' efforts, bootlegging and unlawful possession of alcohol continued. In 1916 the county sheriff took some liquor from a car coming from Park City. Some of those prosecuted were members of "prominent" Heber families. Residents made their own moonshine. The *Wave* editor reported in 1915 that more liquor was sold in Heber than in other towns of its size in the state. Later that year he contended that two businesses were still selling liquor in Heber and that the Park City traffic continued. The county responded with a new law outlawing the shipping of liquor.³⁴

Heber also strengthened its efforts to enforce the law. In 1916 the city council passed an ordinance prohibiting people from drinking liquor in public places. The next year, the city denied a license to Heber Drug Company because customers were drinking liquor in the building. Abram Hatch, Jr., challenged the charges, inviting the marshals or city council to examine his store. Eventually city leaders gave him a license in January 1918. Local police continued to make arrests. In 1917, for example, Thomas G. Giles had two pints of liquor when the law allowed only one; he was fined forty dollars, and the police confiscated the liquor. Virgil F. Fraughton, who served as county sheriff from 1915 to 1916 and again from 1927 throughout the 1930s, recalled finding bootleggers up Daniels Canyon. He reported that the

Heber marshal, Patty Clyde, heard of some people making whiskey near present-day Lodge Pole Campground. They found two tents and a ditch near a stream sink. Around the hill they discovered ten to fifteen barrels of mash, a gasoline burner, and a sleeping man. The frightened man woke up and reached for what Fraughton thought was a gun. It was a bottle. Fraughton arrested the man, and the courts fined him \$299. Fraughton then spent the night there to see if he could catch someone else, but all he found were rats. He even found rats floating in the mash. The police caught no one else at the still; but the whiskey was poisoned because it was brewed in old gas and oil barrels instead of copper. According to Fraughton, lumberjacks and mill operators would pick up liquor in Heber and then take it to the national forest with them. The whiskey was such high proof that the men would stop at Whiskey Spring in Daniels Canyon and mix the alcohol with water.³⁵

Strawberry Reservoir

The conflict between the Strawberry Water Users and the Wasatch County livestock men, represented by the Heber Horse and Cattle Growers Association and the Wallsburg Grazing Association, came to a head in 1919. The water users from Utah County and the Wasatch County residents both appealed to national organizations to help resolve their differences. The Wasatch County people felt that they had rights to the lands based on their leases with the Native Americans for the past forty years. They questioned whether the government had purchased the lands properly from the Utes. They continued to contend that they could not survive financially without grazing rights in the area. In a passionate appeal to the director of the Reclamation Service, the Wasatch County residents explained, "A grave injustice would be done the people of Wasatch County if these lands were again thrown open for competitive bids and they were refused these grazing rights which they have so long enjoyed and which are essential to the welfare of these entire communities." The letter continued that the Utah County water users were mainly farmers, and "these grazing lands are not now and never were essential to the prosperity of these farmers and water users."³⁶

In this contest between federal agencies, the Forest Service sup-

ported the Wasatch County residents. In a letter to the Reclamation Service, the acting forester described the watershed around the Strawberry Reservoir as “one of the most important in the State of Utah. . . . Adequate protection of the watershed is of vital importance to the settlers in this project, the State of Utah and the Federal Government.” The Forest Service official pointed to the cooperation he had received from the Wasatch County livestock associations and stated that the Forest Service policy was to “give preference to small nearby stockmen who are so situated that they are dependent upon the use of the range for their livelihood.” In short, the Forest Service felt that the Reclamation Service should extend the range lease to the local occupants.³⁷

The Strawberry project manager, however, favored the water users. He wrote to the chief engineer, “I cannot see any good reason for considering the desires of the Heber people who have no interest in the project.” He also claimed the Wasatch County groups had got the lease without being the highest bidder, which “resulted in a material loss to the water users.” The project manager continued that there were only 200 livestock owners using the lease while there were 2,000 water users who needed to graze their animals. Of those animals using the land, 28 to 52 percent of the cattle, horses, and sheep belonged to people not living in Heber or Wallsburg. Responding to the Forest Service official, he maintained that the water users were just as interested in the watershed as the Wasatch County people and would work with the Forest Service. In an attempt to deal with the concerns of both parties, the Secretary of the Interior, F. K. Lane, asked the water users to lease land to the small livestock operators from Heber, arguing that there ought to be enough range for smaller operations from both counties.³⁸

The Utah County water users and the Wasatch County livestock organizations held a face-to-face meeting on 24 October 1919. The livestock group wanted to see the land divided so that each group had control of an area. The water users were willing to lease some property but not to divide the land. Utah County people complained that, while they had hoped to come to a friendly understanding, the Wasatch County people “were seeking a permanent division of the project lands rather than temporary grazing privileges for the small

dependent stock owners of the Heber Valley.” The two groups met again in November and finally came to an agreement. At the end of the current lease, the Bureau of Reclamation would give the Strawberry Water Users a five-year lease on the land, and the water users would sublease part of the area to Wasatch County residents. Water users would be treated the same as other lessees until the reclamation project was completed and turned over to them. Wasatch County people disliked the arrangement. As sublessees, they had to direct all their questions through the water users. They attempted to work directly with the Reclamation Service, but the government denied their requests.³⁹

The battle continued. Wasatch County residents asked Utah congressman Don B. Colton to introduce a bill to put the grazing lands back into the Uinta Forest jurisdiction. In 1922 the Strawberry Water Users sent representatives to Washington, D.C., to prevent the passage of this bill which they felt violated their contract with the Reclamation Service. At the meeting George Fisher spoke on behalf of the Wasatch County residents: “This area is one of the best cattle ranges to be found anywhere, but to be most valuable as such it must necessarily be considered and used in connection with the upper portions of the slopes which are within the national forest. Its topography, location, and forage growth makes it a natural cattle country easily herded because it is a basin or valley . . . [that] will insure a maximum calf crop. For these reasons our people selected it in preference to all other locations during the time it was within the Indian reservation and have grazed upon it many thousands of cattle.”

After explaining that the Strawberry Reservoir took those lands from them, Fisher continued, “The whole record of the people of Wasatch County is one of infinite patience and forbearance as step by step their public lands were either disposed of or their use abridged.” He added that the Wasatch County livestock owners paid \$0.80 per sheep, \$3.00 per cattle, and \$3.50 per horse for range use; on the national forest lands, they would only have to pay \$0.10 per sheep and \$0.62 per head of cattle. Burdened by the high costs, the livestock operators overgrazed to get as many animals possible, threatening the watershed. He concluded, “Our whole lives are inseparably linked to these lands and we can not survive without the use

of them." Senator William H. King of Utah countered the water users could protect the area. They had the right to the private land and it should not be transferred to the federal government.⁴⁰ With the opposition to it of leaders like King, the plan to transfer the lands to the Forest Service did not get out of committee.

By 1926 when the sublease with Wasatch County grazers expired, the water users wanted to cancel any association with the Wasatch stockmen. Pointing out that the Wasatch County people were to have adjusted their grazing needs so they didn't need the land and that the people had "no interest or right whatever in the lands," the water users complained to the project engineer that they had suffered because of the sublease. The lease was not renewed, and the Utah County water users took control of the grazing rights.⁴¹

Cattle and Sheep

The stockmen also faced other problems. Cattlemen protested in 1919 when the Forest Service threatened not to allow the animals on the range until 1 May. The Wasatch County livestock operators claimed the cattle needed to be on the forest earlier to save their planted crops. They feared that if they had to provide forage for their cattle each spring, they would likely go out of business. After an exchange of letters, Secretary of Agriculture David F. Houston agreed to let the cattle on the forest in the "usual" month of April.⁴²

Since the Uinta and Wasatch mountains included some of the best summer grazing lands in northern Utah, sheepmen and cattlemen from Salt Lake and Utah counties as well as from Wasatch County looked to this region to graze their livestock. The establishment of the Uinta National Forest and the development of Strawberry Reservoir altered the use of these lands. Contention among stockmen from Wasatch, Salt Lake, and Utah counties escalated as a result.⁴³ In 1922 the Uintah Wool Growers Association asked that areas in the forest be opened to sheep, and the cattlemen objected. The Forest Service said it would not act on the proposal without consulting the advisory board of the cattle association; but the Forest Service also asked the local livestock organization to do a better job of herding and providing salt for their livestock. During the 1910s and 1920s, sheep became more prominent on the Uinta



Members of Wasatch County dairy calf club, 1923. (Utah State Historical Society)

National Forest than cattle. Delbert H. Chipman, a large sheep owner from American Fork, recalled that his father ran 200 head of cattle in the Strawberry Valley. When the Forest Service decided that the area was “more adoptable” to sheep, it “tried to influence the cattlemen here and some of them changed to sheep and others went out of business.” Chipman switched to sheep in 1920. He argued that cattle required more water and grass than did sheep. He also did not have to herd sheep as closely as cattle, they could graze in more places, and they knocked seeds off plants which helped in reseeding. He also remembered the Forest Service reversed its policy of supporting the small local stockmen; it started encouraging larger operators because it took as much of the rangers’ time to service a rancher with five head as one with two hundred head.⁴⁴

Another problem which affected the livestock operations was overgrazing. The wild game population dropped off in the county during the 1910s. Apparently cowboys, herders, and others indiscriminantly hunted wild game. After the war, the Forest Service took steps to rebuild the wild game population by improving predator

control and stiffening its hunting enforcement activities. As the deer population rebounded, there was an increased consumption of the natural vegetation which added to the overgrazing problems in parts of the county.⁴⁵

Farming

During the 1920s, farmers discussed introducing new crops in the county, including potato and grain seeds. W. H. Ottin, the superintendent of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, suggested growing head lettuce and other vegetables. In 1926 the county shipped 1,500 crates of lettuce to Salt Lake City. A 1922 article stated that Wasatch County was "well worth knowing" especially since farmers were raising "the trump cards": peas, cabbage, cauliflower, and head lettuce. It concluded that the county "cannot fail to be a winner in the agricultural game." The agricultural market did not expand during the 1920s, though. Between 1920 and 1930 there was just over one-half of one percent increase in farm land. The primary crops continued to be oats, wheat, hay and forage, and potatoes. Nearly 40 percent of the state's mixed timothy and clover was grown in the county. In addition, the local farmers produced a little over 17 percent of the timothy, which was second highest in the state. The production of sugar beets dropped; farmers raised more barley.⁴⁶

Mining

In 1915 and 1917 George W. Lambourne and George D. Blood discovered outcroppings of silver and gold west of Keetley. They formed the Star of Utah and Mayflower companies, but because of the war and scarcity of labor little work was done on the claim. In 1921 the two mining companies merged, forming the Park Utah Mining Company. A small community sprang up, with small homes for married employees and a boarding house for single miners. Still 60 percent of the miners came from Heber City and Midway. After only a three-month training period, the *Wave* bragged, the local residents were good miners. Ore hauling started in January 1922, with the miners producing forty tons a day that sold at seven dollars per ton. Estimating the value of the ore and the work of the fifty-three employees, the newspaper concluded, "The opening up of mines on

this side of the ridge means a great deal to Wasatch county." By 1 January 1924 the Park Utah Mining Company had shipped 100,000 tons of silver and gold ore. Vernon Probst, a Midway resident who worked in the mine in 1924, called it the best silver mine in the world.⁴⁷

Throughout the World War I years, Wasatch residents continued to work in the Park City mines. In 1917 the Bambergers, Ontario Mine owners, employed thirty-eight men at the mine. Miners discovered promising new veins in the Ontario; but, according to the company's 1917 annual report, more work was needed to open new stopes and to offset the high expenses of pumping and draining the mine. For a time all mining below the 1,800-foot level stopped. Not until the Ontario and other mines in Park City could improve the removal of water would the Ontario be successful at the deeper levels. In the meantime, miners continued to work between the 900- and 1,800-foot levels. The work provided good wages for Heber Valley miners. In 1925 the Park City Mining and Smelting Company and the Park Utah Mining Company combined to form the Park-Utah Consolidated Mines Company, which operated nine mines between Brighton and Big Cottonwood Canyon.⁴⁸

While the Park City mines provided jobs for some Wasatch residents and a market for the county's agricultural goods, mining activities in Snake Creek Canyon created serious water problems for Midway's farmers. In 1897 prospectors filed on the Utah Star Mining claim near Levigneux Springs. The Daly West Mining Company, a part owner, started work on the Steamboat Tunnel. Workers struck water inside the tunnel at Buehler Switch. At the same time large quantities of water began flowing from the Steamboat Tunnel, several nearby springs experienced a significant reduction in water flow. Midway farmers used these springs to irrigate their fields. The Provo Reservoir Company, headquartered in Provo, approached the Daly West Mining Company to lease water from the Steamboat Tunnel. J. R. Murdock, a Wasatch County leader, was a shareholder in the Provo company. As a result, Midway farmers filed a legal suit against the reservoir company, claiming first rights on the water. In response, the reservoir company argued that the mining company had discovered a "new" source of water. While the court proceedings continued, the

Midway Irrigation Company ordered its watermaster, Ben Hair, to continue to divert water from Snake Creek to the Midway farms. This left some farmers in Utah Valley with less water than they expected. Not waiting for the Utah Supreme Court to render a decision, representatives from the reservoir company, including Murdock and J. A. McIlwee, and Oscar N. Friendly from the mining company attempted to physically shut off water from Snake Creek to the fields of Midway. Hair, along with Johnny Sulser, who was armed with a shotgun, challenged the interlopers, preventing them from disrupting the diversion of Snake Creek water. Within a few months following the confrontation, the Utah Supreme Court granted the Provo Reservoir Company all water in excess of eight second feet of water.

At the same time, another confrontation over Snake Creek water developed. In 1910 the Snake Creek Mining and Tunnel Company began digging a new tunnel in Snake Creek Canyon. Soon miners struck large pockets of water. Immediately the flow of water from seeps and springs in the canyon dwindled. Some claimed the water “found” by the Snake Creek Mining and Tunnel Company to be “new” water. Salt Lake City believed that the discovery of new water by the mining company might seriously jeopardize the city’s claims to water from Big and Little Cottonwood canyons. Those supporting Midway explained, “Food is more important than gold and silver and copper and lead.” The case of *Snake Creek Mining and Tunnel Company v. Midway Irrigation Company and Wilford Van Wagenen* eventually was argued before the United States Supreme Court in 1923. This court ruled in favor of the Midway Irrigation Company.⁴⁹

Roads

Wasatch County was still dependent on roads and railroads to move agricultural and livestock products. In addition, the county began to encourage tourism. People came to fish at Strawberry Reservoir and some built cabins. Tourists, however, could not get to these new recreational spots without transportation, and automobiles, the new means of private transportation, required roads. The Pike’s Peak Ocean to Ocean Highway (U.S. Highway 40) was a boon for Heber City and Wasatch County. The road had been slated to go through Provo and then on to Salt Lake City. The local business com-

munity invited the “pathfinders” to come to Heber, where residents entertained them at the Midway hot pots and served breakfast in Heber. The travelers enjoyed the drive through Daniels Canyon and the Strawberry Valley and agreed to direct the highway through the canyon. The *Wave* believed the road would help the area become a resort. National and local highway organizations urged other ocean to ocean all season roads. The most famous was the Lincoln Highway from New York to the Pacific Coast. As investigators for the Lincoln Highway pushed further west, Wasatch County officials urged the Lincoln Highway Association to direct the road through their county. However, the association was not convinced. Later guidebooks listed Heber as a diversion from the Lincoln Highway. Called the Timpanogos Loop, it went from Salt Lake City to Park City, Heber, Provo, and back to Salt Lake City.⁵⁰

Traveling the roads in Wasatch County was often rough. Nymphas C. Watson recalled the road to Daniels Canyon crossed the creek thirteen or fourteen times. “When you were taking a herd of sheep up there and it was high water you really had a task. These times you had to wade the ditch when it was high water. It was a little nasty.” He also remembered that the roads from Heber to Charleston sometimes were impassable in the winter and cars had to travel on the railroad tracks.⁵¹

The county wanted to improve the roads, but depressed economic conditions made that difficult. In February 1922 the county commissioners called a mass meeting to explain the tax situation to citizens. They told the residents that the federal government would pay 74 percent of the costs for improving the roads, but the county did not have the matching 26 percent and would need to either tax or bond. The taxpayers decided “that although our County is financially depressed at the present time, we should not stay our progress by being too conservative.” Those at the meeting passed a resolution “that we authorize the Board of County Commissioners to levy a sufficient tax to meet the appropriation of the government for a building of roads in the County.”⁵²

Soldier Summit

The railroad continued to play an important role in Wasatch County. In addition to the tracks that ran through Charleston and

Heber City, another railroad line traveled through the Wasatch County section of Spanish Fork Canyon. In 1878 Milan Packard, a longtime Montana freighter, built a narrow-gauge railroad from Springville to the newly developing coal mines at Pleasant Valley. He established the Utah and Pleasant Valley Railroad (better known as the Calico Railroad, since Packard had little money to pay track workers and instead was said to have paid them in calico cloth). Later the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, which was pushing its way from western Colorado to Salt Lake City via Price and Spanish Fork canyons, acquired the small railroad. When more coal was discovered in Carbon County, the railroad became even more important to carry coal from the mines. The company required longer and heavier trains that could carry the increased loads between Price and Salt Lake City and added helper engines to push them. To service the helper engines, the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad established a round house and traffic center at the summit of Spanish Fork Canyon, in the southern corner of Wasatch County. That became the small community of Soldier Summit.⁵³

In 1919 H. C. Means's real estate company promoted the area for settlement. The federal government, then operating the railroad because of World War I, also supported the development. In 1921 a town was incorporated, and J. R. Springer of Midway was elected mayor. During the 1920s, 2,500 people lived in the area, enough for a third-class city. When Soldier Summit was at its peak, businesses, homes, a school, and a church crowded the mountainside. S. Glen Gardner, a fireman for the Rio Grande Western recalled, "They had a lot of houses up there. There were some on the sides of the road. . . . I lived in house 160. It was right on top of the hill." Entrepreneurs established stores, restaurants, rooming houses, and amusement spots. Entertainment included a picture theater and pool halls. Gardner recalled that residents played basketball in the theater, and the town sponsored a baseball team in the summer. A school and churches also served the community. The school had more than 200 students and five teachers when the town was incorporated. The LDS church established a ward assigned to the Nebo Stake in Utah County. The Baptists also had a church and a minister in town.⁵⁴



Soldier Summit was created as railroad town. This photograph from about 1900 shows the Denver and Rio Grande Depot and locomotive shed at Soldier Summit. (Utah State Historical Society)

Gardner recalled why the railroad established the terminal at Soldier Summit. The equipment would often break down on the Helper to Salt Lake route. In addition, the company had to “dog-catch” the cabooses on the coal trains. When the company opened the terminal in 1920–21, Gardner was assigned to Soldier Summit. In 1930 the railroad moved the terminal back to Helper because the winters were severe and it cost more to operate from the summit. The railroad transferred the employees and moved Gardner’s and other homes to Helper, leaving just the foundations as a reminder of Soldier Summit’s heyday.⁵⁵

It was a long ways to carry out business from Soldier Summit to Heber City. Still, having the town in the county meant the railroad paid taxes. So in 1923 when some questioned retaining Soldier Summit, the residents of Wasatch County voted to keep the community in their county.⁵⁶



Soldier Summit during the Winter of 1926. (Utah State Historical Society)

Education

Until 1915 Wasatch County had small school districts in each community. Each district had its own school board, hired its own teachers, and conducted its own business. The state legislature passed a consolidation bill in 1915, and most rural counties became one school district. The new Wasatch County School District board met for the first time on 21 May 1915. With larger school districts, the Utah State Board of Education encouraged the establishment of junior high schools. The Wasatch County board asked that the seventh and eighth graders from Midway, Center, Daniel, and Charleston be brought to Heber City. In a larger school the students could take domestic arts, shop, and physical education classes. The board planned to use the upper floor of the Central School building for the new junior high school.⁵⁷

After statehood, many communities and counties in Utah faced serious difficulties financing their schools. In the beginning the

county commissioners had the major responsibility for providing school funds. The Wasatch County Commission, with low assessed property values and few financial resources, was continually faced with the dilemma of providing quality education for its children and meeting other expenses. Wasatch County schools competed with other county demands such as roads. In 1917 the county commissioners asked that the school levy not be raised so they could complete the road between Wasatch County and newly created Duchesne County. Recognizing the value of the road, the school board agreed. The next year, the board needed more money. At first it proposed an election to raise taxes, but the school superintendent suggested another plan. The state supreme court had ruled that county commissioners could not refuse to raise taxes for schools, and the Wasatch County School District sued the government officials to get the higher assessment they needed to run the schools. That same year valuations increased, and the school district asked the county for less money.⁵⁸

In 1920 the Utah State Board of Education, however, expressed concerns that making the counties responsible for all school funds had a roller-coaster effect on the school districts and allowed better education for children in the larger cities. To help solve this problem, the state leaders proposed an amendment to the constitution to distribute educational funds equally. Under the new arrangement, all districts would receive \$25.00 per year for each child. Any additional funds needed to run the schools would have to come from local taxes, but the state superintendent hoped that the state would soon be able to provide all the money for education. The Wasatch County school board encouraged residents to support the amendment, and the measure passed by a large majority.⁵⁹

Even with the new money from the state, Wasatch County had a difficult time raising enough money to support the schools. The agricultural and mining depression which followed World War I left the county with lower revenues. In 1920, shortly after the amendment changing the way schools were supported was passed, residents complained about the costs of the schools and the "inefficiency of the school board." The board responded by quoting articles that praised the educational programs in Utah, especially out-of-school pro-



One of the first schools in Midway. (Lavon Provost)

grams. Board members quoted an article by A. E. Winship, a national educator from Boston: “Utah leads the country in addressing itself definitely to the problems of young people from 12 to 18.” Wasatch County bragged that Winship praised especially its program. The 1920 state board’s annual report also complimented the county’s work. The report showed that 487 students in Wasatch County enrolled in the out-of-school programs and that all but sixteen completed their work. These included classes in health, corrections of physical defects, nonuse of narcotics, keeping the house free from flies, private music lessons, painting, oral expression, library reading, community organizations through the LDS church, and Smith-Hughes Act vocational projects. Based on these reports, the board insisted “that Utah leads America in her educational programs, America leads the world . . . and our program in Wasatch is the best known.”⁶⁰

The next year, the residents met in a mass meeting to discuss “what appeared to be a gross financial injustice to the public.” After a lengthy discussion led by E. D. Hatch for the people and Superintendent D. A. Broadbent for the school board, the newspaper

concluded, "Our citizens are better informed upon school matters . . . than they have been for years." The article continued, "The Board was vindicated and their actions ratified by the vote of the people. On the other hand, the Board was given clearly to understand the attitude of the people and will doubtless govern themselves accordingly in the future." The meeting removed "many an unpleasant matter" and resolved the differences.⁶¹

Finances continued to be a problem. At a 1922 meeting to discuss tax levies, the county commissioners considered decreasing the school levy. The school board, however, pointed out that the county's school levy and teachers' salaries were already lower than the state average. Expenses were also higher because the law now required students to complete four more years of school, the board had to provide transportation, and 36 percent of the population was school-aged compared to the state average of 29 percent. There were also concerns about who would pay the increased costs, since 6.5 percent of the taxpayers were paying over 50 percent of the school levy and 31 percent of all taxes came from people who did not live in the area. Still, the school board did not favor a cut, asking, "Would it be advisable for the Board of Education or the Board of County Commissioners to reduce the levies during this temporary depression so as to cheapen our District in the eyes of the State and other Counties and have us appear to be a school district or a county which must take the left-overs of the teachers to care for the education of our children?" In response to this emotional appeal, those attending the meeting voted unanimously "that our County Commissioners make a sufficient levy to keep our schools up to their present efficiency."⁶²

The school board recommended some cuts because of the county's economic situation. In 1917 members decided to "discuss with representative citizens of Daniel the real condition with the hope of getting them to see the advantage of transporting their children to the Heber schools." The attempts were unsuccessful and the Daniel school remained open. In 1922 the school board recommended cutting the number of teachers in some schools. Midway residents claimed that their schools would not be proficient if the board cut two teachers. They felt "schools were the last place where

retrenchment should begin, and that it would be a step backward to cut the teaching force," a step that they "could not afford." Wallsburg and Charleston residents also objected to cuts. With this public support, the board allowed the three communities to keep their teachers.⁶³

Funds from state and local taxes could not cover capital improvements. The school district needed new schools and asked residents to pass bonds to provide the necessary facilities. In 1920 the district called a mass meeting in Heber City to explain the emergency it faced. The board needed \$15,000 to build a new school building in Soldier Summit and \$15,000 to cover other expenses. At the same meeting Daniel residents demanded a building large enough to hold grades one through nine. The board did not see Daniel's concern as an emergency, but those at the meeting passed motions allowing for the emergency bonds and separate bonds for \$10,000 for a Daniel school. As a result, in 1921 the board asked for a \$40,000 bond to purchase sites and build schools. After holding special meetings in Wallsburg, Charleston, Midway, Center, and Daniel, the appeal was successful—the bond passed with little opposition. Soldier Summit was still growing; but, with few registered voters, only three people voted there.⁶⁴

In making arrangements for the bond election, the school board surveyed Soldier Summit and found there were enough students for a four-room school. Joseph Nelson, an architect, drew plans with room for growth—a six-room school. It would be one story and would not cost over \$30,000. By the end of the 1921 school year the builders had completed three rooms and the county board hired three teachers to instruct the ninety-two students. The contractors completed the school by December.⁶⁵

Not all new construction was planned. On 23 January 1923, Heber City awakened to see only a foundation where the Central School had stood on Main Street. It had caught fire at 1:00 A.M. and was completely destroyed. The school board called an emergency meeting that day to determine where the elementary classes would meet. The members considered rooms in LDS meetinghouses, the North School, the high school, the mercantile, the LDS seminary, and the New West school. They finally decided to have the first, second,



The original Central school in Heber City was destroyed by fire. (Lavon Provost)

and eighth grades meet in the Third Ward meetinghouse, the third and sixth grades in the high school, the fourth and fifth in the North School, and the seventh in the seminary building.⁶⁶

The next problem was to replace the building. The school board recommended that the district ask for another bond to build a school similar to the one just completed at Soldier Summit. Some residents, however, did not want the added bond and suggested that a third floor be added to the North School. The board disagreed because to add another floor would require skylights. The board also opposed sending small children across town to school. Because Heber City residents saw the need for a new school, they passed a bonding bill just three months after the Central School burned. The vote was overwhelming in favor: 233 for with only 55 against. The board constructed the new school on the same site. While the architect and board members hoped to save money by using the old foundation, this was not practical. Soon after the building was completed, it was found to be too small; in 1925 the board completed an addition.⁶⁷

Daniel residents still clamored for a new school building. In 1921 the board asked the community if it wanted a three-room school which would include seventh and eighth graders or a two-room school, transporting the upper grades to Heber. At a mass meeting, Daniel residents requested a four-room school with two classes per room. The superintendent told them that they could not have a school that large because there were not enough students for four teachers. The citizens voted down the larger school, but they still wanted to have a school for grades one through eight. In 1923 the state condemned the Daniel school; the board agreed to add the Daniel school to the bond election. First the board members asked the community residents how many rooms they wanted. At a mass meeting residents voted twenty-four to seventeen for a three-room building. After the meeting, twenty-six registered voters asked for a two-room structure. As a result, the board sent a letter to all the registered voters in town asking for their opinions. The votes came back fifty-six for three rooms, thirty-three for two rooms, and two unsigned. The board made arrangements for a three-room structure.⁶⁸

Existing buildings also needed to be upgraded. In the 1916 school report, state officials asked schools to include bathrooms and drinking fountains. In 1924 the board discussed adding heating and plumbing to the Center and Wallsburg schools. Two years later, the board considered a bond election to improve all county schools. It was too late in the year to have an election, so the discussion continued the next year. Eventually the improvements came. The stoves in the Center School, for example, were replaced with a furnace. LeRoy Sweat, who attended the Center School for two and a half years, recalled the new furnace “wasn’t that efficient when it was operating.” In 1929 it blew up, and the board moved the students to Heber City temporarily. After some discussion, Center residents voted to close their school permanently and have their students transported to Heber.⁶⁹

County boundaries in Utah were frequently based on geographical features. This seemed logical to the territorial and later the state legislature; however, people settled in areas where they could find land and water, often straddling county lines. It was often difficult to

provide education for children in those areas, so Wasatch County negotiated with surrounding school districts to provide schooling for all students. One community developed along Bench Creek near Summit County. Before the 1915 consolidation, there was a school district and school there. When those were eliminated, the Wasatch County School Board made arrangements with South Summit School District to send the children from Bench Creek to the Woodland School. The Wasatch Board agreed to pay the per capita costs to South Summit. In 1919, however, the Bench Creek children were not attending the Woodland school because the students had no transportation; but Wasatch County still had to pay the other school district. Eventually the Wasatch County School Board agreed to provide the transportation and pay the per capita costs.⁷⁰

Just as the Wasatch school board transferred some of its students to another school district, the county board provided education for residents of Soldier Summit who lived in the Nebo School District. The Wasatch County board had to constantly remind the Utah County district to pay. Nebo District then tried to negotiate the costs. Since the teachers lived in the school, the Nebo officials felt that the overall costs should be reduced. Wasatch County responded that the teachers had no other place to live and provided janitorial services to pay for their rooms. The school districts often argued on how much Nebo should pay Wasatch. In 1922 when Nebo sent a check for less than Wasatch expected, the Wasatch County School Board refused to allow the children from outside the county to attend, and the Nebo School District had to provide a school for the ten children in Soldier Summit. By the next year the Nebo School District agreed to pay \$50 per capita for the Soldier Summit students.⁷¹

The battle did not end there. The Nebo School District argued that some residents had property in both counties and paid property taxes in both. These children, the district claimed, should be on the Wasatch County census rolls. After examining the records, the Wasatch school board found one family with three children did pay taxes in both counties, but it paid only one dollar in Wasatch and twenty-six in Utah County. In addition, Wasatch County pointed out that Utah County had already listed the children on its census rolls and collected the state funds for them. After a three-year debate, the

Nebo District finally agreed to pay Wasatch County on a per capita basis in 1929. Utah County students had not been allowed to attend the Soldier Summit school for two years. After all this fighting with the Nebo School District, Wasatch County tried to use the same argument about dual property taxes with the South Summit School District. However, the reply came back quickly that the property taxes in Summit County were very small, and, as a result, Wasatch school board agreed to pay the same amount.⁷²

Some areas of Wasatch County could not be serviced by other school districts. Families with children lived at Keetley, Elkhorn, and the Murdock Power Plant. When there were not enough children in those places to justify a school, the parents had to bring their children to Heber City. The board paid a small fee to help cover the traveling expenses. This led to conflicts. For example, in 1916 the school board announced that there were not enough students at Elkhorn to operate the school. The district offered to pay these families for providing their own transportation. Students who lived more than two miles from the school would receive twenty cents a day and those over six miles would get thirty cents a day. Patrons complained and brought the names of thirteen children, eleven of whom would attend the school at Elkhorn. The board agreed to operate the school.⁷³

Utah Power and Light, operators of the Murdock Power Plant, kept employees at that site. In 1920 the company offered to bring in families with children to keep the Elkhorn school open. It also asked that the school be moved closer to the power plant. In exchange, the plant agreed to provide free electricity. Moving a school required a three-quarter's majority, and Elkhorn residents did not want their school moved nor did they trust that Utah Power and Light would fulfill its promises. Rather than combine with the Murdock Power Plant, the Elkhorn residents elected to work with the people in Keetley. Most Keetley residents worked at the Ontario Drain Tunnel for the newly formed Park-Utah Mine. In 1922 the Elkhorn residents agreed to move the school to Keetley. George A. Fisher, the mayor and a prominent citizen, donated the land for the building.⁷⁴

The Park-Utah Mine actively developed mineral possibilities in the Keetley area during the early 1920s and hired more people. As a result, more families came to the area. By 1924 twenty-five students

attended school in Keetley, too many for a one-room school. The school board agreed to provide facilities and teachers for a two-room school. In 1925 the school board attempted a bond election to build a new two-room school in Keetley. Since it was not announced correctly, the board decided the election would not be legal and decided to use surplus funds to construct the school. But everyone attending the Keetley School did not agree on the arrangements. In 1928 patrons at the Murdock Power Plant requested that their students go to Heber schools, but the board continued to send them to Keetley. The next year, the Keetley residents asked if seventh- and eighth-graders could attend in Heber. The board felt it could not handle the students from the outlying areas and denied the request.⁷⁵

When the high school was established in 1912, students came from throughout Heber Valley. In places where there were few pupils, the school district paid the students twenty cents a day to find their own way to Heber City. When there were more students, the district provided wagons. The school board spent much of its meeting time dealing with these transportation concerns. In 1916 the board provided a wagon for Daniel students; five years later it was overcrowded, so the board suggested using the Little Heber wagon that was bussing the Charleston students. If it was not large enough, the board decided that some students would be paid for providing their own transportation. The Little Heber wagon must have been undesirable because the Daniel students elected to be crowded rather than change wagons. Daniel residents also opposed sending their children to school early so that the board could use the same wagon to transport students from the Murdock Power Plant. In 1922 Midway students demanded a new wagon. The board agreed to repair the old one, but limited access to students under eighteen if the wagon was too crowded. Those over eighteen would have to find their own conveyance and pay their own way. Soldier Summit patrons asked for a wagon to transport students to the school in stormy weather. The board said it did not have resources to provide the service throughout the school district and pointed out that Keetley residents hired a wagon and paid for it themselves during bad weather. As automobiles became more common, the residents in all communities demanded that the board provide trucks rather than wagons. In 1923 when the



Originally each community in Wasatch County had its own school. The Wallsburg school was constructed in 1904. It is now a private residence. (Lavon Provost)

Charleston residents requested a change, the board agreed to address the possibility. The school district continued to use wagons for three more years. In 1926 the board started studying school trucks and invited companies to make bids.⁷⁶

Other provisions had to be made for outlying areas. When there were enough students, Wallsburg School had a ninth and sometimes a tenth grade. In 1921 the school board added the ninth grade. Two years later the ninth and tenth grades were eliminated and those students bussed to Heber City. Soldier Summit was too far to transport high school students. In 1924 there were eight ninth graders in that town, but the board contended that no ninth grade should be provided since the population was transient. When the residents continued to request the additional grade, the board offered to pay the \$50 per student to have the students go to the Nebo School District. By the beginning of the next school year the board agreed to have a ninth grade, and in 1925 added a tenth grade with English, typewriting, vocational guidance, biology, algebra, and gymnasium classes.⁷⁷

Most Wasatch County students attended Wasatch High School,

which continued to grow throughout the 1920s. In 1927 the building needed to be enlarged, and a shop, music rooms, laboratories, and gymnasium were planned. At first the school board hoped to pass bonds, but it found taxation questions made that impossible. The board scaled down its plans, eliminating the gym. The shop met the needs for vocational education. In 1916 the U.S. Congress passed the Smith-Hughes Bill providing half the expenses of operating a vocational and home economics program. Francis Kirkham, the state director of vocational education, said in 1918 that only half of the nation's twenty-two million students continued to attend school after age fourteen, and two-thirds of those dropped out by age sixteen. Less than 8 percent of the grammar-school graduates entered high school. With those kinds of figures, the state board of education and federal government hoped to make education more meaningful and help prepare young people for work. The Smith-Hughes Act required a four-year contract in vocational agriculture, a department with at least \$600 in equipment, and teachers employed year round.⁷⁸

Wasatch County adjusted its program to take advantage of the federal programs. For the 1918–19 school year the district received \$272.66 in federal funds—\$244.89 for agriculture and \$27.77 for home economics. That was the same amount for agriculture received by the large city-based Granite and Jordan school districts and the rural Box Elder School District. The most money went to the Alpine School District—\$816.30 for agriculture—the least to five counties, each receiving \$81.76. The next school year, Wasatch received \$221.45 total, with \$200.00 for agriculture. The state provided \$393.11—\$193.11 was for home economics. This time fewer districts received money, and all of the funds to school districts were closer to being the same; however, Alpine still received \$800, and Provo and Murray got only \$100 apiece. During the 1920–21 school year thirty-eight girls and thirty-one boys enrolled in the year-round Wasatch County program. In 1922 some board members questioned the cost of the summer work. Others pointed out that it was federal funds, so they did not have to worry about the costs. The county suggested using the vocational teacher as the crop-pest inspector to save the county money. The next year, however, the state representatives questioned the board's support of the Smith-Hughes Act and pointed out that



Charleston had an elementary school. Eventually the school was closed and all students were bussed. This building was so badly damaged in a snow storm that it was torn down in 1992. (Lavon Provost)

the district needed more classes and that teachers should attend training at the agricultural college. The board promised full support for the program.⁷⁹

The high school also faced problems. It did not always run the thirty-six weeks required for accreditation and federal funding; in 1926 classes met for thirty-four weeks. The board explained that the students had to help with harvesting fields, processing in the pea factory, and gathering the cattle and sheep. When the state board informed county school leaders that other schools also did not meet the requirements, the county board decided to continue to run on a short term.⁸⁰

Other organizations also used the school buildings. In 1917 the Heber band used the high school music facilities during the summer. That same year, the Charleston Ward received permission to use the school in that town for church activities. The LDS church continued to use the Charleston school regularly in return for improving the facilities, such as providing electric lights in 1925. Most of the time

these extracurricular uses were not questioned; however, the LDS church's use of a high school classroom for seminary drew some discussion. The church started establishing seminaries throughout Utah as it transferred its academies to the state to be used as high schools. Church leaders established the first seminary in 1912 at Granite High School. In 1916 the state board of education agreed to grant high school credit for released-time Bible studies. The LDS Wasatch Stake Board of Education started a seminary in 1917 and offered two classes on the life of Jesus Christ. The classes met informally in the high school. The next year the LDS First Presidency gave permission for the stake to have a seminary teacher. Church leaders asked the county school board if they could rent a room in the high school, and the board agreed to lease one room for one hundred dollars a year.⁸¹

In 1919 the stake received permission from LDS church headquarters to build a seminary building. The matter became urgent when W. R. Werritt, a physician in Heber, and A. C. Hatch, a judge, told the school board the state did not allow schools to be used for religious instructions. Wherritt threatened to sue, and Hatch advised the board to terminate the seminary class because the court costs would be high. The school board voted to not allow the seminary to use the building. The change in policy did not last long, however. When the seminary building was not completed because of financial difficulties, the school board voted unanimously in 1920 to rent a room to the seminary for \$125. The next year the board requested an opinion from the state attorney general before it agreed to rent a room.⁸²

The seminary program did not receive the support some people had expected. At a priesthood meeting in 1922, seminary leaders reported only eight students had graduated from the three-year program. While 98 percent of those in the high school were from LDS families, only 85 percent were attending seminary. Still, the LDS church felt a need to continue the religious education. The stake negotiated with the school board to exchange land so that the seminary could be constructed on a larger lot in 1923. The school board moved slowly and double checked to see if it could exchange land and have a church building so close to the high school. In 1925 when the seminary asked to use the high school again when they tore down

the old seminary building, the school board denied the request “in order to avoid criticism and breaking the law.” The board suggested the seminary use the Third Ward building for the last two weeks of school.⁸³

These arguments did not halt the LDS church’s use of school facilities, but the school board was careful when it gave permission. In 1924 the LDS church in Soldier Summit used the schoolhouse while it built a meetinghouse there. The board agreed as long as the church knew the permission could be withdrawn if there were any problems. When the church held religion classes in the Wallsburg school, the county board requested only that the classes be held after school. In 1927 the LDS church auxiliaries used the high school gym under an agreement that required supervision by the high school, with the church paying for extra expenses. The church group also could not interfere with school activities.⁸⁴

Celebrations

Just as when the area was first settled, Wasatch County residents continued to provide their own entertainment. Holidays like the Fourth and the Twenty-fourth of July were big days in the towns. For the Fourth of July residents decorated their homes with bunting and flags and were judged. The city brass band, the martial band, and the fife and drum band with former soldiers from the Indian wars or the Spanish-American War drove up and down the streets, stopping at each home. Perris Jensen recalled that his mother gave the band members refreshments, and he wondered how much they got during their morning travels. The community blasted a cannon and there was a parade of decorated wagons. All attended a patriotic speech in the tabernacle and then children ran races on the tabernacle’s grounds. There was a baseball game in the afternoon. Melba Duke Probst remembered that she got a new dress for the Fourth of July and always went to the confectionery for ice cream.

There was also a celebration in Midway. Miners brought powder to explode in the morning. Homes were decorated with bunting, and a band paraded. At ten o’clock there was a program in the amusement hall and then residents drank from washtubs full of lemonade. Midway also concluded the day with a baseball game. The towns held



The Schneiter's Hot Pots (now the Homestead) were a popular recreational area in Wasatch County. (Utah State Historical Society)

similar celebrations on Pioneer Day. Although it could be harvest time, Vernon Probst recalled, "Hay in the field did not matter."⁸⁵

Summary

From World War I through the 1920s, Wasatch County was influenced by events in the world. The war, the flu epidemic, and prohibition all played a role. In addition, Strawberry Reservoir was completed and water and some grazing rights were transferred to Utah County residents. While earlier policies had moved Wasatch County's raw resources to the more populated areas of the state, Strawberry Reservoir had an even greater effect. Wasatch County became more dependent on other areas providing finished products; the county furnished only raw materials. This theme became even more prominent as the twentieth century progressed. And, while throughout the county there was more of a separation of church and state, church leaders continued to control some decisions and serve in many capacities. Throughout the 1920s the LDS church played an important role in Wasatch County and would for years to come.

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47. P. H. Hunt, “History of the Park Utah Mine,” *Wasatch Wave*, 10 October 1924, 4; “Mining Activities in Northern Wasatch County,” *Wasatch Wave*, 6 October 1922, 4; Vernon H. Probst, Oral History, 3.

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51. “Memories of Nymphas C. Watson,” Historical Arts Oral History Collection, interview by Mr. and Mrs. Vernon W. Price, LDS Church Archives, 9.

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53. There are several stories about how Soldier Summit got its name.

One is that six U.S. army defectors from Johnston's Army stationed in Cedar Valley during the Utah War froze to death trying to make their way across the summit in 1861. Another version suggests that when Johnston's Army was called to the east at the outbreak of the Civil War, some of the soldiers headed east up Spanish Fork Canyon and there six became ill and died. Yet a third version indicates that the canyon was routinely used by the army to move soldiers and equipment over the summit. See John W. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names: A Comprehensive Guide to the Origin of Geographic Names* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 347.

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DEPRESSION, 1930–1941

For much of America, the wild optimism of the 1920s ended with the stock market crash in October 1929. The 1930s was a time of depression, unemployment, and agricultural disasters. Republican President Herbert Hoover and Democrat Utah Governor George H. Dern offered the same philosophy: the depression would be short-lived and private organizations would provide relief. When the Great Depression continued, Americans elected Democrats in 1932. Shortly after taking office, President Franklin D. Roosevelt declared a bank holiday to stop runs on banks and launched an assault on Capitol Hill. His “Hundred Day Congress” passed federal relief programs. The Federal Emergency Relief Act assigned \$500 million as direct relief to states, cities, counties, and towns. That figure was later increased to \$5 billion. Harry Hopkins, the director of the Civil Works Administration (CWA) that distributed the funds, believed the unemployed wanted to work and not simply receive a handout. CWA money helped build and improve roads, schoolhouses, airports, parks, sewers, and water systems. Governments receiving the funds provided a partial match. The National Industrial Recovery Act

included money for the Public Works Administration (PWA) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA). The PWA funded larger projects and usually covered materials; the WPA paid wages and required the local government agency to provide materials. Other programs included the Agricultural Recovery Administration to assist farmers and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), which gave young men jobs. The Bureau of Reclamation also expanded, sometimes using programs like the CCC to construct reservoirs. Utah's new governor, Henry H. Blood, also announced a bank holiday and geared up the state to receive federal relief. The new federal programs meant jobs and welfare relief for Utah's unemployed.

Wasatch County experienced the Depression in much the same way as did the rest of the state and nation. County residents were still recovering from the depression of the 1920s, so the New Deal programs brought welcome relief from unemployment and agricultural stagnation. Federal programs also transferred more resources to the populated Wasatch Front. Most noticeable was the construction of Deer Creek Reservoir, which moved water from the Provo River to Salt Lake Valley and also buried much of the town of Charleston.

Economy and Businesses

The Depression of the 1930s had a direct impact on Wasatch County businesses. The county's property valuation dropped from \$11,500,000 during the late 1920s to only \$4,500,000 in 1936. Sales dropped 39.3 percent between 1929 and 1935. The biggest change took place in stores that did not provide general merchandise, food, automobile supplies and services, furniture, lumber, and drugstores. There were ten "other" stores in Heber in 1929, only four in 1933, and seven in 1935. Two food stores went out of business between 1933 and 1935 and several general stores eliminated food. In 1933 the state took over the Bank of Heber for ninety days to manage its assets; the bank remained closed for more than a year. Besides these problems in the general economy, there were unrelated disasters which impacted the county's economy. In January 1937 a predawn fire broke out in the Heber Mercantile building. The Heber, Park City, and Provo fire departments were called to try to contain the fire. Before it was put out, the fire also damaged the county library, the

foresters' office, the state road survey offices, the relief offices, and the Heber Drug Company. Undaunted even in hard economic times, the local stockholders in the "Merc" voted three to one to rebuild the store. The Merc temporarily reopened in another building until a new store could be built.¹

Individuals as well as businesses suffered. In 1930, Wasatch County remained a rural area with 43.4 percent of the 1,642 "gainfully employed" workers involved in agriculture. The Depression forced many county residents not normally working as farmers to return to agriculture to make a living. The farm population increased from 1,700 living on farms in 1930 to 2,119 in 1935. At the same time, just over a fifth of the county residents, 21.8 percent, were still employed as miners. In 1937, 170 people in Wasatch County were totally unemployed, 130 were emergency workers, and 107 were partly unemployed. Laborers suffered the most: 20 percent of the unemployed were farm laborers; another 20 percent were other laborers. But everyone felt the effects: 15 percent of the jobless were semi-skilled workers and 10.5 percent were skilled workers or foremen. Ralph F. Giles, a member of the city council at the time, recalled that from 1930 until 1934 many people were out of work and it was hard even to get a day job; he reported, "There were twenty-five men for every chore."²

Individual examples dramatize the situation. Calvin Giles's father was killed in 1930. Calvin, his mother, brothers, and sisters lived in a two-room log house with no electricity and no bathroom. They ate milk gravy and potatoes (if they had any) for dinner most nights. In 1932 his mother lost his father's land because she could not pay the taxes. To help provide for the family, Calvin peddled fruit for a Provo farmer, earning thirty-five cents a day. Although people had little money, most had animals and gardens. Ralph Giles recalled that he had a cow and some hogs which he fed weeds from the garden. He also had some hens. His wife Mina made over clothes and even made underwear for their children from flour sacks. He added, "We felt no stigma because most everyone else was in the same condition." He got a government job that paid for fifty-five dollars a month for a six-hour day, six day a week job. He declared, "We felt we were on easy street." Families met most of their needs, but if people did have to pay

for things, milk was only five cents a quart, eggs were thirteen to fifteen cents a dozen and a deluxe four-door Chevy sedan was only \$895. Moroni Besendorfer had one pair of red corduroy pants to wear to school. At night he wore old overalls to do chores. He explained, “We got by like that, but we never thought anything of it. Everybody was in the same boat. We had our own butter, eggs, meat, potatoes, vegetables, and flour. We had a good livelihood and a good way of life.”³

When businesses and individuals suffered, the towns also had financial difficulties. The communities depended on the sale of electricity for some of their income, yet many people could not afford to pay. At first the power company told the board members they needed to help collect the bills or pay the delinquent accounts. With this increased push for payment, local residents appealed to the city in 1934 to be lenient in requiring payment of monthly electric and water bills. Their request was ignored, but the next year the residents passed a revenue bond to pay off the power company’s debt.⁴

Local clubs, the LDS church, county government, and the school district tried to help the unemployed. In November 1930 the Heber City Lions Club hired people to work on city projects. The first activity was to haul snow from the downtown area. Two years later an LDS stake report listed the families needing assistance in Heber and Midway by ward. Civic authorities and the service clubs cooperated to help these people. For example, during the winter of 1933–34 Heber officials distributed wood to needy families using the LDS ward structure to make sure it reached the people in need. Midway started a “make work” wood-hauling project in January 1933, but after spending seventy-seven dollars in one month, the town council discovered that it was more than it could afford. Using the Smith-Hughes program, the school offered adult night classes and encouraged a “back to the farm movement.” The *Utah School Reports* explained, “A new concept of agriculture is being pioneered, and if successful in translating theory into practice, a new farm economy will replace our worn concepts in both crop and livestock production and general farm management.”⁵

Federal “Alphabet” Programs

Despite attempts to use existing programs to resolve the growing economic crisis, things got worse in Heber. In 1933, 206 residents signed a petition asking the city to develop a public-works project to help the unemployed. The mayor and the city council supported the idea in principle but could not come up with a definite plan. Later, though, they decided to build a new city hall rather than use an existing building because the new construction would put men to work. They also hoped to get money from the state advisory board and the Federal Emergency Administration to redo the Heber Water Works. City leaders felt this would be a “practical and sound make-work project to relieve unemployment.” Mayor H. Clay Cummings went to Salt Lake City and found that it would be impossible to get an electric and water works project through the CWA since that agency mainly covered wages and there would be high material costs. He suggested making two proposals—one for upgrading the main line from the spring through the PWA and one to improve the distribution system under the CWA. Heber submitted the proposals, and the federal government approved the PWA proposal in 1935. The government provided 30 percent of the labor and material to the city; the city agreed to pay the rest over twenty-five years. The contractor submitting the lowest bid received the work, but he had to agree to hire local citizens. The project included replacing the sandstone walls of the storage tanks with concrete and redoing the main lines, and the city used hand labor instead of a trenching machine to dig the water lines providing more work to those who were unemployed.⁶

The WPA also funded projects in the county. In 1935, 64 people in Wasatch County received WPA assistance; that number went up in 1936 to 201 but dropped in 1937 to 117 because of cutbacks. It went back up in 1938 to 160. The Heber City government suggested that the WPA improve the sidewalks and install a sewer system. The federal agency did not approve the sidewalk proposal but agreed to provide WPA funds for a sewer in 1937. In 1941 the government extended the project for three years. The city charged fifty dollars for residential hook-ups, and the people laid their own pipes. Ironically, at the same time Heber was planning a sewer system, the WPA paid

for improving outdoor toilets. Ralph McGuire pointed out, “Rather than putting the same money into building a bathroom inside of the houses, they just replaced the existing privy with one that was a little better.” This included digging a deeper hole and installing a more comfortable seat.⁷

Midway received federal monies to beautify the cemetery, improve sidewalks, and upgrade the town’s water and the farmers’ irrigation systems. One of the more permanent New Deal projects in Wasatch County was the Midway Recreation Center. At first the community hoped to build a town, church, and school gym. In January 1937, however, the school district board asked the state board of education if it could contribute. The state reported that a school building had to be under the management of the education board though civic and church groups could contribute. Discussions continued, and in 1939 the LDS bishops, PTA officers, the town board, and school officials met again to discuss the building. The town asked the school board to pay \$3,500 rent for the next fifty years, and again the board questioned its involvement. After these setbacks, Midway residents met in January 1939 to decide “whether or not a Municipal Auditorium and Recreation Hall could or should be erected.” Two months later the town board president, William Haueter, continued the discussion of the “feasibility of erecting a public gymnasium.” The building would cost \$20,000 and the town’s contribution was \$6,000. By June the architectural plans and the WPA proposal were in place. Haueter and his brother F. O. Haueter supervised the construction using local labor and materials. The building was dedicated on 13 June 1941. By the time it was completed, the Midway Center cost \$50,000, more than two and a half times the estimated cost. The city asked people using the building to pay rent to help cover the cost. Since Midway schools used the building for play activities, the school board agreed to pay \$200 a year in rent.⁸

The WPA also sponsored school lunches. Residents suggested serving lunches at the high school as early as 1925 so the students would eat more nutritious foods. The next year a hot lunch was served at the Daniel school. Supporters of school-lunch programs felt that the lunches would improve the students’ performance in school; however, some teachers in Wasatch County did not think it

“increased the efficiency of pupils.” Part of the problem with lunches was funding. It took financial support from the WPA to get the program countywide, and the school board could not always meet federal regulations—for example, it could not afford furniture for WPA projects in 1938. Central and Midway schools had no tables; Wallsburg did receive a cupboard. In August the WPA school-lunch workers asked the board to furnish electric stoves for the Charleston, Daniel, and Wallsburg schools; a kitchen to prepare lunches for Heber’s Central and North schools; and a new site for the Wallsburg lunch room. The board suggested the workers ask the PTA for help. The only request the board funded was twenty-five dollars for the Wallsburg school to purchase vegetables and then only on condition the workers would pay back the money in the spring. A month later the school-lunch officials asked the board to furnish lumber and nails to build cupboards at the Daniel, Charleston, and Midway schools; the board denied the request.

None of the Heber schools had lunch facilities. Local WPA administrators stepped in and made arrangements with Heber City’s mayor to use a cabin to prepare lunches. The school board agreed to provide coal and electricity but not to pay the rent for the building. The next year, the school board decided to set up a lunchroom in the high school where lunches could be prepared for the city’s North and Central elementary schools as well as the high school.

Even as the school-lunch program was being established, there were growing problems because too many organizations and agencies were sponsoring the program. In 1942, two years after the school-lunch program started, county school superintendent Lula Clegg explained: “Two years ago our facilities were meager and our program full of uncertainties because of the multiplicity of agencies and organizations trying to sponsor and help the schools handling the noon hour meal. The school lunch program seemed everybody’s responsibility and as a result the entire project lacked direction and drive.” Clegg decided the superintendent’s office should take control of the lunch program.⁹

The school board helped to improve school buildings with WPA funds. In 1936 it suggested adding fire escapes, modernizing the buildings, and adding onto the Central School to consolidate the two

Heber elementary schools. Other plans included leveling the playing field in Charleston. But the school board did not have the funds to meet its share of the equipment. The next year the board attempted to get funds to tear down the Keetley school and build auditoriums at the Central and Midway schools, but it was unsuccessful with the plans. In 1943 the board sold the Keetley school to the new Park Utah Mining Company for \$1,500.¹⁰

The federal Civil Conservation Corps also provided work in the county. In 1935 the government agency moved its Hobble Creek Camp to Heber. According to reports, this camp was going to be “100% Utah men.” The *Wave* declared, “The coming of this CCC Camp will mean a great deal to the community in a financial way.” Richard McGuire recalled that the CCC workers were not local people. They came because “they had no work, no money, and no way to maintain themselves.” The local residents, he argued, didn’t need the work because they could live off the land and work in the mines. With some disdain for the federal involvement, McGuire explained, “That was paid for by the federal government from money borrowed from the government.” He saw positive benefits, though: “The CCC camp . . . resulted in a lot of good new blood in the valley.” Some corpsmen stayed, married local girls, and added to the community.¹¹

Roads

Road improvements were made in the county during the Depression of the 1930s. In 1921 the federal government had designated the highway from the Uinta Basin through Strawberry Valley to Heber Valley and Park City as federal Highway 40. But the state did not implement the marking and designation of the road until 1926. By the end of the decade Heber City officials asked for Main Street, part of the federal highway, to be paved. At first the federal government agreed to cover three-quarters of the cost to pave one mile of the street but then backed off. When the federal government withdrew its support, the state highway department agreed to provide half the cost and asked Heber City to match its contribution. Unable to raise the needed funds, Heber City postponed paving Main Street until 1940, at which time the *Wave* with a great deal of enthusiasm

reported: "Heber is destined to become one of the outstanding cities of its class in the state . . . because of its new modern thoroughfare." In the end, the local taxpayers paid three-fourths of the cost of the mile stretch of Main.¹²

There was also a big push to complete Highway 40 outside Heber City. In 1932 Wasatch County commissioners met with state officials to discuss the completion of and payment for the road from Denver to Salt Lake City. Local civic organizations argued that the new highway would provide a better mail route from Salt Lake City to the Uinta Basin. Work was slow, and in 1936 civic groups questioned why. They complained that Utah needed to keep up with improvements on the Colorado side. To encourage action, a group of one hundred marched on Salt Lake City with banners proclaiming, "We demand that highway No 40 be completed by 1937." A committee met with Governor Blood, who promised the state would complete the road by the deadline. Work began on the road in September and was finally completed in June 1938.¹³

Civic Improvements

Many of the civic improvements made in the 1910s by Heber City, Midway, Charleston, and Wasatch County were worn and outdated by the 1930s. The power plant which had been the pride of Heber City, Midway, and Charleston was badly in need of repairs. In 1930 the Central Trust Company and the Edward L. Benton Company submitted proposals to the Heber City council to use city monies to rebuild the plant. That year Heber residents approved a bond issue to reconstruct the plant, but Midway voted against it. The communities agreed to rebuild anyway, and the repaired plant started operating on 1 April 1931. Later that year Heber, Midway, and Charleston entered agreements on ownership of the repaired facility. The rebuilt power plant continued to be an expense. In 1934 Midway had to borrow money to pay its share of improving the plant.¹⁴

When electricity came to Heber City, the city could not afford street lighting. Finally, in 1935 city residents funded lighting known as the "White Way" on six Main Street blocks. When the city turned the new lights on, the business community committee rejoiced. Utah's Governor Blood and the city officials celebrated the occasion,



Heber City Library, constructed as a New Deal WPA project in 1938–39. (Allan Kent Powell)

and the Salt Lake papers proclaimed, “Heber’s white way is believed to be the last way in beauty and efficiency for a city of its class.”¹⁵

Following the cooperative pattern established by the electric plant, Midway, Charleston, Heber City, and the county cooperatively purchased fire-fighting equipment. Midway held a mass meeting in March 1932 on whether the town should participate. For a year Midway refused to help purchase the equipment. In May 1933 after Heber City agreed to pay one-half the expenses and upkeep of the equipment and the county agreed to contribute one-fourth, Midway consented to give an eighth along with Charleston. The agreement passed without opposition in a citizen meeting. By 1934 each city had its own fire substation to cut insurance rates.¹⁶

Deer Creek Reservoir

After World War I, water users from Utah and Great Salt Lake valleys turned their attention eastward in search of additional water for their growing cities and expanding farms. One important source was the unused high volume spring runoff in the Provo River watershed. If this runoff could be stored, it would help solve a water crisis.



Early Construction Work at Deer Creek Reservoir. Deer Creek was built by the Bureau of Reclamation during the 1930s. Most of the water is transported to Utah and Salt Lake counties. (Utah State Historical Society)

In 1922 water users from Utah and Salt Lake counties looked for a place to build a reservoir. They considered a location a short distance downstream from Charleston where Main Creek from Round Valley and Deer Creek joined the Provo River. There were, however, problems with this site. Much of the community of Charleston would be buried by the dam, and the Denver and Rio Grande railroad line and the highway from Heber City to Provo ran through the center of the proposed dam and reservoir. Wasatch County farmers also feared that with the construction of the reservoir they would lose precious water rights.

The Utah Water Storage Commission and federal reclamation planners, however, did not consider the Deer Creek project a top priority. Instead they constructed the Echo Dam in Summit County (begun in 1927) and the Hyrum Dam in Cache Valley (built between 1934 and 1936). As part of the Echo Dam project, the Weber-Provo diversion canal was constructed across the Kamas Valley in Summit County to the Provo River just below Francis. The purpose of this



Work on the 150-foot earth fill dam on the Provo River. A CCC camp was built and CCC workers helped in the construction of Deer Creek Reservoir. (Utah State Historical Society)

diversion canal was to transfer water from the Weber River to water users in Utah and Great Salt Lake valleys.

A severe water shortage occurred in the Great Salt Lake and Utah valleys between 1931 and 1935. Utah Lake dropped from 850,000 acre-feet to 20,000 acre-feet. In response, residents in those valleys expressed renewed interest in building a reservoir at Deer Creek. Salt Lake City and other communities along the Wasatch Front joined efforts to convince the federal government to fund the construction of the reservoir. The state presented its reports to the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works in 1933 and the Provo River project received \$2,700,000 to build the reservoir and other facilities.¹⁷

Before work could start, communities benefiting were required to form water districts that would assume financial responsibility. In March 1935 a metropolitan water-district act passed the state legislature. Despite a challenge, it was upheld by the Utah Supreme Court in July. With the structure in place, Salt Lake City, Provo, Orem, Pleasant Grove, Lindon, American Fork, and Lehi voted to form met-

ropolitan water districts. A committee representing the Provo River Water Users Association inspected the land that the dam would cover in Charleston. Though they reported it was some of the most valuable ranching land in the state, people from the Wasatch Front needed the water and were more concerned about their needs than preserving the ranch lands.¹⁸

Allen M. Winterton recalled that the state was purchasing the land for the reservoir about the time he got married. "Our farm was one of those affected by the backed up water." When the water users offered to purchase his farm, he saw no other option. Max North recalled that his father had a small farm that the Provo Water Users purchased. His parents "got as much money out of it as it was worth. . . . I know my mom and dad got enough money out of it to buy this ground up [in Heber]." Although many Charleston residents agreed to sell their land, not all were happy with the purchase prices. The *Wave* reported that 60 percent of the Charleston residents wanted more money for their land. However, most of the people accepted the amount offered. By the end of 1938 the Provo Water Users Association had purchased seventy-two tracts of land totaling 4,117.31 acres. The association paid \$364,462.66 for this land. After the sale was completed, the association sold the land to the Bureau of Reclamation.¹⁹

Still some people refused to sell their property unless they received more money. The Provo Water Users Association had the property condemned and took the owners to court. At the end of 1938, the water users' legal counsel, with help from the Bureau of Reclamation's attorneys, filed eight cases. The Wasatch County District Court records list thirty-eight cases, some dealing with the same people, between Wasatch County residents and the Provo Water Users Association. At least one of these cases regarded the purchase of an easement. The first case was heard in the Wasatch County District Court in 1938; the Arvil Scott trial lasted twelve days, and the jury awarded the defendant \$24,417 for 102.2 acres and \$4,961 for the damages to the remaining 600 acres. The Bureau of Reclamation complained, "This was greatly in excess of the appraised value . . . and grossly unjust." The water users appealed eventually to the state supreme court, but then settled out of court for 14 percent more than



Construction work on the Deer Creek Dam. (Utah State Historical Society)

the appraised value. Although this was the first case to go to court, it was one of the last resolved and was not completed until 1941. All the cases tried in Wasatch County resulted in awards higher than the appraised value. Because the bureau and the water users association felt that they could not receive a fair trial with Wasatch County juries, they requested a change of venue. Their motion was successful in only one case; the courts moved that case to the Cache County District Court. There the jury awarded \$2,000 instead of the \$800 appraised value. Because it was less than the Wasatch County courts awarded, the Bureau called the settlement “satisfactory.” Eventually the Provo Water Users Association agreed to settle most cases out of court. The association, for example, offered John and James Ritchie 14 percent more than the appraised amount for their property. The bureau and water users justified the increase since they could not win a change of venue and court costs were high.²⁰

Some Wasatch County residents were bitter about Deer Creek. In 1946 when the Forest Service asked local residents to stop overgraz-



Aerial view of construction of the Deer Creek Dam. Deer Creek buried much of Charleston and changed the overall appearance of Heber Valley. (Utah State Historical Society)

ing to protect the Deer Creek watershed, L. C. Montgomery remembered what the construction of Deer Creek meant to his family: “If you were familiar with the subject at all you would know that not one drop of water of the entire Provo River watershed is entitled to be stored in the Deer Creek Reservoir. My brother and I and Julia Anderson own about one-fourth of the water of the Daniel Creek project and it was necessary to confiscate my property to protect it.” He continued, “Then the hundreds of thousands of people [who] would get the benefits of that confiscation ought to pay me for it.” Moroni Besendorfer’s family lived above the dam in Charleston, but he knew all of the families whose property was taken. He recalled, “Some people just died because they were affected so much. It took everything they had. Some of the ranchers had beautiful homes down there. . . . It took big barns. It took livelihoods and wiped them out.”²¹

By November 1937 work on the Deer Creek Dam was ready to begin. When the government discussed the project in 1933, the *Wave*, extolling the benefits to Wasatch County, claimed that it would bring



Tunnel work during the construction of the Deer Creek Dam. (Utah State Historical Society)

employment. It did not. The Bureau of Reclamation used the CCC to clear the dam site so bidders could inspect the site and work on the construction. So work could progress quickly, the government built a CCC camp on the dam site in 1938. The buildings included a lab and office building, seven three-room residences, one three-room bunkhouse, three garages, and sewer, water, and lighting systems. The Provo Water Users Association used these structures after construction was completed.²²

The project involved more than building a dam. First, a temporary road was built around Round Valley Creek. Then the railroad, Western Union telegraph lines, and the roads from Charleston to Midway and down Provo Canyon were rerouted. The Bureau of Reclamation filled the reservoir by diverting water from the Weber and Duchesne rivers, so canals had to be built from those rivers to the Provo. While Wasatch County residents might not have supported the dam, watching the construction was exciting for their children. Moroni Besendorfer was in the fifth grade when the railroad changed its tracks. “Our teachers would get a little bit disturbed

{when we watched out the window}. We'd hurry and get our work done so we could stand and watch them."²³

Although the dam was finished in 1941, the diversion canals and aqueduct systems to transfer the water to Salt Lake County were not. World War II slowed the project because labor and resources were needed in the war effort. The government closed all CCC camps on 25 July 1942, making these workers unavailable to complete the project. The canals were completed after the war, and the reservoir was filled for the first time on 14 June 1946. The dam was the second largest earth-filled dam built by the Bureau of Reclamation. It was 1,300 feet high and 1,000 feet wide at the base, used over 2.5 million cubic yards of earth and rock fill, and cost \$15 million. When completed, it captured 152,564 acre-feet of water from the Weber, Provo, and Duchesne rivers. Sixty percent of the water came from the Weber River.²⁴

What did Deer Creek mean to Wasatch County and the rest of Utah? Its immediate effect was to cover hundreds of acres of rangeland and inundate two-thirds of Charleston. That town's population went from 343 in 1930 to 323 in 1940, a 5.5 percent drop. During the same period, Heber's population grew by 11 percent, Midway grew by 7.5 percent, and the rural areas of the county grew by 20.7 percent. The dam was responsible for some of those gains since government and contractor's employees moved to the area. From 1940 to 1943 the government continued to purchase land in Charleston, and its population continued to decline—from 323 to 175, a drop of nearly 50 percent. Deer Creek had other negative effects on Wasatch County. All valley residents lost some water rights. One resident, Calvin Giles, recalled that before Deer Creek Dam the residents had free use of the water; then "they started to put in weirs to measure water. In those days, we were used to taking all we wanted. But as time went on, they regulated the water and cut us down severely in the valley."²⁵ Like Strawberry Reservoir, Deer Creek Dam made Wasatch County an exporter of water to the more populated Wasatch Front.

Livestock

Federal policies also affected the livestock industry in the county. When the Forest Service continued to cut permits to protect the

range, cattlemen protested that the available resources should be divided in half between sheep and cattle rather than allowing three times as many sheep. When a drought added to the economic depression, sheepmen and cattlemen protested when they could not use the range earlier, and cattlemen were upset that sheep were allowed on the range first. Cattle and horse numbers were cut from 5,012 in 1934 to 4,797 in 1935 while fees were increased. Stoney W. Nicholes, a sheep owner from Utah County, recalled the permit cuts. When he first got permits in 1917, he had about 2,200 sheep. After the cuts he had about 1,500. “They took three different cuts in three years, 10 percent on them. When you came in the fall, you were too small to go onto the desert with a small setup of that kind. . . . [But] you had nowhere in the summer and the spring to go with them.” As a result, he and other sheep operators purchased permits whenever someone wanted to sell.²⁶

Agriculture

Farming remained an important part of life in Wasatch County during the 1930s. The main crops were alfalfa, mixed clover, and grass hays. In 1941, 8,000 acres were planted in those crops. County farmers also planted grain. LeRoy Sweat of Center Creek recalled, “In the spring of the year we would put three horses on a plow.” The horses got tired at first after not working all winter, but in a few days they were conditioned to work all day. After being plowed, the field was harrowed and then planted. About the end of May the farmers would have to start irrigating their crops. They would continue to water every twenty days until the grain was ripe. When the grain was ready, it was cut and stacked and farmers waited for the thresher. Since there was usually only one machine in the valley, “Sometimes the thresher wouldn’t get there until after several storms in the fall to thresh our grain.” Calvin Giles recalled, “[It] was a great occasion when we fed the threshers when they came to our place.” It would take one hundred pounds of potatoes, five gallons of milk for gravy, two or three jars of jam, and about fifteen loaves of bread. Sweat remembered that at homes that had “a real good cook sometimes we’d just slow down a little so we could get two meals there.”²⁷

Farmers used much of the hay and grain for feed. Peas contin-

ued to be a cash crop because they matured early, were usually not frozen out, and were grown even during droughts. County residents also earned salaries by operating the pea viners in Lake Creek, Center Creek, Daniel, Charleston, Stringtown, Midway, and Heber City, and also by working at the Woods Cross pea factory in Heber. Richard McGuire, who lived in Daniel, recalled that peas were the main crop in town. Harvesting time was intense since the crop ripened all at once and had to be cut as soon as possible. Farmers tried to cut their peas and get them to the viner by four in the morning so they were fresh and a high grade. Machinery broke the pods and separated the vines and pods from the peas. Then the vinery operator graded the peas. For Richard McGuire's father, Francis Preston McGuire, who ran the grader in Daniel, grading was "walking a tight rope. If he graded too good, Woods Cross would be unhappy. If he was a little on the tight side, the farmers didn't like him." LeRoy Sweat of Center Creek agreed. "If the peas were a little too old, the [vinery operators] would cull some of them but not all of them. The [farmers] felt like there was a little favoritism on whose peas were getting in there just right."²⁸

Dairy

According to a WPA report, "[Wasatch] county is rapidly becoming a leading dairy center in the state." One reason was an expanding market. Increasingly milk was transported to Salt Lake City, where it was bottled and sold directly to consumers. Farmers received a higher price for the Grade A milk that was sold for drinking instead of the Grade C milk that they had been selling for butter and cheese production. As a result, the local creameries closed, and the area lost another industry. The higher prices attracted more people into small-scale dairying; milking cows became part of almost every farm. In the 1930s, 250 to 300 farmers shipped milk to Salt Lake. Companies in Salt Lake City liked the rich milk produced in the mountains.²⁹

Education

During the early 1930s, area teachers and the county superintendent often failed to communicate. This came to a head in 1935 when teachers complained that the superintendent cut the school year

without notifying them. After a heated discussion, the board sided with the teachers, voted not to maintain Superintendent Ralph F. Nilsson, and hired Clarence Ostlund, a school superintendent from Lyman, Wyoming. The next year the school had to be closed early again because of high health costs during a scarlet-fever epidemic and the cost of playground equipment for the North School. To avoid the problems of the previous year, the board informed the teachers of the dilemma. The teachers agreed to the early closure if their salaries were not affected. The board responded that “all the public would be affected and that the levy would have to be raised, and that the teachers should come to the rescue of the people already taxed to the limit.” After a discussion, the teachers agreed that if the levy could not be raised they would take their last week pay in June. They added, however, that they felt the schools needed to maintain the current salary levels to attract the best teachers. Ostlund reported resolutions of the problems in 1936: “School conditions in Wasatch County were somewhat disturbed when I assumed the Superintendency a year ago last July. This was largely because of an accumulation of local dissatisfaction that brought on an open rupture between the trustees on one hand and the superintendent and staff people on the other. Fortunately time has assuaged many of these ills and so our system is rapidly recovering the ground lost during the period.”³⁰

Small schools continued to present problems for the Wasatch County Board of Education during the Depression because they were expensive to operate. Also, the school populations varied such that it was difficult to know how many teachers to maintain. For example, the Wallsburg and Charleston schools grew, and in 1932 residents requested additional teachers. The board gave each school an additional teacher. Not all decisions were smooth, though. In 1940 Midway residents saw a report showing Wallsburg had a lower student-teacher ratio and demanded a Wallsburg teacher be reassigned. When the school board agreed, Wallsburg patrons picketed the school and would not allow their students to attend. The community residents met with the county board, which refused to change the decision. They then took the dispute to the state superintendent, who sent an assistant superintendent and elementary school supervisor to inspect the schools. The state representatives supported the county



This school replaced the original Central School in Heber City which was destroyed by fire. (Lavon Provost)

board, saying the local school board had started the new year with four teachers in Wallsburg despite a declining enrollment because it anticipated an increase in funding. The board had not received the mill levy requested and did not have enough money to maintain the teachers in Wallsburg when they were needed elsewhere.³¹

To help control costs, the board suggested several times closing the Keetley, Daniel, and Wallsburg schools and bussing all of the students to Heber. But communities complained. In 1930, when the board decided to transport all Keetley students above the fourth grade to Heber, some Keetley residents opposed the move and suggested that the Murdock Power Plant students who were going to Heber should be required to attend the smaller school. However, the board favored consolidation and allowed the Murdock Power Plant residents to continue to send their children to Heber. The fate of the Keetley school continued to be uncertain. In 1931 there were only nine or ten students, and parents agreed to close the school so that the teacher could be used in Heber and ease overcrowding. When a resident claimed there would be at least fifteen students at the school, the board agreed to keep it open; but it warned that if there were

fewer than twelve students the school would be closed. By the beginning of school in the fall, the board said it could not afford to operate a school for so few students.³²

The Daniel school also faced closure. A community delegation opposed the move in 1934, and the board agreed to leave it open. The problem became more severe when the state board removed the Daniel school from its list of approved two-room schools, which meant the school was no longer eligible for state equalization funds. Lula Clegg, clerk for the board, explained in September 1941 that the student-teacher ratio was lower in Daniel than in other places in the county. There were only fifty-two students in the first six grades; the two teachers there had twenty-six students a piece. At the Heber Central School the ratio was thirty-five to one and at the North School it was thirty-six to one. In addition it cost \$92.71 per pupil at the Daniel school and only \$59 at the North school. If the board moved the students to Heber or Charleston, it could save the costs of salaries, heat, and maintenance of the school. A month later the Utah Supreme Court ruled that an Emery County school could not be closed without patron consent. The Wasatch County board asked the state if the case applied to Daniel, but the state board said the county could close the school as long as the board made “full and fair consideration of all factors and circumstances.”³³

As in the past, there were areas within the county where the school board paid other school districts to provide education, always debating on what was the most cost effective. In 1938 the board decided it would be cheaper to send the Bench Creek children to Heber schools, claiming lower transportation costs and better roads made sending the students to Wasatch County schools possible. Less than a month later, the board decided to continue to send the students to Woodland or South Summit High. In 1940 South Summit closed all of its smaller schools and moved all the students to Kamas, so Wasatch County had to work out new arrangements to help transport its students to the consolidated Summit County schools.³⁴

The school district worked together with the LDS church Relief Society, the Red Cross, and the communities. Some projects helped to improve children’s health. In 1939 the Relief Society sponsored, and the other organizations helped pay for, immunization clinics

which gave 673 shots for typhoid, 295 for diphtheria, and 233 for smallpox. These groups also offered dental clinics and helped cover the costs of physical examinations. Other activities involved the sharing of facilities. The LDS church used the high school domestic-science rooms to prepare a ward and stake Relief Society dinner and leased the Wallsburg and Daniel schools for church programs. The M Men group from the LDS ward in Charleston matched the school board's money to put restrooms in the school in 1938. The church also purchased surplus buildings. After the Center school closed, the LDS ward there wanted to use the building for church purposes but could not afford the rent. When the school board offered it for sale to the highest bidder, the ward bid twenty-five dollars and bought the building. The board made very little money since it cost \$15.60 to advertise the sale. When the board debated closing the Daniel school, the LDS ward there offered to buy that building.³⁵

The school board and LDS church interests did not always coincide directly, though problems were usually resolved. In 1932 the LDS stake board of education said that it would provide seminary for grades ten to twelve but would only give the ninth grade one class a week. The school board responded that since the ninth grade was part of the high school the seminary should provide equal programs for that grade. Eventually the board and the church worked out an arrangement where the seminary provided a weekly character-building program for the seventh through ninth grades, and the schools planned a program for those who did not want to attend the LDS classes. In 1934 the Mormon Mutual Improvement Association wanted to exchange use of the LDS-church-owned Heber Amusement Hall for the high school gym. The superintendent suggested that the church could rent the gym and also recommended that the students not take part in the church activities since the high school supported similar programs. In 1940 representatives from the three Heber wards and the stake asked if the board would cooperate in building tennis courts. The school board agreed that tennis courts would be good for the community but felt the city should provide them. The LDS representatives in turn suggested that the city be allowed to build the courts on the Central School lot; the city would build, maintain, and operate them. The board tabled the motion.³⁶



The Midway Town Hall, constructed in 1941, was a New Deal WPA project. (Allan Kent Powell)

The schools were also used for community activities, but there often were disagreements on how much they should be used. In 1934 the Soldier Summit residents asked the board not to allow political meetings at the school, and the board said the school should have limited use. Six years later the board explained the PTA could hold dances and parties at the school free of charge. No one could play basketball or volleyball though and no one could drink liquor. All dances had to close by midnight, and if other groups other than the PTA wanted to use the building, they would have to pay a three-dollar rental fee.³⁷

Summary

Thus, throughout the 1930s, Wasatch County remained an agricultural area; but things had begun to change. During the Depression, residents came to depend more on federal funds for community resources. Federal funds helped with sidewalks, roads, school repairs, power plant lines, and water and sewage facilities.

With the construction of Deer Creek Dam, some Charleston residents were forced to relocate and other county citizens lost water rights. The dairy industry continued to shift from a home industry to an export one. State policy changed the educational system by deciding which schools could remain open. During these years, the county became even more dependent on outside governments and industries. For the twenty-one-month period between April 1934 and December 1935, federal assistance and state and local aid amounted to \$64.64 per capita, which included work projects, a sanitation program, the Deer Creek Reservoir study, direct and labor relief through the Utah Emergency Relief Administration, and the Civil Works Administration programs. The money was used to work on twenty-one miles of road, 5,460 feet of sidewalks, three wells for fire protection, three springs for drinking water, repairs for four schools, improvements for one cemetery, and installment of four miles of power transmission lines. The highest per capita expenditure for that period in the state was Uintah County at \$92.33, and the lowest was Box Elder with \$37.20. The county average was \$76.95.³⁸ Wasatch County was thus somewhat below the state average in aid received.

ENDNOTES

1. Twenty-first Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Utah for the Biennial Period Ending June 30, 1936, 92; Utah Planning Board, "Wasatch County: Basic Data of Economic Activities and Resources" (Salt Lake City: Utah Planning Board, 1940), 5; *Wasatch Wave*, 1 September 1933, 4; 31 August 1934, 4; 15 January 1937, 1; 29 January 1937, 1; 6 March 1937, 1.

2. Utah Planning Board, "Wasatch County," 1; 11–12; Ralph F. Giles, *History*, 26, LDS Church Archives.

3. Calvin Giles, *Oral History*, interview by Rebecca Vorimo, 13 January 1994, 2–3; Giles, *History*, 26; Moroni Besendorfer, *Oral History*, interview by Rebecca Vorimo, 25 February 1994, Wasatch County Oral History Project.

4. Ralph Giles, *Oral History*, 26; Heber City Council minutes, 5 March 1936, 128; *Wasatch Wave*, 27 September 1935, 4; 12 July 1935, 4.

5. Heber City Council minutes, 6 November 1930, 330; 22 September 1933, 1; 17 January 1934, 16; 24 January 1934, 17; Midway City Council minutes, 2 January 1933, 55; 6 February 1933, 57; Utah School Report,

1938–1940, 108–9; Wasatch Stake minutes, 31 December 1932 report, LDS Church Archives. According to the report, forty families in the Heber First Ward, thirty-nine families in the Heber Second Ward, forty families in the Heber Third Ward, sixteen families in the Midway First Ward, and nine families in the Midway Second Ward needed assistance.

6. Heber City Council minutes, 7 June 1935, 76; 19 June 1935, 77–78; 25 July 1935, 85; 23 September 1935, 102; 20 July 1933, 392; 18 August 1933, 395; 18 August 1933, 395; 17 January 1934, 16; *Wasatch Wave*, 31 May 1935, 4; 24 May 1935, 4.

7. Utah Planning Board, “Wasatch County,” 7; Heber City Council minutes, 6 February 1936, 125; 15 July 1937, 164; 1 May 1941, 304; *Wasatch Wave*, 24 January 1941, 1; Ralph McGuire, Oral History, interview by Rebecca Vorimo, 12 November 1993, 7.

8. Midway City Council minutes, 3 February 1937, 239; 4 March 1937, 240; 7 October 1936, 228; 240; 17 September 1934, 136–38; 7 November 1934, 151; 16 November 1935, 203; 11 January 1939; 15 March 1939; 7 June 1939; Alma Huber, Oral History, interview by Craig Fuller, 1 March 1972, Utah State Historical Society; Wasatch County Board of Education minutes, 7 January 1937, 39; 1 February 1937, 41; 23 January 1938, 161; 21 April 1941, 302; 20 October 1941, 331; Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 612.

9. Wasatch County Board of Education minutes, 7 December 1925, 216; 18 January 1926, 221; 5 December 1938, 155; 5 August 1940, 253; 16 September 1940, 262–63; 4 November 1940, 276; 17 November 1941, 335; Seventeenth Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1928, 78–79; Twenty-fourth Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1942, 117.

10. Wasatch County Board of Education minutes, 16 February 1935, 268; 15 July 1935, 336; 20 January 1936, 377; 7 January 1937, 36; 5 April 1943, 396; 19 April 1943, 399; 4 October 1943, 410.

11. *Wasatch Wave*, 30 August 1935, 4; 13 September 1935, 4; Richard McGuire, Oral History, interview by Rebecca Vorimo, 12 November 1993, Wasatch County, 7–8.

12. *Wasatch Wave*, 11 January 1929, 4; 22 February 1929, 4; 23 August 1929, 4; 16 May 1930, 4; 22 March 1940, 1; 10 May 1929, 4.

13. *Wasatch Wave*, 19 February 1932, 4; 8 April 1932, 4; 10 July 1936, 1; 24 July 1936, 1; 25 September 1936, 1; 10 June 1938, 1.

14. Heber City Council minutes, 15 May 1930, 313; 3 December 1931, 355; *Wasatch Wave*, 11 July 1930, 4; 13 March 1931, 4; Midway City Council minutes, 26 January 1934, 112; 25 July 1934, 127–31.

15. *Wasatch Wave*, 8 February 1935, 4; 15 November 1935, 4; Journal History, 12 November 1935, 4.

16. Midway City Council minutes, 5 January 1931, 124; 4 March 1932, 17; 14 March 1932, 18–19; 5 December 1932, 49; 23 May 1933, 67–68.

17. Derrick S. Thoms, 16; Project History, Provo River Project Utah, Deer Creek Division, Volume 1 (1937), 8, 16, Bureau of Reclamation Library, Provo; *Wasatch Wave*, 17 September 1937, 1; 29 March 1929, 4; Janice M. Hammond, “Historical Background on Utah Water and Power Board Predecessor Organizations” (Utah Water and Power Board, 1964), 11, 14, Utah State Archives.

18. *Wasatch Wave*, 9 February 1934, 4; 31 July 1936; Project History, Provo River Project, 8, 16.

19. Allen M. Winterton, *Life Has Been Good to Me* (Glendale, Ariz.: Wayne’s Tabletop Press, 1987), 74; Max North, Oral History, interview by Rebecca Vorimo, 2 February 1994, Wasatch County Oral History Project; *Wasatch Wave*, 24 December 1937, 1; Project History, Provo River Project, Volume 2 (1938), 48–49.

20. Project History, Provo River Project, Volume 2 (1938), 48–49; 5 (1941), 67; 3 (1939), 53; 4 (1940), 66. The index for the district court had docket numbers for these cases; unfortunately, the clerks were unable to find the dockets. The Cache Valley case also could not be found.

21. L. C. Montgomery to W. L. Hansen, 2 March 1946, Heber Cattle Association, Appeal Case, F11–1, Uinta National Forest Files, Heber City Office; Besendorfer, Oral History.

22. *Wasatch Wave*, 26 November 1937, 1; 24 November 1933, 4; Project History 1 (1937), 38; 2 (1938), 72–73.

23. Project History, Volume 2 (1938), 72–73; 3 (1939), 30; 4 (1941), 40; 5 (1941), 26; Besendorfer, Oral History.

24. C. W. McCullough, “Wasatch County Celebrates Eighty Years of Achievement,” *Utah Magazine* 3 (July 1939), 25; Project History, Volume 9 (1945), 14; 10 (1946), 7, 5 (1941), 26.

25. Leslie S. Raty, “*Under Wasatch Skies: A History of Wasatch County, 1858–1900*” (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1954), 98; Project History, 4 (1940), 150–51; 7 (143), 51; Calvin Giles, Oral History.

26. Heber Cattle Company, 3 January 1933, 67; 8 January 1934, 20–21; L. C. Montgomery to Charles DeMoisey, 2 July 1934; George A. Fisher, Heber Cattle and Horse Company, to Emergency Drouth Committee, 23 May 1934; Charles DeMoisey to L. C. Montgomery, 9 June 1934; Heber Cattle Company, 7 January 1935, 74–85; Stoney W. Nicholes, Jr., Oral History, interview by John Bluth, 14, 16 May 1974, Simpson Springs Oral History Project, Charles Redd Center, 107.

27. Eugene A. Correll, General Agriculture, Wasatch County, 18 April 1941, Box 4, 6, 12, WPA Grazing Notes, Utah State Historical Society;

Calvin Giles, Oral History, 1; LeRoy Sweat, Oral History, interview by Rebecca Vorimo, 4 February 1994, 6–8.

28. Box 4, 12, WPA Grazing Notes, Utah State Historical Society; McGuire, Oral History, 3; Sweat, Oral History, 9–10.

29. Alvin Kohler, Oral History, interview by Rebecca Vorimo, 22 October 1993, 6–8; WPA Grazing Notes, Box 4, 6, 7, Utah State Historical Society.

30. Wasatch County Board of Education minutes, 20 April 1936, 394–95; Twenty-first Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Utah for 1936, 91.

31. Wasatch County Board of Education minutes, 2 May 1932, 134; 1 May 1933, 175; 21 August 1933, 187; 27 September 1940, 265–69.

32. Wasatch County School Board minutes, 9 September 1930, 61; 22 September 1930, 62; 19 January 1931, 78; 28 January 1931, 78–79; 2 February 1931, 80; 24 August 1931, 102; 21 September 1931, 106.

33. Wasatch County School Board minutes, 2 April 1934, 222; 5 August 1940, 254; 6 January 1941, 287–88; 6 October 1941, 328; 15 December 1941, 339.

34. Wasatch County School Board minutes, 1 August 1938, 131; 22 August 1938, 135; 5 August 1940, 252.

35. Wasatch County School Board minutes, 17 April 1939, 180; 15 May 1939, 185; 18 September 1939, 206; 30 June 1941, 231; 6 May 1940, 242; 12 August 1941, 319; 8 November 1943, 414; 13 November 1944, 449; 10 February 1938, 99; 19 November 1934, 251; 10 December 1934, 255; 4 February 1935, 266; 17 January 1938, 97.

36. Wasatch County School Board minutes, 21 March 1932, 125; 8 September 1933, 191; 5 November 1934, 250; 1 April 1940, 236–237; 15 April 1940, 240.

37. Wasatch County School Board minutes, 3 September 1934, 238–39; 1 April 1940, 235.

38. *Statistical Summary of Expenditures and Accomplishments: Utah Emergency Relief Program* (Engineering Department, Works Division: Salt Lake City, 1936), 278.

WORLD WAR II

Despite the New Deal efforts, complete relief from the Great Depression did not come until the United States entered World War II. With a war economy, industries expanded and created more jobs. But the war was more than simply ending the depression; most Americans saw it as an all-out fight to save their country and their freedoms. While the government drafted men to fight, it asked all Americans—men, women, and children—to make sacrifices to fight for victory. As Clarence Cutland, superintendent of the Wasatch County School District, explained, “In these fateful days . . . we stand ready to make every sacrifice for the defense of our country against Axis aggression.”¹ The war also brought rationing of essentials such as food, gasoline, and clothing. Americans were encouraged to spend money to buy bonds and support the war effort by contributing money.

Though on the surface Americans seemed willing to make any sacrifice to win the war, the federal government established agencies to convince citizens that the war was necessary and to enforce its restrictions. President Franklin D. Roosevelt created the Office of War

Information (OWI) in June 1942 which used the printed and radio media to articulate American values and goals for those at home and abroad. The Office of Civilian Defense (OCD) boosted citizens' morale and instructed them in civil defense programs. To deal with shortages and price controls, the government formed the War Production Board (WPB) and the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply, later the Office of Price Administration (OPA).

These agencies enforced the "sacrifices." The government warned Americans that rubber, sugar, gasoline, and other commodities were in short supply and asked people to conserve. But simply asking for voluntary control was not enough. To get the citizens to actually cut back on their use of these items, the government established a complex rationing system. The OPA administered the government rationing programs, supervising 5,500 rationing boards nationwide. Most of the boards used volunteers, but the bureaucratic demands became so complex that the OPA also had more than 60,000 full-time employees. It became, as one history explains, "everyone's favorite wartime scapegoat," and tales of OPA inefficiencies made instant folklore. For example, the OPA office in Philadelphia had to close down because it did not allocate enough fuel for itself.²

Utah benefited from the war in several ways. The federal government opened military installations and new industries such as Geneva Steel in Utah County. With an increased demand for agricultural products, farmers prospered. The war also brought a shift in the population as people from rural areas moved to urban settings to take advantage of the new employment opportunities. More people came into the area, bringing new ideas, religions, and beliefs. These expanded the state's residents' horizons but brought more of the problems of the outside world. World War II made it impossible for Utah to return to its rural past.

For Wasatch County, World War II meant the end of the Depression. But it also meant an all-out war effort. Residents supported the war by sending their sons and daughters to war, by working in war industries, and by sacrificing through rationing and war-bond programs. New industries were springing up outside the county, and some residents migrated, looking for better opportuni-



Heber City Main Street, January 1941. (Utah State Historical Society)

ties. Wasatch County later became a bedroom community for such wartime industries as Geneva Steel in Utah County.

Service Personnel

Young men from Wasatch County responded to the military needs of the country. Because of the war in Europe and the fear that the United States might have to be involved, every male eighteen years and older registered with the draft board during the fall of 1940. The first draft took place in November that year, and Wasatch County's quota was one man. Curtis Robbins went into the military, supposedly for only one year. Townspeople, the business community, friends, and the high school band gave Robbins a grand sendoff.³

On 12 December 1941, just five days after Pearl Harbor, the local newspaper opined that a "heavy quota of selective service men will be called." Two months later ten men from the county had reported to Fort Douglas in Salt Lake City for physicals; three returned after having failed their physicals. A week later the paper reported the

names of 772 men who had already registered with the county draft board. By then the military had inducted fifty-five and twenty-five had enlisted. Captain J. J. Summerhays of the state selective service headquarters visited Heber and met with the county draft board. He “severely criticized the leniency of the local board regarding the classification of registrants and emphatically stated that the law and rules as set down must be adhered to regardless of sympathetic plans and petitions filed in defense of any qualified candidate for deferment.” In April 1942 the *Wave* listed all the men registered with the local draft board and gave the order in which they would be drafted. Then each issue of the paper listed the men who were going to war.⁴

Local residents supported all the men leaving for war. When the first group went to have physicals, a women’s club gave each man a box of candy. Wallsburg and Midway held dances “in honor of all the boys of the county who leave in the near future for the US service.” In April 1944 the Wallsburg reporter wrote, “A dance was held Saturday evening in honor of Lemond Givens who is leaving in the near future for the US Army.” The LDS seminary sent newsletters and picture books of Wasatch County to encourage the servicemen.⁵

With reports from the army’s public relations department, the newspaper kept residents abreast of what was happening to the area’s servicemen. Sometimes the news was pleasant; for example, Roy D. Moulton, a Heber City airman, received many awards for his flying. Other times the information was routine—such as that Joe Lloyd was building bridges in Italy. Often, however, there were tragedies. The paper recounted that the Germans had taken a former Charleston man, Private Ferris Casper, prisoner. Lawrence Dee Clayburn of Wallsburg was wounded in France. John R. Bell, a Heber flier, was reported missing and then killed over France. The military returned Max K. Bell, the only surviving son of LaPreal Bell McKnight, to the States after one brother died and another was reported missing in action. As the war ended, the selective service column that once had listed the men leaving for the war changed to a column listing discharges. Farewell parties changed to homecomings.⁶

How Beautiful Upon the Mountains, by William James Mortimer, lists the county men who served in the military during World War II.

Twenty-two county men lost their lives in the war: seven died in the Pacific, twelve died in Europe, and three died in the United States.⁷

<i>Town</i>	<i>Army</i>	<i>Navy</i>	<i>Marines</i>	<i>Army, Navy, Marine, or Air Corps</i>
Heber	341	111	10	54
Midway	61	35	10	12
Charleston	36	21	1	10
Daniel	34	16	5	13
Center Creek/ Lake Creek	21	8	1	2
Wallsburg	39	14	3	13
Keetley	14			

A few county women also served in the military. For them the newspaper ran a short article instead of just listing their names. The military wanted more women to volunteer. In May 1944 recruiters from the four women's services came to Heber on a statewide drive "to delay as long as possible the induction of fathers and heads of families in Utah, to keep really essential agricultural workers on the farms, and essential industrial workers in their plants."⁸ There was not a rush to volunteer after the visit, however.

Home Front

Most Wasatch County residents stayed at home and waited anxiously for news of the war from afar. But while the *Wave* was full of war news, little dealt directly with the county. But the newspaper reflected the effect the war had on the residents. They were concerned about family members and friends who were gone, but in many respects life went on much the same as before the war, particularly for those who did not have family members in the war. James W. Carlile's journal from the war years, for example, did not even mention the war other than three mentions of rationing and of a few men leaving to fight and letters received from them. During the war, the high school continued to produce plays and play sports. In March 1944 the big news was that the Wasatch Wasps won their first state basketball championship. The newspaper carried several articles praising the team. The next year the Wasps won the basketball cham-

pionship again, but by then the community expected success and the newspaper coverage was not as extensive.⁹

In 1941 the high school debate team, band, and state livestock judging team won regional and state honors. But the war curtailed some of these activities. In 1943 the local board canceled a music festival in Heber because Jordan, Granite, and Davis school districts could not attend. Instead the Wasatch High band went to a regional conference in Orem. Opinions were split as to whether there should be a county fair in 1942; some thought it was a good educational tool; others felt that it would be too much celebration. When no one could come to a decision, the *Wave* complained that no one seemed to care, adding, "In the present emergency it is unpatriotic and unwise to sit back and not participate in decisions of this kind." The next year Wasatch County officials decided that a fair provided education.¹⁰

War Support

Those on the home front waited for letters from loved ones and read about the war in the newspapers. The articles included weekly features such as "Town and Farm" and "Farm War News" on how to conserve. At Christmastime, the *Wave* editorialized about what the war meant to the county. For example, in 1942 the paper declared: "Christmas this year comes to a confused world. The false prophets who guide the destinies of dictator nations have brought untold suffering to a sorely tried humanity." The towns were small enough that residents could "clearly [see] the suffering caused by war," yet, the paper continued, "the spirit of neighborly love and devotion has eased many a saddened heart . . . when the road ahead seemed impossible."¹¹ A year later the paper declared, "While it is true that the columns of this paper since last Christmas have been dominated by the efforts of the war lords . . . we know that the peace loving 'little' men of goodwill far outnumber the evil."¹²

The federal government and local organizations provided ways residents could help the war effort. Schools were recruited to provide assistance. Before the United States entered the war, the Red Cross used the Midway school during the summer of 1941 to prepare materials for British relief. During the war, the Red Cross used the domes-

tic science rooms at the high school to make bandages. School-children were heavily recruited for the Junior Red Cross.¹³

Just before the United States entered the war, Congress approved money for the State Board of Vocational Education. Ten days later, Utah set up its Vocational Education for National Defense. The Wasatch County School Board offered defense classes in wood- and metalwork at the high school under this program before the nation entered the war but canceled them when only five boys enrolled. Later the board helped sponsor auto mechanics and welding classes at the CCC camp. The newspaper congratulated a woman who graduated from the welding course and encouraged other women to sign up since there were jobs available for trained workers. The high school also sent a busload of students to the Central Utah Vocational School in Provo, and twenty-four students completed courses in welding, blacksmithing, airplane mechanics, and electricity. In May 1942 the *Wave* carried an appeal for mechanics to help construct the steel plant in Orein and do farmwork in Utah County. "With the country at war, every available worker of both sexes will be needed for agricultural work. Transportation and housing for this employment will be furnished. . . . Chaperons will be placed over each group of girls leaving any community for work in this area." In July 1943 the Woods Cross pea-canning factory urged women and men over sixteen to apply for jobs, offering higher wages than the year before.¹⁴

The school board helped in other ways. Just after the U.S. entered the war, the state school board asked high school students to build fifty model airplanes for the government. Aviation was still relatively new, and models helped the military determine how planes would fly. The local board supported the plan. Superintendent Cutland even saw the school lunch program as being part of the war effort because it kept the children alert. He wrote, "For more than 300 years Americans have fought and died for these freedoms" and during these same years the schools had praised "heroic deeds that have made America 'the land of the brave and home of the free.'" A month later Wasatch County teachers were told, "If we are to remain a free people we must defend our ideas and go all out for the American way of life. There is no freedom without the resultant responsibilities and if the flag of freedom is to be kept flying each one of us must do his

bit for the preservation of the nation against the insidious foes that are aligned against it." Midway's grade school helped "depict the role [the students] play[ed] in the nation's defense" by presenting a radio show on station KOVO. A girls choir sang patriotic songs such as "We're on our Way to Victory," and two students gave talks on how they could be involved in the nation's defense.¹⁵

Wasatch County women also encouraged each other to support the war effort. In January 1942 the Shakespearean Club, a women's book club, read *This Above All*, called "the first great novel to come out of the war." The club's reporter told the *Wave*: "All women will have to help in civic responsibilities whether they want to or not. Women cannot spurn service nor do we wish it. Women have always had to serve since the beginning of time and they will continue to do so." A year later the club's reporter asked, "Have you registered for defense?" She continued that defense was more than "soldiering [shouldering] a musket or training for air raids or such. Air raids may never come to us, if we live right, according to the Savior's plan. We have been promised protection here in the mountains, but an all out defense means everything—how you conserve on food, clothing, tires, fuel, practically everything that touches our lives." Norma Smith, the Farm Security Administrator for Utah and Wasatch counties, explained, "A farm woman who makes over an old dress or turns out the living room lamp when it isn't needed is making a contribution to America's victory program." The county school district sponsored a "ladies' gym class" Wednesday afternoons. According to a newspaper article, "At this time it is every patriotic citizen's duty to build and maintain the highest degree in physical fitness." Since homemakers took care of their families, they needed to exercise and the gym class would help.¹⁶

Men who remained at home expressed support of the war effort. The first week in January 1942, just after the United States entered the war, the 4,000 Lions Clubs throughout the country asked the members to support the war campaign. The Heber Lions Club met at the CCC camp and discussed the need to "preserve our heritage as a free people. The Heber men sent telegraphs to Utah's governor and the president of the United States "pledg[ing] our full cooperation . . . that every effort will be made and complete victory will be ours

in this war against the forces of oppression and enslavement.” The next month two Wasatch County farmers, Nephi Probst and Fred Price, took part in a “radio program . . . to show how Wasatch County farmers are adjusting to meet the changed conditions brought on by war and indicate some of the things they can do to help win the war and establish a lasting peace.”¹⁷

The government suggested ways that men, women, and children in Wasatch County could help fight the war from home. These included buying bonds, supporting rationing efforts, and providing salvage materials. A Wasatch County miner summarized these efforts in a letter to a sailor. “Though we are too old to shoulder a musket, we can still drill a round of holes and gouge out the lead you need; we can get along without things we did not think possible, we can write you a letter; we can give to the Red Cross ’til it hurts; we can produce even in that back lot if need be, the foodstuff necessary.”¹⁸

Rationing

At first, the government asked Americans to cut back voluntarily. The initial shortage was rubber. The war blocked off access to the usual sources of rubber, and the military needed all that was available for combat. While the search for synthetic rubber went on, Americans conserved the national supply. In March 1942 Leon Henderson, director of the Civilian Supply and Price Administration, reported that defense workers would have to use “reclaimed tires” while “ordinary citizens” would have to do without. The government set up a county rationing board in Heber in February 1942 to fill requests for tires.¹⁹ The *Wasatch Wave* praised and condemned the efforts of Wasatch County residents in July 1942: “Citizens in Heber and Wasatch County we feel sure are making every effort to do their part in this drive since we believe that they realize that a shortage of rubber is considered the main reason for the threatened rationing of gasoline.” The article concluded, “Remember a busted hot water bottle can help win the war.”²⁰

But eventually rationing rubber was not sufficient, and gasoline limitations had to be adopted to curtail travel. In September 1942 the federal government initiated nationwide controls. The OPA established procedures for registration, catalogued drivers, and instituted



Sawmill located on the outskirts of Heber City, January 1941. (Utah State Historical Society)

rationing by November. Those driving for “pleasure” had an A sticker that entitled them to three to five gallons a week. The highest priority sticker, an E for emergency, was assigned to policemen, clergymen, and politicians. Those claiming special needs such as farmers, defense workers, health workers, or unavoidable commuting responsibilities received B or C coupons.²¹

Sugar was the first food rationed. The rationale for the restriction was that the military used sugar in making alcohol which was then used to make gunpowder. The war in the Pacific cut off sugar from the Philippines and reduced the amount of Hawaiian sugar being produced. In May 1942 the *Wave* reported, “Next week your Uncle Samuel is registering all his relatives for sugar rationing purposes.” Wasatch residents, like those throughout the state, went to schools to register.²²

The government asked Americans to voluntarily cut the use of other goods such as meat. In November 1942 the Wasatch newspa-

In February 1943 one Heber resident explained, "Ma [his wife] was up town shopping getting a little canned stuff on hand before the ration starts."²³

Once rationing began, the government controlled the sale of food items such as meat and canned goods by issuing two ration books for each person (regardless of age) per month. One had forty-eight blue coupons for canned goods and the other contained sixty-four red coupons for meat, fish, and dairy products per month. Published schedules in 1945 show the complex system: for canned foods "stamps C2 through G2 good through April 28. Stamps H2 through M2 good through June 2, and stamps N2 through S2 good through June 30. Stamps T2 through X2 good through July 31." Different meats, fruits, and vegetables carried different point values depending on their abundance. For example, in March 1943 a can of applesauce took ten points; a year later it required twenty-five points. During the same year, grapefruit juice dropped from twenty-three points to four. In May 1943 round steak was so scarce it required more points than porterhouse or sirloin. Spareribs, brains, and tongues were plentiful and required fewer points. The next year, consumers could purchase hamburger and pork where they were available without any ration stamps, but the government still controlled the purchase of steaks, roasts, butter, margarine, cheese, and evaporated milk. As the meat supply increased during the spring of 1943, OPA issued fewer meat "red" points, but shortages a year later produced more restrictions on meats. Some canned goods became plentiful, but the rules were still complex; for example, a newspaper article explained, "The reduction in the blue point value of tomato juice and vegetable juice combinations applies only to the 24 ounce can. The value of this can is reduced from 20 to 10 points."²⁴

County officials declared that accepting rationing and using the stamps correctly was a patriotic duty. When meat rationing became mandatory in June 1943, the Wasatch County meat committee declared, "Our first aim . . . is to regulate the meat program in such a way that no sailor, soldier or marine will have to do without the meat he needs to keep him fit and strong simply because someone in Wasatch County didn't do his part." The *Wave* continued to carry articles about rationing. Almost all the articles came from wire ser-

vices and were not about Wasatch County. The government asked residents to support the ration-board members and their decisions. An article in the *Wave* asked that when the board turned down requests that the citizens “make the best of it in a spirit of patriotism and cooperation. Do not be resentful with your friend and neighbor of the rationing board. He is serving his country and without pay to assist in the general plan of civilian defense.” There were black markets, but few people talked about them. Not collecting stamps for home-produced goods sold or exchanging stamps with neighbors was technically breaking the law, but few Americans remember that. A rare hint in Wasatch County was when Nephi Probst said that farmers selling butter also had to collect rationing stamps.²⁵

War Drives

Wasatch County residents, like other Americans, supported the war effort by contributing to drives. At the beginning of the war, the Red Cross asked Americans to donate books. Edna Montgomery, the chair for the Wasatch County book drive, carefully pointed out that the Red Cross did not want old textbooks, encyclopedias, congressional records, or books that “will in anyway tear down morale.” She encouraged nonfiction, especially *Berlin Diary*, *Inside Asia*, and *You Can't Do Business with Hitler*. In two weeks county residents collected more than 500 books: the CCC camp gave over 300; schools gave 200. The county drive was so successful that L. M. Kirkpatrick, the director of the Utah division of the Victory Book Campaign, wrote to Montgomery, “Heber City should be proud of the way they have responded to the Victory Book campaign. After losing your library a year or so ago, to give so generously is certainly a mark of real patriotism.” When the campaign ended in March 1942 he wrote again, “Wasatch County has contributed the most per capita of the whole state.”²⁶

Residents did not always meet the federal government's expectations. For example, throughout the early part of the war the government asked Americans to turn in scrap metal. The appeals started as early as January 1942. Anderson Implement Store in Heber offered to collect iron until there was enough to take to a smelter. In April city officials and the LDS church staged clean-up efforts and encour-

aged residents to give any old metal they found to the war effort. The city asked all businesses to close one morning so the employees could participate in the clean-up. It was not enough. In May 1942 the War Production Association mailed a form letter to all Wasatch County residents. The *Wave* asked all citizens to return the attached card listing the scrap metal they had. The article concluded, "Because the scrap metal and rubber on your premises is badly needed for the production of war materials, will you kindly attend to this matter at once?" To encourage more people to turn in metal, the government set quotas for the states. The state committees then divided these up by county and community. These quotas provided opportunities for friendly competition. In June the *Wave* reported that Heber City and the surrounding area needed to collect more metal to keep up with the rest of the state.²⁷

The county committee made special appeals to get people involved. The local "Salvage for Victory" committee told women they would help local soldiers in building "bombs for Berlin." "An increasing number of boys from this city are already seeing active service. We on the home front must see to it that industry does not lack the materials needed for adequately arming and equipping them." It was hoped that "true to feminine tradition in this war Wasatch women will play a leading role in the campaign" for scrap metal. In October the local board promised the LDS wards money for the scrap they collected and then added an emotional appeal: "Your neglect may cost some brave boy's life. Do your part! Get in your scrap!"²⁸

The articles also carried practical advice. The board asked housewives to go through their houses and examine pots, knives, bed-springs, chairs, and wire clothes hangers. It also asked farmers to double-check their equipment and give what they were not using. Everyone was asked to look along the side of the roads for metal. When it looked like the county would not make its quota, the *Wave* exclaimed, "Our Nation is facing a crisis in its war production program. Unless we immediately salvage at least 6 million tons of scrap iron and steel and great additional quantities of rubber and other materials, we are not going to meet our production quotas, and our boys and our Allies are not going to get the materials they need in time. . . . The situation is serious. . . . Your help is needed now." When

the drive ended, Wasatch County was still short. Although residents had turned in 232 tons of scrap, the county had not gone “over the top.” Wasatch was seventh out of twenty-six counties in per capita scrap collection, however. The salvage efforts continued throughout the war. In April 1944 the *Wave* explained, “Salvage collection is one way we can assist in bringing this conflict to an end. Let us all do our part on the homefront.”²⁹

Federal Bonds

Rationing limited goods and using salvage materials could not pay for the entire war. It cost large sums of money for the government to build ships and airplanes, underwrite its Allies, and arm, train, and maintain its troops. The federal government imposed a 5 percent surcharge on all income taxes. But taxes paid for less than half the cost of the war. One way to raise money was to ask the citizens to “invest” in America by buying bonds, of which the government sold seven types. Corporations purchased Series C tax notes or two types of treasury bonds that paid 2 or 2.5 percent interest depending on when they matured. Individuals bought Saving Bonds Series E, F, or G. In all, Americans bought \$135 billion in bonds during the war in units ranging from \$25 to \$10,000.³⁰

In April 1942 the *Wasatch Wave* declared: “We are in an all out total war for the preservation of our national existence and our right to live as free men. Let’s rise to the challenge and support our great President and all our officials on high places.” In doing so, the paper concluded that the country could achieve “maximum efficiency in this gravest hour in the history of civilization.” LDS church apostle Charles A. Callis praised Utah and the nation for oversubscribing to the 1943 bond sale: “This shows that patriotism is not dead and that the love of pleasure does not predominate the spirit of sacrifice. Every American should do all he can to frustrate the wicked ambition of those who would rather rule in hell than serve in heaven.” This continued to be a theme argument throughout the war. In April 1945, as the war was ending, Governor Herbert B. Maw issued a proclamation “calling attention to an increasing desire to expedite the war being waged in defense of liberty of the individual, of security for this government, of civilized ideals throughout the world.” There also were

financial reasons to participate. John A. Anderson, the chair of the Wasatch County War Bond staff, pointed out that not only was purchasing bonds essential for winning the war but that the purchasers would receive four dollars for every three dollars when the bonds matured.³¹

As with other war efforts, the government also sponsored bond drives and set quotas. In May 1942 the U.S. treasury's goal was one billion dollars a month by July. The May quota was \$600 million, and Utah's share was \$1.2 million. The quota was based on citizens spending 10 percent of their income on bonds. During the war, the federal government sponsored seven war-bond drives.

Wasatch County residents viewed meeting quotas as a patriotic duty and rallied to show their support. In 1942 Governor Maw declared the second week in February Defense Saving Week. Schools, communities, and churches encouraged people to purchase bonds and stamps. The Wallsburg school gave each student a stamp book. Center Creek, Daniel, Charleston, Midway, and Heber each had a bond meeting. During that week LDS sacrament meetings stressed the need to purchase bonds. The *Wave* carried cartoons showing employees asking "pay me with defense stamps . . . and if you'd like to give me a raise, you can make it bonds." Articles asked children to buy stamps instead of valentines. Clarence Ostlund, who headed the bond drive in the county, stressed, "Wasatch county has 92 boys in the armed forces . . . and it is our duty, as true Americans to support them by the purchase of defense bonds and stamps."³²

To emphasize the importance of purchasing bonds, in April 1942 the bond committee divided the county along ward lines and assigned individuals and service organizations to visit each home. The newspaper detailed the county quota; each citizen needed to purchase \$1.07 worth of bonds in January, \$0.96 in February, and \$1.28 in March. A week after the article appeared, the members of the committee visited every home. According to a report, "They were very successful and found most of the people very loyal and willing to do what they could in defense of our country."³³

Each month the *Wave* proudly listed bond sales. In April 1942 Heber raised over \$7,000. In May the county purchased \$11,987.50, more than \$9,000 over its quota. The newspaper reported that the

Charleston town council had purchased \$3,000 in series F bonds and then explained, "Doesn't it make you proud to be an American. . . . Let's all resolve here and now to meet our pledges and help our country and our boys carry on in the greatest fight for freedom the world has ever known. Let's each soberly and resolutely resolve to keep the flag of freedom flying over our homes and our children, over our embattled coasts, over the high seas and over all liberty loving people. Let's buy war bonds and stamps." Ralph F. Giles, Heber's mayor from 1939 to 1947, recalled, "Shortages of materials and the City's low priority prevented our purchasing except bare necessities with which to maintain, not to mention, improve city services." Heber City bought a \$500 government bond every month so the city could buy supplies when they were available.³⁴

Wasatch County leaders tried a variety of ways to encourage residents to buy bonds. Owners of the New Park Utah Mining Company were proud to report that their 200 employees all signed up for payroll deductions to buy bonds. Citizens turned out to see Uncle Sam's War Caravan on war bond day. Simultaneously, the Ideal and Wasatch theaters offered a free movie ticket for the last week in September 1942 to each person who purchased a twenty-five-dollar bond. A year after Pearl Harbor, the women's division of the war-bond staff sponsored a remembrance program in the Heber tabernacle. Heber City mayor Ralph Giles spoke and the high school presented a play, "Father Wins the Peace." The committee sold \$12,258 worth of bonds that day.³⁵

In February 1943 Wasatch High School planned a special bond drive. The students wanted the \$1,300 they hoped to raise to go toward purchasing jeeps and parachutes. Although the army would not allow them to list how the money would be spent, the students were still enthusiastic. They made plans to collect money in their home rooms and to have concerts and plays. The state war-bond committee encouraged their efforts by promising to send a military talent show to Heber if the students met their goals. The high school drive was more than successful—a week after it started, the students had raised \$4,420. Principal O. L. Pearson declared that the drive had "eclipsed even the fondest dreams of the most optimistic." The state sent the talent show. It was held in the LDS tabernacle so everyone in

the county could come. By the next week the students had raised \$10,000.³⁶

The second war-bond drive started in April 1943. For this drive and the next four of the five that followed, local businesses placed a full-page advertisement in the *Wave* asking people to buy bonds. The quota was higher: Wasatch County was asked to raise \$200,000. Nephi Probst, chair of the agriculture committee, encouraged farmers to buy bonds: "Since the farmer is first and hardest hit in a depression following the inflation, he knows the importance of a counter inflationary program." Probst added that purchasing bonds would "take money out of circulation when consumer goods are scarce and thereby retard inflation." Wasatch County exceeded its quota for the April bond drive by \$33,500, including \$125,000 bought by the Commercial Bank of Heber City.³⁷

The county also topped its quota for the third bond drive by raising \$263,936. Again, businesses purchased most of the bonds. The New Park Mining Company bought bonds worth \$100,000, the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad acquired \$10,000, and Utah Power and Light purchased \$2,000. Businesses were purchasing most of the war bonds throughout the United States. The federal government had hoped citizens would buy the bonds and started setting quotas for the types of bonds as well as the amount.

For the fourth war-bond drive in January 1944, Wasatch County's quota was \$199,500—\$110,000 of that for individuals. By the middle of February the county had purchased the \$199,500 but did not have enough individual sales. Before the end of the drive, however, the area made its goal.³⁸

As the war wound down, people did not buy as many bonds. Leaders had to use new methods to get people to buy bonds. There was the "you are doing wonderful but you can do better" appeal. The *Wave* declared at the end of the fifth bond drive, "We are one of the very few counties in the State who have exceeded the quota in each of the five war loan drives. That shows not only loyalty and patriotism to the war effort but sound judgment of our citizens who have so generously invested their funds in bonds of the greatest nation on earth."

The sixth war-bond drive in November 1944, just six months

after the fifth ended, started slowly. The school board was so afraid the county would not make its goals that it considered using salary funds to purchase a bond. This was not necessary, though.

There was fear that the seventh drive in May 1945 would be even slower, so the *Salt Lake Tribune* and a movie association sponsored a statewide queen contest. Contestants were nominated based on the number of bonds sold in their name, and won based on the number of bonds sold. Wasatch County sent Mrs. Myrl Dayton Mayhew as its representative to the state contest. The bond drive after the war was over was called a Victory Loan Drive.³⁹

Businesses

As in other parts of the United States, county businesses appealed to patriotism as a way to sell products. A Heber Exchange advertisement provided information for customers on ration stamps. Ellis Clyde claimed he could repair tires without rationing. The Denver and Rio Grande Railroad urged Wasatch County people to “travel on the train and save cars and tires to help Uncle Sam.” Anderson Implement and Hardware encouraged farmers to feed their animals Purina Chows and save grain and other feeds for the war effort. Seiter Bakery said it would use the money it collected on Lincoln’s birthday in February 1942 to purchase bonds. Stores advertised seeds to plant victory gardens. When the federal government offered a premium on copper, lead, and zinc, the Park Utah Mine reopened the Keetley mine. According to the mine officials, “Your company has fully realized its responsibility to use every effort to produce so as to do all in its power to develop and produce these needed materials for the war effort.”⁴⁰

Agriculture

Throughout World War II, Wasatch County’s primary economic base was still agriculture. Food was in high demand, and the Department of Agriculture encouraged farmers to grow more. The department’s secretary declared 9–14 March 1942 Plant for Victory Week and asked all farmers to increase their crops. By the end of the week, 403 farmers, or 95 percent of the farmers in the county, had signed pledges to increase their crops. However, the newspaper



Heber City Main Street, January 1941. (Utah State Historical Society)

reported the plan was not to plant every available acre as in World War I; instead, farmers should boost their production on the acres they were farming. The government rewarded cooperating farmers. The state extension agents supported classes on how to increase production. Those who pledged to grow all their own food could display a window sticker showing they supported the war. The next year, the farmers who signed up for the Food for Freedom program received a certificate. Even more importantly, the Department of Agriculture offered loans to help farmers meet their production goals. The efforts were successful. In March 1943 the *Wave* reported that 135 farmers in the county had increased their production by 10 percent to as much as 13 percent.⁴¹

The government encouraged everyone to plant “victory” gardens and offered encouragement and rewards. The state extension service gave special lectures on growing gardens. In September 1942 the state invited women from Heber and Midway to visit Julia Anderson’s garden in Daniel. There they saw “one of the most complete gardens that is grown in our county. Mrs. Anderson and her sister Marie Erickson produce practically 100 percent of their home food supply right there on their farm.” There were also other incentives. Toward the end of

the war those with victory gardens could receive extra gasoline rations.⁴²

The local Future Farmers of America also helped support the war with awards to young men who produced farm goods. In January 1945 the club recognized two Daniel boys. Sherman Fisher had grown six lambs and forty turkeys and raised two acres of peas and one acre of potatoes. In addition, he had a victory garden and had spent 102 hours fixing farm machinery. Bill Casper also had a victory garden, worked on farm machinery for 128 hours, and raised two acres of peas and ten hogs. Other students also helped. Schools dismissed those needed to help with spring planting with full credit for the term if they met preparation requirements.⁴³

All citizens had to register with the labor committee in their community and state their ability to work. "It will be considered the patriotic duty of every citizen of the county," the *Wave* declared, adding, "No able bodied persons should be allowed to roam about with nothing to do during these war times as the production of food is so necessary in the winning of the war."⁴⁴

Other than agriculture and mining, most wartime employment was outside the county. As a result, the county's population dropped between 1940 and 1943. Heber lost 7 percent of its population, Midway dropped 4 percent, and the rural areas decreased by 6 percent. World War II may have influenced the population decline in some areas as people moved to the cities for jobs.

Keetley and Japanese Americans

Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, many Americans feared continued aggression on the mainland. Unable to recognize the difference between Japanese Americans and Japanese citizens, Americans feared that Japanese Americans would support their homeland rather than their adopted country. To prevent Japanese Americans living on the coast from assisting Japan, the United States government forced them to relocation centers throughout the West. Before the forced resettlement, the government allowed some to voluntarily move inland. Those wishing to move faced several problems. First, it was hard to find an area where the current residents were not hostile and did not question the Japanese Americans' loyalty. In addi-

tion, with rationing, many Japanese Americans could not get enough fuel for lengthy travel. Despite these limitations, some looked to relocate in Utah and selected Keetley.⁴⁵

Keetley started as a mining community, but the Depression of the 1930s hit the mining industry hard and the town's population dropped. By the early 1940s the only remaining residents serviced highway travelers. Fred Isamu Wada, the first Japanese American to come to the area, decided to explore possibilities in Utah because his wife was originally from Ogden. He first looked in Roosevelt. Residents of Duchesne County were willing to accept the Japanese Americans, but Wada felt it was too far from the railroad. He passed through Keetley and liked the area. Later he signed an agreement with George A. Fisher, the founder of the mining community; Wada gave Fisher \$500 as a down payment to lease 3,500 acres. When Wada's references in Oakland checked out, Fisher agreed to the lease. Wada subsequently paid an additional \$7,500.⁴⁶

Some Heber City residents were angry when they heard that Japanese Americans would be moving into their county and protested to Governor Herbert Maw. Maw was upset because he had told Wada he could only go to counties that agreed to let the Japanese Americans settle there, and only Duchesne County had consented. Fisher tried to calm the Heber residents by explaining that he would only accept "citizen Japanese," but some local residents still opposed the move.⁴⁷

The first Japanese Americans arrived in the area on 26 March 1942. By the last week of March fifteen families had relocated from San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, and Santa Barbara. The last group arrived just before the federal government revoked Japanese American permission to move on 30 March. The *Wasatch Wave* declared that the new arrivals were all American-born Japanese and continued, "They will produce food stuffs and materials for their own maintenance and will operate as a nonprofit organization."⁴⁸

The Wasatch County School Board questioned who should provide schooling for the Japanese students. Wada told the board there were twenty-nine high school and twelve elementary students in the area and suggested the board hire a Japanese teacher. The board decided to ask for federal funds to help educate the newcomers.



Japanese Relocation Farm, Keetley, Utah. (Utah State Historical Society)

When it did not receive funding for a separate school, the board had the students attend Wasatch County schools. In September board members asked Superintendent Clegg to make sure the school principals were “tolerant of the Japanese children.”⁴⁹

Farming in Keetley was not easy. One Japanese American recalled that after the snow melted it was “all hilly with rocks and sagebrush. Hell, we had to move fifty tons of rocks to clear 150 acres to farm.” Clark L. Wilson, an engineer and geologist for the New Park Mining Company, remembered seeing the Japanese Americans pulling the alfalfa roots by hand so they could plant lettuce and strawberries. He continued, “I recall a little fuss when Wada and his group moved in but it was soon quieted down and they were excellent neighbors—well respected for their hard work and quiet living.” After the war, the Japanese stayed to harvest their crops and then moved. Keetley returned to being a sleepy rural town. By the 1980s it was not much more than a road sign.⁵⁰

War’s End

When the war ended, Wasatch County celebrated with the rest of the nation. The *Wave* recorded, “When the news was heard . . . the

residents of Heber went wild with ecstasy, with sirens shrieking and wildly honking cars racing up and down main street. The Wasatch High School band marched and played on Main Street in Heber. Residents attended a free Tuesday evening dance in the Heber Social Hall.⁵¹ Wasatch County residents had responded similarly to most other Americans to World War II. They sent their sons off to war, scrimped to buy bonds, salvaged scraps, grew more crops, accepted rationing, and cooperated in other ways to help the United States win the war. Because of the war, there was an increase in dependency on state and federal policies, as there had been in previous decades.

ENDNOTES

1. *Wasatch Wave*, 19 December 1941, 1.
2. For more information on the federal agencies, see Allan M. Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America during World War II* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1986), 28–39. The story about the rationing board comes from Ronald H. Bailey, *The Home Front: U.S.A.* (Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life Books, 1977), 110.
3. Guy S. McDonald, Personal History, in possession of Guy S. McDonald.
4. *Wasatch Wave*, 12 December 1941, 1; 23 January 1942, 1; 6 February 1942, 1; 3 April 1942.
5. *Wasatch Wave*, 23 January 1942, 1; 13 March 1942, 1; 6 February 1942; 29 May 1942, 1; 14 April 1944; 4 February 1944, 1.
6. *Wasatch Wave*, 8 September 1944; 18 August 1944, 1; 9 March 1945, 1.
7. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 1149–58.
8. *Wasatch Wave*, 5 May 1944, 1.
9. James W. Carlile, Journal, 2 June 1943, 31 March 1943, 15 October 1943, 15 December 1943, 1945, Utah State Historical Society. These are the only mentions of servicemen. Mentions of other wartime activities are scattered in the journal. *Wasatch Wave*, 24 March 1944, 1; 23 March 1945, 1.
10. Wasatch County Board of Education minutes, 17 February 1941, 294; 19 May 1941, 308; 6 October 1941, 327; 6 April 1946, 349; *Wasatch Wave*, 10 April 1942, 1; 19 March 1943, 1.
11. *Wasatch Wave*, 25 December 1942, 1.
12. *Wasatch Wave*, 24 December 1943, 1.

13. Wasatch County Board of Education minutes, 30 June 1941, 313; *Wasatch Wave*, 19 December 1941, 1.

14. Twenty-fourth Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Utah, 1942, xiv; Wasatch County Board of Education minutes, 16 February 1942, 343; *Wasatch Wave*, 5 May 1942, 1; 4 September 1942, 1; 15 May 1942, 1; 2 July 1943, 1; Utah School Report, 1942–1944, 165.

15. Wasatch County Board of Education minutes, 16 February 1942, 343; *Wasatch Wave*, 19 December 1941, 1; 23 January 1942; 3 April 1942, 1.

16. *Wasatch Wave*, 16 January 1942; 20 February 1942, 1; 16 January 1942, 1; 27 November 1942, 1.

17. *Wasatch Wave*, 8 January 1942, 1; 20 February 1942, 1.

18. *Wasatch Wave*, 16 January 1942.

19. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 6 March 1942, 1; *Wasatch Wave*, 20 February 1942, 1.

20. *Wasatch Wave*, 3 July 1942.

21. *Wasatch Wave*, 9 May, 31 May, 26 September, 14 October, 17 November, 1942; Ronald H. Bailey, *The Home Front: U.S.A.* (Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life Books, 1977), 110.

22. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 March 1942, 1, 8; *Wasatch Wave*, 1 May 1942, 1.

23. *Wasatch Wave*, 27 November 1942, 1; Carlile, *Journal*, 16 February 1943.

24. Bailey, *The Home Front*, 112; *Salt Lake Tribune*, 8 April 1945, B-1; 1 May 1943, 1; 4 May 1944, 1; 27 April 1945, 1.

25. *Wasatch Wave*, 11 June 1943, 1; 13 February 1943, 1; 23 January 1942, 1; 11 June 1943, 1.

26. *Wasatch Wave*, 16 January 1941, 1; 30 January 1942, 1; 6 February 1942, 1; 27 March 1942, 1.

27. *Wasatch Wave*, 23 January 1942; 20 February 1942, 1; 10 April 1942, 1; 15 May 1942, 1; 12 June 1942, 1.

28. *Wasatch Wave*, 7 August 1942, 1; 31 July 1942, 1; 28 August 1942, 1; 9 October 1942, 1.

29. *Wasatch Wave*, 31 July 1942, 1; 11 September 1942, 1; 2 October 1942, 1; 14 October 1942, 1; 21 October 1942, 1; 14 April 1944, 1.

30. Bailey, *The Home Front*, 108. Allan W. Winkler says that taxes covered 50 percent of the war costs; see *Home Front U.S.A.: America during World War II* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1986), 19. Samuel Eliot Morison said taxes paid for 40 percent of the war costs; see *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 1010. *Wasatch Wave*, 23 April 1943. Bailey, *The Home Front*, 108;

Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.*, 19. see Morison said that it was 97 billion; Morison, *Oxford History*, 1010.

31. *Wasatch Wave*, 20 November 1942, 1; Charles A. Callis, October 1943, *Conference Reports* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1943), 55; *Salt Lake Tribune*, 8 April 1945, 12-A.

32. *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1 May 1942, 8; *Wasatch Wave*, 30 January 1942, 1; 6 February 1942; 6 February 1942, 1; 3 April 1942, 1.

33. *Wasatch Wave*, 10 April 1942, 1.

34. *Wasatch Wave*, 15 May 1942, 1; 12 June 1942, 1; Ralph F. Giles, *History*, 30.

35. *Wasatch Wave*, 26 June 1942, 1; 25 September 1942, 1; 11 December 1942, 1.

36. *Wasatch Wave*, 19 February 1943, 1; 26 February 1943, 1; 5 March 1943, 1.

37. *Wasatch Wave*, 2 April 1943, p; 23 April 1943, 1; 7 May 1943, 1.

38. *Wasatch Wave*, 1 October 1943, 1; 7 January 1944, 1; 11 February 1944, 1.

39. *Wasatch Wave*, 14 July 1944, 1; 17 November 1944, 1; 4 May 1945, 1; 13 July 1945, 1; 18 October 1945, 1; Wasatch County Board of Education minutes, 7 February 1944, 423. I am guessing that nothing happened since the board minutes did not mention the subject again.

40. *Wasatch Wave*, 28 January 1944; 19 February 1943; 10 April 1942, 2; 6 February 1942; 29 January 1943, 1; 16 January 1942, 1; 13 March 1942, 1.

41. *Wasatch Wave*, 6 March 1942, 1; 13 March 1942, 1; 22 January 1943, 1; 12 June 1942; 11 June 1943, 1; 5 March 1943; 12 March 1943, 1.

42. *Wasatch Wave*, 18 September 1942; 30 March 1945.

43. *Wasatch Wave*, 12 January 1945, 1; *Utah School Report*, 1942–1944, 165.

44. *Wasatch Wave*, 8 May 1942, 1.

45. Sandra C. Taylor, "Japanese Americans and Keetley Farms: Utah's Relocation Colony," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (Fall 1986): 328–29.

46. *Ibid.*, 333–34, 336–37.

47. *Ibid.*, 336.

48. *Ibid.*, 337; *Wasatch Wave*, 3 April 1942, 1.

49. Wasatch County Board of Education minutes, 14 April 1942, 353; 7 September 1942, 367; 17 September 1942, 371.

50. Taylor, "Japanese Americans," 337; Clark L. Wilson to Stanford J. Layton, 9 January 1987, Utah State Historical Society.

51. *Wasatch Wave*, 17 August 1945, 1.

RETURNING TO NORMALCY AND DEPRESSION, 1946–1975

Following World War II, the United States attempted to return to normalcy. Once rationing ended, Americans wanted to buy new cars, homes, and household appliances—all scarce during the war. Government programs for education and housing helped many returning veterans go to college and purchase homes. The 1950s and 1960s were for many a time of luxury. New inventions provided Americans better communication and made common tasks easier and less time consuming. Television became almost a necessity for every home, providing on-the-spot entertainment. Television sitcoms helped define the American view of the ideal family lifestyle. Advertisements convinced people to buy more.

The country remained a leader in the free world. The Soviet Union moved into Eastern Europe after World War II, and many feared another war, this time against the Communists. Such a conflict would be even more threatening because atomic weapons were now available. The Cold War was more than just anxiety; it also meant worldwide police action. The United States attempted to pro-

tect certain nations, sometimes by sending troops. Americans fought in Korea and Vietnam.

Actual fighting as well as the threat of war forced the United States to keep up its military strength. With government spending and the demand for consumer goods, the economy grew and did not enter the recession many Americans feared would follow the war. Construction jobs were plentiful as people built new homes in the suburbs, schools, public buildings, and churches that had been delayed because of the war.

While there was a move toward “bigger, newer, and better,” there was also an attempt to preserve the old. The Historic Preservation Act of 1966 encouraged the saving of elements of the past. Utahns formed a private organization, the Utah Heritage Foundation, initially to save the Wasatch Stake Tabernacle and Heber City Town Square and later to lobby for other historic buildings in danger of demolition. With financial assistance from the federal government, the state established a preservation office in 1969.

With an economy dependent on mining and agriculture, two industries that did not share in the postwar prosperity, people began leaving Wasatch County. The county’s population dropped from 5,574 in 1950 to 5,285 in 1960. Economic conditions improved during the 1960s, resulting in a population increase to 5,863 in 1970. But the main industries continued to decline. Agricultural values fell from \$2,267,981 in 1930 to \$1,911,164 in 1954. Construction plunged one-half from 1956 to 1958. There was a 5 percent drop in manufacturing, wholesale, and retail sales from 1930 to 1954, and the number of stores in the county continued to decline. According to business listings, the number of manufacturers in the county dropped from 102 in 1952 to 92 in 1957. In 1972 the J. C. Penney store in Heber closed its doors. The district manager explained, “The economics of the situation just don’t permit us to continue.” According to a 1959 study, the area was “rather static, rustic and beset with the economic and social problems of a declining population.”¹

To help offset the depressed economic conditions, businesses asked local residents to shop at home. They planned special shopping seasons so the residents would patronize their stores. In March 1953 when the Wasatch High School basketball team won the state cham-

pionship, businesses sponsored a parade as part of “flying saucer day” in honor of the team and the start of the spring shopping season. The county attempted to encourage new business, and some moved to Heber. Osborn Apparel Company opened a Heber sewing factory in 1962 which hired seventy people. The company officials explained that they selected Heber Valley because there was a building they could remodel and because of the “cooperative attitude of the community and power company officials.” Two years later the company expanded and became Utah Sportswear. The company hired more women, and the *Wave* praised it as an important economic tool in the area. Despite these efforts, Wasatch County remained depressed and eligible for federal aid. In 1964 the *Wave* explained that the county should take advantage of redevelopment funds, pointing out that Treasure Mountain Resorts in Summit County had converted mines into ski resorts. Two years later, however, the county had not used any of these funds.²

Mining

Following World War II, mining in Wasatch and Summit counties became less important. There was less demand for some ores as wartime industries closed, and worldwide markets flooded the U.S. with cheaper metals. In 1949 area mining companies told workers they would have to take a cut in pay if the mines were to remain open. The workers refused, and the companies laid off 500 men. The effects on Wasatch County were immediate. Retail sales dropped as miners had less money to spend. Although the mines eventually reopened, the situation remained unstable. In 1953, when the mines closed again, Wasatch County felt the impact. Miners sought employment out of the area. Other businesses closed or laid off workers as the economy declined. During this period, Keetley lost nearly all its population. Over founder and mayor George A. Fisher’s protest, the government closed the town’s post office.³

In response to the mine closings, the *Wave* circulated a “preserve our community day petition” in 1953. County residents appealed to the House of Representative Ways and Means Committee, the Utah congressional delegation, the Secretary of the Interior, and the President of the United States to support metal prices. According to

the petition, mining brought \$60,000 a month to Wasatch County and was a necessary industry. The appeal worked. Park City and Wasatch County mines reopened as President Dwight D. Eisenhower agreed to stockpile lead and zinc, although he still refused to raise tariffs. The good economic conditions did not last. In 1956 the New Park Mining Company closed the Mayflower Mine, laying off 290 men. Later, when New Park Mining Company leased the mine to independent contractors, the United Steelworkers sued, but the union lost its argument in federal court.⁴

There were some bright spots in the depressed market. In 1961 the Hecla Mining Company of Idaho leased the Mayflower Mine from the New Park Mining Company. The next year it opened a new automated mill that could process 400 tons a day, separating the ore into lead-copper concentrate and zinc concentrate. In 1966 the mine was the sixth largest gold producer in the United States, and the next year it produced 72,000 ounces of gold. In 1958 the Mayflower Mine opened with a grant from the Defense Mineral Exploration Administration, and during the 1960s the New Park shifted its operation from lead and zinc to phosphate, potash, gold, building stone, oil, and uranium. Most of its production was not in Wasatch County, however.⁵ Mining's role in the county's economy continued to dwindle.

Timber

An important industry in Wasatch County during the 1950s and 1960s continued to be the timber industry. H. Bowman Hawkes said, "The most important manufacturing industry of the area is dependent" on it. In 1950, 2,240,000 board feet were cut on the Lake Creek District of the Uinta National Forest. The timber cut supported eleven sawmills in the county and provided lumber for the local yards. In 1959 the industry was still growing and the paper bragged that the lumber was better than that found in Oregon. That year the three national forests included in Wasatch County produced twelve million board feet, 55 percent of the timber cut in Utah. In 1963 three million board feet were cut from the Strawberry and Heber Ranger Districts; there was claimed to be a potential for five million. When

timber was sold, Wasatch County received a percentage from the government to help with roads and school programs.⁶

Livestock

The dairy and livestock industries also declined after World War II but continued to play a role in the Wasatch County economy. In 1976 cattle and milk were the two most important agricultural products in the county, followed by sheep and wool. But still the drops were dramatic. The number of sheep, for example, dropped two-thirds between 1910 and 1954. One reason was that the Forest Service continued to curtail range use because of overgrazing. Edward P. Cliff, a Wasatch County native and later head of the Forest Service, reported in 1944, "The major problems can be stated very briefly—too early and too heavy use in West Fork and too much stock in Wolf Creek." That same year Don Clyde, a sheepman, and L. C. Montgomery, a cattleman, rode the range and found overgrazing at Lake Creek, a center for sheep dipping and "some beautiful range at the head of Currant Creek."⁷

When the Forest Service decided to cut permits in 1946, the local cattle association complained. Supervisor George C. Larson responded that this was only the third reduction in permits on the forest and that the Forest Service had warned the ranchers of possible reductions. The proposed cuts led to a heated debate. The issues included not only protecting the range but preserving the watershed. County officials and leaders in the cattle association led the fight against the reduction. In January 1946 county commissioner Guy Coleman appealed to Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson, saying, "This is a livestock country." After explaining that the valley was high and the growing season too short and cold for "anything but hay, grain, and a few hardy vegetables," Coleman added, "We do produce some of the best cattle in the West and our farmers depend entirely upon the range for the grazing of their cattle. There is no watershed or erosion problems involved in this county." However, Chief Forester Lyle F. Watts emphasized the need of a well-cared-for watershed in the county and added, "Furthermore, the Uintah Forest is an important source of irrigation water for farms in the Utah valley."⁸

Watts's concern for protecting the watershed opened old wounds. At a meeting of the Heber Cattle Company on 7 March 1946, fifteen cattle permittees and Uinta National Forest representatives held a three-hour discussion at "high blood pressure" level. Charles De Moisey tried to explain the importance of maintaining the range to protect the Provo River watershed, arguing that the protection of Deer Creek should be important to the Wasatch County residents. L.C. Montgomery maintained that Deer Creek was not a concern of the Heber Valley people. In an earlier letter to Forest Service employee W. L. Hansen, Montgomery responded to the same issue, "Your recent sympathy for the Deer Creek project is nothing but crocodile tears," adding that the water had been "confiscated." He added the range had been used starting on 1 May for years and had "steadily improved," jabbing, "You cannot tell us about the range conditions because you do not know about them like we do. We've been here too long and you have not been here long enough to understand them."⁹

Despite Montgomery's arguments, the Forest Service contended that overgrazing was a problem. In 1951 the government agency studied the area and informed cattle operators that the range needed to be improved. Even oldtime stockmen recognized the obstacle. At first Bennett Lindsay told a Family Farm Policy meeting in 1952 the range had not changed since 1900; however, when Forest Supervisor James L. Jacob took Lindsay, Clark Crook, and other county residents over the range, Lindsay recognized the damage. In 1955 the assistant Forest Service superintendent reported he had been on the range from 1926 to 1953. During that time the weeds were up 1,000 percent, sagebrush up 140 percent and grass was down 30 percent, reducing the grazing capacity by 40 percent. While the Forest Service hoped to increase range capacity with water development, rangers explained that there would be cuts in the livestock permits. In 1956 and 1957, the government agency reduced the number of permits twice, first by 10 percent and then later by 20 percent. Calvin Giles recalled how these cuts directly affected him. He obtained a permit to run forty cattle in Strawberry Valley after World War II. When the government cut his allotment to only twenty, it forced him out of the cattle business.¹⁰

The dairy industry was still strong in the 1940s. For example, in 1947 and 1948 Charleston produced 3,500,000 pounds of milk per year from approximately 450 milk cows. The gross income to the community was \$155,000 from milk and \$15,000 from the sale of young livestock. In 1954 the industry brought \$1,500,000 a year to the area. Nearly every major dairy in Salt Lake received milk from Heber Valley in 1949; five years later one-sixth of the milk used in Salt Lake County came from Wasatch County. Calvin Giles recalled that he sold his milk to the Arden Dairy until 1957. He then sold it to Pet Ice Cream and later Clover Leaf until Western Dairy Incorporated was formed. When Paul Daniels became the county extension agent in the 1950s there were 250 dairy farmers in the area. The dairy industry became the mainstay of some Wasatch County families. Calvin Giles bought a small dairy business after World War II and built it up to thirty-five cows. He raised hay for them and milked them with his son. He explained, "That was a large saving thing for us to have a cream check come in about every two weeks."¹¹

Yet the dairy industry suffered setbacks during this period. In 1953 the milk producers met to challenge the drop in prices by Weber Central and Hi-Land dairies. The next year a county delegation protested the changing milk standards set by the Salt Lake City Commission. The Salt Lake City Board of Health inspected the farms every thirty days to make sure the barns, cows, and facilities were clean. During the 1950s improved technology changed the industry as farmers installed pipelines so that the milk went directly from the cow through the milking system. By 1964 every grade-A dairy farm in the county had refrigerated bulk milk tanks. Salt Lake City continued to push for better dairy facilities. Since most of the city's water supply came from Deer Creek, officials worried about the corrals and farms draining into the water system. Elmer Kohler explained that by 1970 the requirements were so stiff he had to quit milking his twenty-five cows. The health board also worked with the truckers who had to upgrade their vehicles. At first ice on top of the cans to maintain the right temperature met the board's requirements. Eventually, though, the truckers had to use tank coolers.¹²

Farming

By the end of World War II, farming had become more mechanized. A single farmer could produce more crops with the improved equipment. As H. Bowman Hawkes explained in a study of the area, “In agriculture the shift over the century has been from diversification based upon a self-sufficient philosophy to mechanization and specialization.” Irene W. Thacker, who moved to Daniel after her marriage in 1945, remembered that she and her husband both had tractors. They would bale hay for recreation and time together. LeRoy Sweat of Center Creek recalled, “My brother and I were about the last ones to go to tractors. We worked his and my farm together. We could get two good teams walking. We could cut a lot of hay in a day. It was back in about 1951 when we went to tractors.” Most farmers focused on barley instead of wheat; they used their crops to feed livestock. Earlier crops such as potatoes and sugar beets were completely eliminated. During the 1950s most farmers continued to flood irrigate. Thacker recalled, “It was hard. We had to go down and water all night long. We had to pull our dams and let the water run to the next dam. We had to be with it all the time.”¹³

Irrigation continued to play an important part in Wasatch County agriculture. In 1948 residents irrigated 21,000 acres. There were sixteen irrigation companies and ninety-eight miles of main canals. That year the county farmers asked the state for money to construct additional reservoirs in the Bench Creek, Hobble Creek, Lake Haystack, and Daniels Canyon areas. The state also funded other projects. Farmers were continually upgrading irrigation facilities. For example, in 1958, forty-four shareholders of the Heber Lake Creek Canal improved the canal to save water. But the projects occasionally had problems. In 1973 the Center Creek Reservoir Number 1 broke and flooded ten homes and eighty acres of farmland. Officials blamed the breakage on water saturation.¹⁴

Crops changed following the war. Growing peas had always been difficult in Wasatch County. The season was short; the crop sometimes froze. The peas often varied in quality, and farmers received payment for only the lowest grade even if the load showed a variety. Because of these problems, landowners were reluctant to grow peas,

but Woods Cross would not maintain its cannery in the area if there were fewer than 400 acres under cultivation in the Heber Valley and Kamas areas. In 1951, 57 percent of the acreage required came from Wasatch County; the remaining 43 percent was in Kamas/Woodland. Even then the cannery officials complained that only 40 percent of the Heber City peas were top quality and they needed at least 70 percent of that quality to operate.¹⁵

Throughout the early 1950s, the *Wave* encouraged the pea industry. The newspaper argued that the county needed the income. It could not afford to lose the \$70,000 paid to farmers each summer. Committees contacted farmers in each town asking them to raise peas. Woods Cross eventually shut down anyway. Company president R. A. Moss complained he had less than half the peas needed to keep the cannery open. In a letter to the pea growers he explained, "Hoping each year that conditions would improve, the Company has kept the factory operating even at a loss. Some growers found the pea crop profitable, and they have furnished peas continually. They wanted the factory to operate. Others farmers have gone over to dairy farming and have used the fields for hay and grain. Because of the shortage of acreage, the Woods Cross Company does not plan to operate in 1956. We regret that it is necessary to close after nearly 40 years of operation in the Heber Valley." He hoped to sell the vinery to Utah County canners so that local farmers would still have a market for their peas. In 1960 Woods Cross started to dismantle the cannery building and salvage the wood. However, in May "a spectacular midnight fire" destroyed the cannery.¹⁶

Tourism and State Parks

As the mines closed and agriculture became less important, Wasatch County leaders and residents looked for new sources of income. Many suggested recreation. They hoped to draw on the beautiful, cool mountain atmosphere and the county's close proximity to Utah's population base. By 1959 it appeared that the county was attracting more visitors. While the number of retail stores had not changed, sales had increased. Between 1933 and 1959 food store sales were up fourteen times, automobile services were up seventeen times, and eating and drinking establishment business increased. According

to one study, “This is a significant trend for an area that has had a declining population for almost two decades. It means that the flux of tourists and vacationers is constantly increasing and if the area is to maintain a good economic base this facet of its economy should be greatly encouraged.”¹⁷

One proposal was for a state park in the county. Earlier, others had supported a park system in Utah but failed. The Utah State Legislature passed a bill creating the State Board of Park Commissioners in 1925, but it did not form any parks. In 1957 Utah became the last state to create a state parks commission. The new board declared, “We stand on the threshold of the greatest opportunity for recreational development that will ever be available to the people of Utah. The nation is in the midst of a new era of recreation.” With the new board in place, Wasatch County officers listed four potential park sites: Pine Creek Area and Bonanza Flat, Knolls in Wallsburg, Deer Creek, and Mill Hollow Mountain Camp. The *Wave* liked the idea of a state park, exclaiming that the area was “rapidly coming into the limelight as one of the top recreational areas in the state.”¹⁸

While some county residents favored a park, they did not take the initiative. Most agree that the Wasatch Mountain State Park was the brainchild of Harold P. Fabian, the first director of the Utah State Parks and Recreation Commission. Fabian, a Salt Lake City native, helped establish Grand Teton National Park and worked in that area until 1953. After retiring from his law practice in 1955, he returned to Salt Lake City. Because of his experience with other parks and his work with the Republican party and the Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce, Governor George Dewey Clyde appointed him to lead the state agency. Fabian worked closely with his lifetime friend Henry D. Moyle, a Mormon church leader. These two men recalled their summers in Brighton as children. As they were hiking in the Wasatch Mountains, they “looked down in the Heber Valley and pretended it was their own big ranch lay-out.” They thought the area would make an ideal state park. After completing a study, the state agency proposed providing summer and winter recreational sports such as fishing, golfing, and skiing. According to the report, “Few metropolitan areas have such a scenic alpine region available virtually at the back door.”¹⁹

With this positive endorsement from the state, the local chamber of commerce encouraged the park. Business leaders entertained the members of the legislative council at a shelter in Charleston in order that elected officials could see the advantages of the site.²⁰ In 1958 thirteen county political, business, and church leaders asked Governor Clyde to support the park. When the governor expressed concerns about the costs, the Wasatch County people pointed out that area property values were going up and if the state did not act soon it would be impossible to develop the park. Some of the 25,000 acres suggested by the 1959 report were immediately available for the park; 560 belonged to the Bureau of Land Management, and 1,280 acres were state-owned school sections. To encourage progress, Wasatch County donated forty-six acres that included a small ski tow. However, the rest had to be purchased from private owners. Initially the state bought approximately 500 acres.²¹

During the next two years, hopes for a park rose and fell. The legislature did not fund all the money requested; also, not all county residents favored the plan. Three or four of the nine farmers who owned the proposed land demanded more money than offered. Just as it looked as though the park would die, the newspaper asked Wasatch County residents to talk to those who were refusing to sell their lands. The Salt Lake papers suggested the state should take the land by eminent domain, but some in the county felt that the landowners had refused to sell because the state park commission had "bungled" the land deals.²²

Despite these setbacks, plans for the park continued. Henry D. Moyle urged his family to donate 100 acres on the edge of the park to the state. The *Wave* claimed that if the park did not come the area would become a "dusty ghost" whose tombstone would read, "Here lies Wasatch County. She lost the only opportunity which could have saved her." When plans started again in January 1960 the paper applauded "a determined effort by the group of men appointed to reach a workable solution of the problems existing between the State Park Commission and the group of Midway land owners [who have] brought the Wasatch Mountain State Park issue back onto stable ground."²³

Gradually plans revived. In 1961 the Utah Legislature appropri-



Wasatch Mountain State Park Headquarters and Visitor Center, March 1996. (Allan Kent Powell)

ated \$1.5 million to acquire the land. County and Midway town officials contacted the landowners and encouraged them to sell. Earl Kohler, Midway's mayor who also served on the committee prompting the park, recalled, "I went to everyone that owned land . . . north of Lime Canyon and west of Pine Creek." He got statements from all the landowners that they would be willing to sell. The state hired H. Clay Cummings to negotiate the terms and make the purchases. Cummings was also the LDS stake president in the area, and that position helped him convince some people to sell. Moyle's authority in the LDS church also helped. Alma Huber remembered, "None of us were excited about selling. We wanted to keep the property. What they were offering us wasn't too much. I didn't want to sell because it was a livelihood for me. It was something that I had been attached to all my life. But finally it got to the point where there was so much pressure put on us that we were forced to sell." Huber recalled that Moyle "kind of said you are not doing what you ought to do by not selling it. The state wants it, you had better sell it to them. The church has quite an influence on you, even though I wanted to keep the

property.” Vernon H. Probst also felt compelled to sell his property for the park. “The legislature gave the Park Commission the power of eminent domain. They can condemn it if you do not want to sell it to them, just like a road or something else. So they came up and told us what they would give us for it. We could take it or leave it, and they would condemn it if we didn’t.”²⁴

The state offered the same price for all the property—six hundred dollars an acre for farmland and thirty dollars an acre for rangeland. For some like Huber the price was not enough for having to relocate. Others, looking back over the years, thought about how much the property might be worth. Probst argued in 1985, “Today it is worth \$20,000 an acre. I would have been a millionaire if I could have kept it.”²⁵ For some it represented a enormous profit. According to Kohler, one owner “chucked into his grave. . . . He sold all of his trashy land up here that he bought for two and three dollars for thirty.” The state also promised to lease the land back to the farmers until it was developed and to restore some historical buildings. Not all of these commitments were in writing, and some feelings were hurt when they were not kept. Despite all the problems, Kohler appreciated the farmers’ support. “They jumped in there and helped whenever they could. . . . They gave up their livelihood and everything else.” None of the property had to be condemned and the owners made “a lot of sacrifice. . . . Even though they got what was then a fair price for their land, you’ve got to remember they were picked up and uprooted.”²⁶

As plans for the park developed, state, community, and federal agencies worked together. The Bureau of Reclamation had planned to line the Provo River with rocks from the park area but agreed to change its plans. Utah Senator Frank E. Moss applauded the effort, “I compliment the Bureau of Reclamation on its cooperation in this matter. We are proud of Wasatch State Park and of the State’s development program. Recreational and scenic value will be better maintained without a quarry and access roads.” Midway planned a shelter on the town square for tourists and townspeople.²⁷

In 1962 the state hired H. Clay Cummings to develop the park. The LDS church released him early from his calling as the New Zealand Mission president to take the position. Cummings dreamed

of “a massive, year round recreational area with complete facilities of great value and worth to people who like the out of doors.” Three months after his appointment, however, Cummings died of a heart attack. Others shared his vision, though. Plans included a two-million-dollar lodge, swimming pools, restaurants, an eighteen-hole golf course, trails for horseback riding and hiking, ski runs, ice skating rinks, bobsledding facilities, and sleighriding hills. State officials compared the park’s recreational potential with Switzerland, Jackson Hole, and Sun Valley. Some Mormons felt the park would be a showcase to the world of the LDS lifestyle.²⁸ Some of these plans were put into effect. An eighteen-hole golf course opened in 1967. Kohler recalled that it was not used very much the first few years, but soon it was full. In 1972 the state added nine additional holes. Despite a short playing season because of the high altitude, the course paid its expenses. In 1968 Governor Calvin Rampton dedicated the park, and a visitor’s center was completed. By 1970 the park had 324,939 visitors to the 22,000 acres. Five years later, half a million people visited the park and it generated 72 percent of the state park system’s revenue.²⁹

State and federal agencies developed other recreational facilities. Moroni Besendorfer recalled that for the first thirty years Deer Creek Reservoir “was ruled off limits.” He could not swim in it because that might pollute the water. In the 1970s the state received a grant from the U.S. Bureau of Outdoor Recreation to provide fishing and boating facilities at Deer Creek. The state and federal governments cooperated in setting up the facilities at the Deer Creek State Recreational Area. Uinta National Forest also provided recreational activities. While the early focus had been on grazing, L. G. Woods, head forester in the 1950s, looked to the future: “Grazing is only one of the multiple uses of the national forests. As greater demands are made for the other uses, i.e. timber, wildlife, water, and recreation, it becomes imperative that grazing be properly regulated to avoid undue interference with the other uses.” In 1963, 214,800 visitors came to the Strawberry and Heber Ranger districts’ four developed campgrounds.³⁰

Heber Valley officials tried several other ways to encourage tourism in the area, but not everyone thought tourism would help



Fishing on the Provo River. (Utah State Historical Society)

Wasatch County residents. According to an editorial in the *Wave* in 1953, some residents “condemned the efforts of our Chamber of Commerce to attract tourists to this area as . . . too costly and of little value to the average person.” But the newspaper continued, “Congratulations to the Chamber of Commerce and its Tourist Trades program. It at least realizes Heber Valley [potential] with its wide sweep of fields, hills, mountains and blue sky.” The Heber City Chamber of Commerce went ahead with its programs. After a valley-wide contest for a slogan, the business community selected “Beautiful Heber Valley: Paradise of the Rockies.” The LDS church and the city chamber of commerce held classes on the history, industry, and scenic areas in the county every night during the summer of 1953.³¹

Various groups continued to encourage tourism. The *Wave*

claimed in 1955 that “the tourist dollar is just as sound as the dairy dollar.” It explained three years later: “With our economy being at the present low that it is, every effort should be made to put Wasatch County on the recreational bandwagon. Let’s make Heber Valley a place that a person would want to spend every weekend.” In 1961 the Heber City council, Midway Town board, Charleston Town board, Highway 40 Association, Highway 189 Association, the school district, the LDS church, the Midway Boosters, the Wasatch Chamber of Commerce, and the board of county commissioners formed the Wasatch Mountain Parkland Association. According to the *Wave*, the main purpose was to have the different groups “concerned with the development of Wasatch County” work together. How much development should be promoted continued to be a concern. H. Bowman Hawkes explained in 1959, “Today the communities of . . . Wasatch County stand at an important crossroad.” He described a “conservative rural group that had deep roots in the past” who “oppose change because the area possesses for them a beauty and rustic charm”; but others saw hope in developing new business, resort centers, and the state park.³³

Midway’s Harvest Days attracted hundreds of tourists to town in mid-September 1947. In 1951 organizers gave away 1,600 barbecue sandwiches. This evolved into the Midway Swiss Days in 1953, and the town changed the celebration’s date to Labor Day weekend. The town asked farmers to put bells on their cows and sheep. Salt Lake City papers carried advertisements for “the most exciting midway festival in the town’s history.” The *Wave* and local residents declared the first Swiss Days a success. As late as 1959 the town still offered a free barbecue. By 1960 it was called the “Big Thing”—Midway was no longer just “quiet streets [with] 700 everyday people [and] cows.”³⁴

Private companies also developed recreational facilities. In 1947 Joe B. and Pauline Erwin purchased Luke’s Hot Pots for \$100,000. According to a county history, the Erwins were “the first to envision Heber Valley as a national resort area that would draw thousands of visitors.” The couple added an outdoor swimming pool and had great plans for the resort; but the plans were too ambitious and after five years they returned the property to John Luke. The property transferred ownership several times until Luke sold it to Willard Draper



Heber Creeper trains on the west side of Deer Creek Reservoir, 1974. (Utah State Historical Society)

and Eugene Payne. They enlarged the facilities. Payne continued to operate the facility after Draper died in 1958. In 1952 the Whitaker brothers—W. Ferrin, Berlin, Wetzell, and Scott—along with their brother-in-law Lowell Turner purchased the Schneitters Hot Pots and changed the name to The Homestead. Owners who followed also promoted the area's recreational value.

In 1952 W. Ferrin Whitaker dreamed of the valley becoming a winter and summer resort like Sun Valley.³⁴ In 1964 Zions Investment Company purchased the company, hoping to develop The Homestead along with a Swiss Alpine residential development west of the resort.³⁵

The Heber Creeper was another attempt to promote tourism. The railroad continued to operate out of Heber until 1967, but it was running one trip a week from Provo to Heber City. In 1968 the government allowed the railroad to abandon the route. Ecologists who

did not want a four-lane highway up the canyon, railroad fans, and Heber business people who saw recreational possibilities worked together to save the tracks. Kennecott Copper Company donated some tracks and equipment. In 1970 the new company brought in equipment and operated a tourist run that summer. In January 1971 the new Heber Creeper made its first run to Bridal Veil Falls as part of the celebration of Utah's seventy-fifth anniversary of statehood. The first three years of operation the Creeper lost money, but it showed a profit in 1973.³⁶

Some suggestions failed. In 1960 the Heber Valley Advertising Association suggested Heber could be developed into a western town. Tourists would see a sign, "Heber City—You'll Like the Western Flavor," leading to "a typical old west town, complete with covered sidewalks, hitching posts down the center lane of the highway and a whole population of cowboys and cowgirls. Every gingerbread store front tempts you to stop and see what's behind it, and you do stop—for an hour which lengthens into a day which stretches into two as you and the family explore this fascinating town and all it has to offer." The idea did not take. Some residents complained that the western theme suggested "liquor and loose women." The *Wave* contended, "It is inconceivable that our community's most honored citizens could be accused of advocating a program of moral destruction."³⁷ But the supporters did not succeed in turning Heber into the western town it had never been.

Another unsuccessful scheme was to make Wasatch County a ski-resort area. These plans included building a road from the Cottonwood canyons in Salt Lake County to Midway. In 1945 the Heber Lions Club asked the Salt Lake County commissioners for assistance. The club saw potential in building the road but needed help from the Wasatch Front community. Discussions continued.³⁸ In 1954 the *Wave* explained, "The road, unsurpassed as a scenic attraction, would encourage capital for the development of a Sun Valley playground" during the summer and winter. The next year the national guard started building the road, but it was not completed as planned. The scheme included a tram from Brighton to Wasatch County. The state legislature approved bonds to build the tram in 1964 but a ceiling was set on the interest. In 1977 Wasatch County

state senator Robert Clyde attempted to raise the limit and the county received a grant to study the feasibility of the tram; but other resorts, including those in Park City and Big and Little Cottonwood canyons, opposed the plans because they feared competition. The only skiing in Wasatch County was a ski lift at Mill Flats operated by Wasatch Ski Association, a nonprofit organization. With the help of the national guard, volunteers kept a ski run open.³⁹

Building an airport also did not bring many results. While initially flight was entertainment for most Americans, commerce and city leaders saw it as good business. Promoting aviation created an image of a progressive, forward-looking community—a goal nearly all boosters adopted without serious question. World War I showed some of the possibilities of flight. Following that war, the federal government established an airmail system. Cities on the airmail routes used WPA funds to construct airports during the 1930s. World War II showed that flight had even more potential. By the end of the war, almost every community wanted an airport. Merrill Christopherson, the manager of the Provo airport, and Oscar Olson of Shell Oil Company told the Heber City newspaper that the “coming age was to be the Air Age and . . . every community that does not want to be isolated must provide facilities which will encourage the increased air traffic.”⁴⁰

Despite the clamor for air facilities, Heber City did not have an airport in 1946. Guy McDonald, a resident of Heber, had served as a flight engineer on a B-17 bomber during World War II and flew missions over Germany and Czechoslovakia. He continued to be interested in flying after he returned. After obtaining a license, he purchased an Aeronica Champion, a two-place trainer airplane, in the spring of 1946. Because there was no place to keep the plane in Heber City, he stored it in a hangar in Provo.

Since this arrangement did not work, McDonald sold shares in his plane to five other men and organized a Heber flying club. They located some ground that they could use as an airstrip southwest of the present runway. The owner gave the group permission to build a hangar and to develop the runway. The group also contacted Joe Bergen, the director of the Utah Aeronautics Authority. Bergen came to Heber in June and authorized the group to build an airstrip. When



Heber City Airport, March 1996. (Allan Kent Powell)

he came, he encouraged the city and county to become involved, stating, “This is the most populous section of the state to be without landing facilities.” He told of a small plane that had had to land in a farmer’s field because there was not even an emergency strip.

Two weeks after Bergen’s visit, the county took an option to buy land for an airport. Six individuals—Guy McDonald, Elmo Jacobson, Rex Whiting, Russell McDonald, Sperry Rollins, and Lloyd Lawton—formed a company called the Heber Valley Flying Service. The county allowed the company to build a runway on the newly acquired land. In exchange for creating the runway, the county gave the flying service a lease to operate a flight school, service airplanes, and provide fuel. The group built a cinder block hangar and an office building and provided flying instructions.

Russell McDonald, a licensed flying instructor, taught the classes. The Veterans Administration qualified the Heber Valley Flying Service as an air training school, and as many as fifty students were enrolled. The company owned three two-place airplanes and one

four-place airplane. The larger plane was used as a trainer and for charter flights. When Russell McDonald left the area to fly for United Airlines, the school closed and the county took over operation of the airport.

In 1949 the Civil Air Administration agreed to cover approximately 60 percent of the \$100,000 needed to construct the airport. The State of Utah, Heber City, and Wasatch County shared the remaining cost. Clay Cummings dedicated the building in May 1950. Three years later, a *Wave* editorial lamented that no airplanes were landing and the hanger was empty.⁴¹

Continued Plans to Export Water

As the Wasatch Front population expanded, it required more water. Even though the Wasatch County area already provided 95 percent of the water for 74 percent of Utah's population, the federal government made several suggestions on how to meet the growing needs of the urban areas and still provide irrigation water for the agricultural areas. In 1959 the Bureau of Reclamation suggested that Deer Creek Reservoir be enlarged. Wasatch County residents protested. A delegation of citizens asked the U.S. Senate water committee which was meeting in Salt Lake City to consider the Bates Dam east of Heber instead, explaining that 70,000 acres of Wasatch County land had already been covered by reservoirs and they did not want to lose more land to meet the water needs of other areas.⁴² The *Wave* editorialized that Deer Creek Reservoir had "become a beautiful and permanent part of our valley," but the plans to raise the water level had "opened old wounds and recalled bitter memories of farm and yards and roads and familiar landmarks which went reluctantly under water. It could happen again." The planned enlargement would destroy homes, displace ninety families, and require the railroad, the Charleston bridge, two highways, the Charleston community center, and the Midway fish hatchery to move. The LDS Charleston ward chapel would be "accessible by rowboat." The editorial concluded, "Wasatch County wake and fight for your land." Later the newspaper complained, "The Deer Creek was just completed a few years ago. The people did not have the foresight at that time for the enlargement. Why is it feasible now at additional costs?"⁴³



Recreationists at Deer Creek Reservoir, June 1960. (Utah State Historical Society)

The Deer Creek Dam enlargement was scrapped but so too was the Bates project located on the Provo River a short distance downstream from Francis. In 1963 a dam was proposed for Jordanelle, six miles north of Heber. Before the dam could be completed, the U.S. Congress needed to approve the Central Utah Project and seven counties—Juab, Utah, Summit, Wasatch, Salt Lake, Duchesne, and Uintah—had to approve a water-conservation district. In 1962 five of those counties, all except Duchesne and Uintah counties, approved the water district. Walter Montgomery, Wasatch County commissioner, told the Midway Boosters that the county needed the conservancy district to save its water interests: “Wasatch County’s area is the birthplace of most of the water for the northern part of the state of Utah and we can’t get a drink.” Residents could not even drill wells because in 1921 the Provo Water Users Association filed on the underground water and claimed wells in Heber Valley affected their water use. Two years later the Central Utah Water Conservancy

District was created by delegates from all of the seven counties. Clyde Ritchie represented Wasatch County.⁴⁴

For the next ten years the Bonneville Unit of the Central Utah Project was a political football in the U.S. Congress. In 1975 Clyde Ritchie supported the plans for Jordanelle because it would increase Heber Valley's water supply by 20 percent and bring recreation to the area.⁴⁵ While they were waiting for the Central Utah Project, other projects went on: Strawberry Reservoir was expanded and Soldier Creek Dam was started in 1968, requiring Highway 40 to be relocated. The project included thirty-three miles of tunnels and pipelines.⁴⁶ The new reservoir started filling in 1973 and eventually was connected with Strawberry Reservoir.⁴⁷

Civic Improvements

Despite the declining population, weak economy, and struggle for identity, Wasatch County residents wanted the latest improvements in the years after World War II. These included door-to-door mail service in 1946. There was some opposition at first from businesses which would have to pay to mail fliers and keep up with home addresses. But most residents painted their addresses on their homes and looked forward to receiving their mail there. Heber City also got a new post office in 1967. At the dedication the postmaster spoke: "The fact that Heber City was chosen for a new post office reflects credit on our growing contribution to the economy and life of the nation."⁴⁸

Telephone services also improved in the 1960s. Wallsburg had phone services from 1900 when the first line arrived at George A. Dabling's store, but service was always poor. The town organized the Wallsburg Telephone Company in 1941. The residents used that system until 1955 when they turned over their rights to Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Company. By the end of the year, Mountain States had installed fifty-six dial phones through the Heber exchange.⁴⁹

Center and Daniel also formed their own telephone companies at the turn of the century. By the 1960s the Center Creek line was inadequate and residents asked Mountain States Telephone to put in a new line. One resident wrote, "Our little line looks rather forlorn

beside the stately tall poles that linemen are placing alongside it. Within a few days the church and every home in Center will have a new phone and ringing a neighbor on the 02, 06, or 09 party line will just be a memory." In 1964 the telephone company completed a dial system for the entire area.⁵⁰

After the war, communities in Wasatch County started working on their roads. In 1946 Charleston started paving. The *Wave* praised the effort, "With barely enough population to maintain a town organization, the enterprising community is pushing a project to take its traffic out of the mud." Heber was also improving its roads. In 1947 the city could only afford to pave the east and west roads, but offered to provide base gravel if private or church groups wanted to pave the other roads. The state authorized money in 1958 to improve Highway 40 from Heber to Keetley and to resurface Main Street in Heber.⁵¹

One immediate concern was a sewer system. Deer Creek Reservoir raised the water table, and since its water went directly into the culinary systems in Salt Lake and Utah counties, governments along the Wasatch Front encouraged Wasatch County communities to upgrade their sewage treatment facilities. Heber City received a \$4,000 federal grant to study its sanitary facilities in 1947. Six years later there was still an urgent need for a citywide sewer system. Salt Lake City threatened to sue if Heber did not clean up its sewage system. Since federal grants would not cover the expenses, the city proposed a bond issue. The *Wave* argued that the citywide system with the bond would be cheaper; but if the bond did not pass, the city council would charge those currently using the sewer system to construct a sewage disposal plant. The *Wave* concluded, "We, like many of our neighboring cities in Utah and Salt Lake County are confronted with a serious health problem that not only affects us but others and we have to take care of our own sewage."

The bond passed in May 1953 by a margin of six to one with 33 percent participation. The city awarded the contract to a local business, Turner Building Supply. The new facilities were in operation by the first of 1955. The *Wave* boasted that the system was one of the finest in the nation and had a capacity of providing for 6,000 people. Within fifteen years the system was outdated. In 1970 the *Wave* reported that while the sewer system was adequate, there were cer-

tain months of the year when it did not meet all of the needs. Sometimes, “manholes . . . [spewed] raw sewage out of open ditches and on into canals and then into Deer Creek.”⁵²

Midway also needed a sewer system. In 1965 the county commission formed a sewer district for Midway, and the town passed a bond in 1966. Half the eligible voters turned out and approved the measure—126 to 88. The bond provided \$225,000 of the \$772,000 needed for the system. The rest of the money came from the state and federal governments, including funds from the Wasatch Mountain State Park. Alvin Kohler, mayor of Midway at the time, explained, “We had the Deer Creek Dam to the south of us and that water was being diverted into culinary use. We felt that we weren’t contributing to the water quality for people downstream. We felt that the time had arrived that Midway have a collection system, a sewage system. During my term in office we spent in excess of a million dollars to install a sewage collection system here in Midway.”⁵³

Communities also had to improve their water systems. Charleston had unique problems because it was so close to Deer Creek Reservoir. Residents there had used thirty shallow wells since 1875 to supply culinary water. However, in 1948 the state board of health condemned the wells, claiming “hazardous surface contamination.” The Salt Lake City Board of Health threatened not to use the milk from the town’s sixty-five farms if the water supply was not improved. To solve the problem, Charleston received a grant from the Utah Water and Power Board to develop two springs at Soldier Hollow, two miles east of Charleston. The new pipeline served 65 families—270 people and 450 cows. Heber City also upgraded its water system. In 1953 the government decided to chlorinate the water; the *Wave* pointed out that the water had always been contaminated and this would help clean it up.⁵⁴

Not all water improvement projects were simple. While cities like Midway, Heber City, and Charleston had power and money to make the changes, outlying areas had to depend on the county for help. Daniel had always been an unincorporated area. In 1965 some residents complained that they had no water and hoped to incorporate so they could rebuild the culinary water system. According to the *Wave*, residents voted according to where they lived. Those who lived

east of the water system had plenty of water and opposed incorporation; those west of the headhouse with no water wanted a town government. The east side won; a majority of the Daniel residents submitted a petition to the county commission opposing incorporation. The area was not incorporated.⁵⁵

Throughout the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s the *Wave* carried articles about community clean-up drives. For example, in May 1946 Mayor Joseph Hylton signed a proclamation asking Heber City residents to clean up as part of the Mormon centennial celebration. In 1953 Midway launched a “Let’s be proud of Midway” clean-up drive. The *Wave* declared, “Every citizen of Midway Township owes it to himself, his community, and his church and state to be present in the Town Hall promptly at 8:00 P.M.” to attend the meeting launching the drive. A week later the *Wave* editorialized that the LDS church wards had kept the valleys clean, but since they were no longer in control, everyone needed to help. Eleven years later the newspaper bragged when Heber City won first place in a community beautification contest sponsored by the Utah State Municipal League and the Utah State University Extension Service.⁵⁶ In 1966 Heber won a national award. Edward P. Cluff, a former resident and then chief of the U.S. Forest Service, told Heber Mayor Winterrose, “You fine people of our hometown are to be congratulated for this recognition. . . . Our town is located in one of the most beautiful mountain valleys in America. The community should match the beauty of this natural environment and the progressive spirit of its citizens.” These are just a few of the drives. Every year each town had a drive to clean up, and the *Wave* published the plans and the results. It was a highlight of each year.⁵⁷

The *Wave* listed other firsts. Heber City got a new police car in 1951. While the first television came to the area in 1949, reception was poor. In 1951 a new antenna was set up to improve reception over the mountains. In 1958 the city voted to have natural gas, and in 1962 Mountain Fuel Supply Company gave the city a natural-gas franchise. The company agreed to bring the gas since there was no opposition from Heber fuel dealers. The electric power plant needed updating again, and in 1947 Midway, Charleston, and Heber approved a bond election to improve the power plant; by 1949 it was

operational. Not all changes were seen as progress and not all were approved. There was a movement in the 1960s to fluoridate water to prevent tooth decay. Wasatch County residents claimed unnecessary government control and in 1966 overwhelmingly defeated the measure 1,075 to 350.⁵⁸ The defeat was part of a conservative movement against government interference.

Building

Despite depressed economic conditions, there was new construction in Wasatch County during the 1950s and 1960s. Even without population growth, the schools in the district were old and the school board wanted to replace them. In addition, the baby boomer era immediately after the war increased the school-age population. According to the state board of education, the war delayed construction, and "how school districts can secure these needed school buildings is one of the unsolved problems of public education in Utah." The state report explained that many elementary schools were square two- and three-story buildings with no special rooms for libraries, auditoriums, health clinics, and supply rooms. Also, the buildings were overcrowded.⁵⁹

Lula Clegg, the school district superintendent, forecast the growth and the need for new schools. In 1947 she presented a plan that would add three new classrooms to the Central school by 1950 and predicted the district would need a new high school by 1954 or 1955. With this plan in mind, the district considered enlarging the Central school. Not everyone in the county agreed with the school board's decision. Some residents felt that a new gym at the high school was more important than elementary classrooms. Clegg wrote an article in the *Wave* defending her position. She delayed her retirement until the addition was completed and the school district's bonded debt of \$150,000 was paid off. She was proud she could complete the \$120,000 addition without adding to the county's debt.⁶⁰

Clegg's projections for new schools proved true. In 1952 the school board hired Fred Markham, a Provo architect, to design a new county high school and also proposed an addition to Heber's North School. In March 1953 it called for a special bond election to fund the construction. The board told Wasatch County residents that it

needed the bond because a “rapidly increasing school population in Wasatch County School District, together with the antiquity and inadequate condition of the existing buildings, have created an imperative demand for the enlargement and improvement of presently owned school buildings and for additional school buildings.” The voters passed the bond in April by a vote of 303 to 204. In 1959 construction began on a high school addition. In 1962 Ferrin D. Van Wagoner, the school district superintendent, asked his board for a new high school. The school board agreed and proposed a high school with an auditorium that the community could use for conventions and sport facilities. The board members asked LDS stake president Harold Call if they could hold a special meeting in the wards after church meetings. He said it needed to be cleared through the bishops. The extra effort was successful; the bond passed 1163 to 235. The board hired Paul K. Evans as the architect for the school and accepted his plans after making some modifications in the wrestling and music rooms. Cannon-Papanikolas construction company received the contract to build the school with a request to use local labor whenever possible. The high school was dedicated in August 1964.⁶¹

By 1970 the board supported building a new school in Midway, a new elementary school in Heber, adding on to the high school, and remodeling the junior high—projects that would require additional bonding. The board delayed the vote, fearing a defeat at the polls. In 1972 the school district still felt that the community would not support a \$2 million request and split the plans into two parts. The first was for a Heber elementary school, an addition to the high school, and the renovations to the junior high. The second was a new junior high school. The board printed a flier telling voters that bonding was the only way the school had to raise money and costs were going up. They needed a new elementary school because of small classrooms, no library facilities, cracked walls, deficient school-lunch kitchen facilities, and poor radiator-heating-pipe systems making it extremely uncomfortable for students. Despite the appeal, 62 percent of voters voted against it. The next year, the Midway school had too many students, and the kindergarten had to be moved to the town hall. When the board proposed another bond election, it passed. Construction



Wasatch High School, completed in 1964. (Allan Kent Powell)

started on the new school in May 1974, and the district dedicated the building in August 1975. The same year the board selected a site for a new junior high school. Work began in 1975, and the district dedicated the building and an adjacent community swimming pool in October 1976.⁶²

The LDS church was active in building new chapels. Heber had three wards from 1903 until 1947, at which time the stake decided there were enough members to create a fourth ward. The Fourth Ward met in the Third Ward's chapel for eight years and started work on its own building in April 1953. The building was completed, paid for, and dedicated in 1955. New wards followed quickly. The stake created the Fifth Ward in 1954 and then soon after formed the Sixth Ward. The Daniel Ward started a chapel in 1951 and dedicated it in 1956. The Charleston congregation constructed a meetinghouse from 1949 to 1951.⁶³ Carl Batty became bishop of Wallsburg in 1948; the next year, he presented plans for a new church building. Each member family contributed \$500 and helped with construction. The building was dedicated on 29 April 1950. A Center ward chapel ded-

icated 15 May 1960 had been under construction for three years and cost \$58,000.⁶⁴

Midway wards were also involved in new construction. Elmer Kohler recalled that the bishopric discussed ways to improve the old building when he became bishop of the Midway Second Ward in 1952. The basement needed a new floor and the roof shingles needed repair. That was only the start. The final plans called for demolishing the back part and retaining the front as the recreational hall for the new chapel. In August 1953 the bishopric asked each family in the ward for \$250, collecting \$20,000 before construction started. While work was going on, the ward met in the town hall. The new chapel was dedicated on 15 July 1956. The Midway First Ward also remodeled its old building, starting in the spring of 1959. A year later the priesthood leaders complained that not many men were helping with the construction; but the building was completed in the summer of 1961 with ward members landscaping the grounds.⁶⁵

Not all church construction was without controversy. Wasatch County was in the news because of an attempt to preserve an old building in the 1960s. Stake and general church leaders decided to build a new stake center which would also be used by the Second and Fifth wards. After considering several options, the leaders decided to tear down the tabernacle, constructed between 1887 and 1889, on the Heber Town Square. The decision caused an outcry from people throughout the state interested in preserving historic buildings. The dispute also split the community. Some favored saving the building; others agreed with church leaders that the downtown site was the best place for a new building and that the tabernacle could no longer meet the church's needs. Wayne C. Whiting, a member of the stake presidency described the building as an "old and hallowed building, so dear to the hearts of so many in the Stake."⁶⁶

When word of the imminent destruction of the tabernacle became public in 1961, people outside Wasatch County sent letters to the *Wave* and to LDS Stake President J. Harold Call. These letters put forth reasons to save the tabernacle including: "That stately building is one of your main tourist attractions" and its loss would be "a senseless destruction of a historical treasure." Elizabeth Cannon Sauls's letter to Call was typical when she called the building "a beau-

tiful monument to a dedicated, courageous group of people who in the midst of poverty and many hardships built a work of art as an expression of their appreciation and love for the finer things of life." Call published a response to Sauls's letter. While he felt that many people agreed with Sauls, he justified the decision to tear down the tabernacle by explaining that the church had been looking at alternatives for two years. Architectural studies found it would cost \$70,000 more to try to adapt the tabernacle than to tear it down and start over. LDS church leaders had rejected other alternatives such as building a joint high school/stake center. While people had proposed alternate uses for the tabernacle, no group had submitted a proposal or even returned for a second meeting.⁶⁷

That fall a group of local citizens organized a committee to save the tabernacle. Clark Crook headed a drive which collected 250 signatures from people in the area who opposed destroying the historic building. The group met with church leaders and Crook assured the *Wave*, "We feel confident that a plan will be worked out whereby a renovated and beautiful building and grounds will continue in the future to be the fine missionary it can and should be to those visiting our area." The battle to save the tabernacle delayed action for two years. But by 1964 the LDS stake presidency announced that not only the tabernacle but also the social hall would be torn down to make way for a new building. Stake President Call made the announcement at a stake conference in June 1964; the stake presidency defended its actions in an open letter in the *Wave* a month later. After carefully outlining the previous attempts to save the building, the stake president pointed out that the alternatives had not been acceptable and Crook's committee had not been "able to collect the first dollar" to purchase the property. The presidency also explained that each ward and the stake had voted twice and always "the majority voted to raze the Tabernacle."⁶⁸

This announcement led to another flurry of letters opposing the move. Articles from Everett L. Cooley, director of the Utah State Historical Society, Fred L. Markham, Preservation Officer, Utah Chapter of American Institute of Architects, Lee C. Knell, an AIA architect, and the Community Committee to Save the Wasatch Stake Tabernacle all reiterated the 1961 arguments. The local committee



Constructed in 1889 and used for religious services for many years, the Wasatch Stake Tabernacle, now the Heber City Hall, is an excellent example of adaptive use. (Lavon Provost)

questioned, “Can any sacrifice we might make to restore this building to its original form and beauty, modified to fit the needs of our modern way of life, compare with the sacrifice the pioneers made to build it?”⁶⁹

This time the appeal brought action. The local committee turned in a petition with 1,366 signatures to Hugh B. Brown of the LDS church’s First Presidency. Brown presented the petition to the church’s financial committee, which voted to find another place for the stake center. The LDS church had given in; the tabernacle would be saved. But who would own and use it? In October 1964 a fund raising effort began to collect the \$60,000 needed to purchase the site and repair the building. Efforts were not immediately successful; in December the church granted an extension to continue fundraising.⁷⁰

In May 1965 the LDS church again announced plans to demolish the tabernacle. A committee met again with the First Presidency, who again assured the local residents the church would save the building if they could raise enough money. Finally in July 1965 Hugh B. Brown told a special priesthood meeting in Wasatch County that

church president David O. McKay wanted the tabernacle preserved. He proposed, "A deed to the tabernacle property will be issued to Heber City Corporation with the restriction that if the tabernacle and grounds aren't properly maintained, they will revert back to the church." In March 1966, the local leaders broke ground for the new stake center, which was dedicated in January 1967.⁷¹

The question of how to use the tabernacle remained. In 1966 state leaders joined local residents in creating the Utah Heritage Foundation, the first statewide preservation organization in the western United States, and its first item of business was how to preserve and use the Heber Town Square. In February 1966 fifteen people attended the first meeting; half were from Heber Valley. A week later one hundred people discussed not only saving the tabernacle but the entire Heber Town Square including the small courthouse and jail. The Heritage Foundation grew to be the most important private organization for preserving historic sites in Utah. A *Deseret News* editorial in 1964 predicted, "Whatever the final outcome of the 'Save the Heber Tabernacle' drive, its momentum should stimulate a statewide program of preserving historical landmarks." In September 1966 LucyBeth Rampton, wife of the governor, announced Heritage Foundation plans to raise \$100,000 to save Heber Square. James Cannon, the manager of Pro-Utah, asked local residents to "bury the hatchet" and use the town square as a tourist attraction. The federal government listed the tabernacle and amusement hall on the National Register of Historic Places in 1971.⁷²

The city had a hard time finding uses for the tabernacle. During the late 1960s and early 1970s theater companies occasionally performed plays there. Ruth Witt, who had been instrumental with other members of the Wasatch County Historical Society, said the community did not support them very much. During the 1970s some family reunions also used the building. By the 1980s the tabernacle was badly in need of repair. A 1982 issue of the *Wave* included several large photographs of the building. The short article said, "It is one of the most prominent structures in Heber. It has stood straight and tall through the many years since it was constructed. There aren't many old buildings like this one still around, and when you enter into it, if you listen closely you can still hear the singing of the early

saints as they sang out praise to their god. Maybe the structure is a little dusty inside, but there is the ever present recognition, that those who settled here before were . . . sturdy men who know how to build a building to last through the ages.” At the same time, the Heber City Council rejected an offer by the county to purchase the building for \$60,000.⁷³

Gradually, without much use, the tabernacle weathered and needed repair. In June 1984 Heber City councilman Louis R. Jackson appealed for volunteers to help fix the building. Pointing out that volunteers had donated time and labor to build the tabernacle, he asked for volunteers to help keep it up. In the early days, Jackson explained, “it was a religious focal point. Today, it is just a monument to those who struggled to build it.” Robert J. McCormick, a retired engineer, agreed to manage the building. Jackson hoped that once the building was cleaned up that the city could charge a use rental fee and the building could maintain itself without cost to the city. The county fair had already asked to use it. A month later Jackson reported that he had only received two calls about the tabernacle. Despite the apparent lack of interest, however, McCormick had been inspecting the building to see what needed to be done. He had determined that the ceiling needed to be fixed and the original soft wood around the windows was rotting out. In addition, the flooring, roof, electricity, and plumbing needed to be inspected. Jackson pleaded that if something was not done the building would be lost. “Those who determined in the saving of the landmark will certainly step forward to continue its existence. Those who find it a financial plague may just sit back and hope that no rescue will materialize. . . . If nothing is done the building will eventually be a tomb of decay on the inside, while red stones, weatherworn and emblematic still spire to heaven on the outside, until the roof falls in.”

Some people questioned Jackson’s commitment to the project, though. When the city council planned a vote to put a cement stage on the grounds, Heber City resident Agnes Tucker explained, “We can’t expect Mr. Jackson to vote for any improvement for the Tabernacle since he recently obtained the City Council’s approval to remove the Tabernacle’s picture from Heber City letterhead. I cannot think of a more appropriate logo.”⁷⁴



The Social Hall on Heber's town square is now used by the senior citizens. (Lavon Provost)

During the 1980s, Heber City needed a new city hall. Because of the depressed conditions in the county, the city could apply for a grant from the Economic Development Administration. The federal grants were available to areas with high unemployment and could be used for constructing or refurbishing government buildings. Heber could receive up to \$600,000 and the city would have to provide a 20-percent match. To determine if residents supported restoring the tabernacle, the city council called a public meeting. The city had contracted with Olson and Harris Architects to draw designs for using the building. George Olson brought those drawings to the meeting and made a presentation. He estimated that the renovation would cost \$510,000. The majority of the residents at the meeting approved the adaptive use, so the city moved ahead with its plans. The exterior of the building would be maintained; the city would provide a parking area and add a drive-up window. The designers planned to

restore the interior woodwork. The interior space though would be split, creating a second floor. Jackson hoped the building would be “the focal point of the city.” In March 1987 the city received word that the grant had been approved and that it would receive \$311,820 in federal funds. The city hoped to have the new hall ready by Heber’s centennial in 1988. The city kept samples of the benches and then sold the rest. The city held an open house to display the new city hall in November 1988.⁷⁵ The amusement hall has also been preserved, becoming the county senior citizen’s center.

While residents were able to save the tabernacle, they were not able to prevent destruction of the old courthouse and jail. The small building was not large enough to meet the county’s needs, and the commission planned to build a new one. In 1962 while the controversy over the tabernacle was still raging, the county proposed a federal grant to build the new facility. By 1965 bids were out. “The new facility, to be built of concrete and brick paneling, will be of cantilever design, with the county jail, sheriff’s office and county extension offices on the lower level and courtrooms and general county offices on the second level.” It was dedicated in January 1969.⁷⁶

Heber City and Midway have many lovely old residences that represent their pioneer craftsmen. In 1977 when the Utah State Historical Society conducted a survey of the homes, the historian found the nineteenth-century homes on the corners. As the lots had been subdivided, more recent homes filled in the blocks. Most of the older homes were still used as residences. One home that represents adaptive reuse is the Abram Hatch home, now Zion’s First National Bank. In 1972 the bank purchased the Hatch home and made plans to either adapt it for use or move it. The bank offered to give the house away and to finance the move. But that plan was dropped when a prospective mover found the house weighed more than 250 tons and could not be moved. After studies by the Historic American Building Survey, the bank decided to turn the house into a bank. The cooperation focused on maintaining the exterior and using as much of the interior as possible. Like the tabernacle, it represents an excellent way to use a historical site. The bank opened in 1974, and bank president Roy W. Simmons proudly declared, “Rather than tear down this beautiful historic home, we were able to completely restore it and



The Abram Hatch Home, constructed in 1892, was renovated as the Heber City Zion's First National Bank in 1974. (Allan Kent Powell)

at the same time incorporate within a convenient and attractive Zions Bank office that will have full banking facilities." He continued, "It is the only historic site in Utah—and perhaps the United States—that is also a modern banking facility." Clair Norton, the branch manager, explained that the exterior had been restored and a new walk added using the stones from the original walkway. The bank hired craftsmen to restore the woodwork, walls, and doors inside. Even the pine wood which had originally been grained to look like oak had been restored. Wooden teller booths added to the historic look, and the modern elevator was hidden in a closet. The bank received a Utah State Historical Society and *Utah Holiday Magazine* Preservation Award in 1980.⁷⁷ Other homes in Midway and Heber also have been

converted into businesses, but many remain private family dwellings. Some have remained in the same family for generations and are in excellent condition.

Zoning

As Wasatch County communities started to expand following the war, there was pressure to regulate growth. Zoning was not a new idea. New York City adopted the first regulations in 1916; and the United States Supreme Court ruled in favor of a city's right to control settlement in *Village of Euclid v. Ambler Realty Co* in 1926. Some scholars believe such ordinances reflected the fact that home ownership became possible for a large segment of the American population in the 1920s. Zoning was a tool to protect property value. Its stated purposes were "to maintain and defend the new American Dream." During the Depression of the 1930s and subsequent World War II years, city growth slowed and zoning became less important. After the war, when people again had the resources and the funding to build new homes, the idea of zoning resurged. In urban areas throughout the nation, housing became a concern for middle-class Americans, and they appealed to the government for help. The federal government responded with low-interest loans. The local governments set up regulations for preserving and maintaining areas.⁷⁸

Heber City had not yet become a bedroom community, but it responded to the same need for control that developed in the suburbs. In September 1946 Heber City appointed a commission to survey the town and meet with school, county, church, and business leaders and residents to set up a zoning ordinance. The purpose of the commission was "to work out an overall plan for residential, industrial and business development and at the same time include projects for schools, churches and public parks." Six months later the commission had completed its review and presented its proposals. Areas were designated residential, single family; multiple family and livestock; commercial; agricultural; and industrial. The city hoped the new ordinance would control nonconforming uses such as barns on lots right next to the commercial area on Main Street without "a lot of inconvenience and antagonism." There were no industrial areas at the time, but Heber was planning ahead. The city held public meet-

ings, and the residents debated the districts. The city council passed the zoning ordinance in November 1947. Twelve years later the county passed a comprehensive zoning law.⁷⁹

Medical

Medical facilities had always been a concern in Wasatch County. The first hospitals were small and privately owned. A group of doctors completed a new eighteen-bed Heber Hospital in 1948, but by 1964 the doctors—R. E. Jensen, Jack D. Boggess, and J. Fred Bushnell—announced they would have to sell the hospital because they were losing \$100 per day and the hospital could not afford to meet new federal regulations for Medicare patients. With the doctors' announcement, Karl Larsen, president of the Heber Valley Jaycees, published an open letter to the people of the county, explaining that if people were not happy with the hospital to let the public officials know. The county commissioners included a questionnaire about the hospital with the primary election ballot. A bond issue was placed on the November ballot.⁸⁰

Those for and against the new hospital debated the issues in public. In October Dr. R. Raymond Green, speaking for the hospital, argued that a new hospital was needed just as Heber City was getting new street lighting and paving, sewage disposal, and gas lines. A Committee to Hold Tax Lines disagreed, claiming the county could not afford a tax-supported hospital. The group also opposed federal assistance because it felt that would allow government control. The group members insisted that the current hospital was large enough for the area and feared there was already too much new construction with the building of schools, churches, and the post office.⁸¹

Most residents did not feel the hospital was necessary: 1,120 people voted against the bond issue while 809 approved the bond sale. Two years later, however, county residents reconsidered and approved a bond measure for a new hospital. The county bought land from Heber City on 6th East and Center streets. The new bonds and the passage of the federal Hill-Burton Hospital Participation Funds Act allowed the county to build the hospital. It was completed by May 1969.⁸²

A year after the hospital opened, the *Wave* praised it as “an out-

standing picture of a hospital in the rural community. Not only has the establishment of this excellent facility improved in a large measure the available hospital care but it has also been instrumental in the improvement of medical care in general throughout the Wasatch County area.” Six years later, the hospital did not meet those expectations. The *Wave* complained, “The Wasatch County Hospital has been a source of community dissension and bickering since it opened six years ago.” The county started the hospital with the idea it was to be self-supporting. That did not prove to be the case. It was hard to attract and keep doctors at the facility. The doctors wanted the latest equipment, but that cost money. In April 1975 the hospital asked the county commissioners for \$100,000 to cover expenses. With the county’s help and some changes in policy, the hospital was showing a profit by August.⁸³

During the 1950s a pressing public-health concern throughout the world was the search for a vaccine for polio. Poliomyelitis was not a new disease. Cases were recorded as early as 1350 B.C., and epidemics had erupted many times, most often in urban areas. But polio was the only serious epidemic disease left untreated by vaccine in the Western world. Intense search for a vaccine halted during World War II but started again after the war. Americans had “unquestionable faith in the future . . . [for] fifteen to twenty years.” They felt that science could cure everything and were especially interested in applying science to stop a disease which crippled and killed children. The March of Dimes drive to find a vaccine was part of a “just war” to overcome the deadly disease.⁸⁴

Along with the rest of the country, Wasatch County played a role in financing this drive. The *Wave* announced the first emergency polio drive in 1949. The local March of Dimes group supported a yearly smorgasbord to raise money. The first recorded case of polio in the county was in 1951 when Bonnie Morris, an eighteen-year-old whose husband was in Korea, became ill. When other cases followed in 1953, the problem really hit home. When vaccine developed by Dr. Jonas Salk was finally ready in January 1954, Wasatch County was one of five counties in Utah selected to test the vaccine. The *Wave* reported polio was finally on the way out. The Salk vaccine was given to first and second graders in 1955. Eventually all students received

the vaccine, and the epidemic threat of polio subsided throughout the United States.⁸⁵

Education

Following World War II, bigger continued to mean better in education. Schools continued to consolidate, and the larger facilities seemed to work well. The only complaints were from Keetley parents whose children were on a run that took too long to get their children home. The board promised to speed up the run but could not change the bus system. Elsewhere, the state forced other schools to combine. While the state board approved Soldier Summit as a one-room school in 1947, it did not grant "special school" status to Charleston, Wallsburg, and Midway under the new minimum school program. The schools did not die quietly, though. In 1952 the residents of Charleston voted thirty-three to eleven to keep their school, and the county school district put it in the 1952–53 budget. The next year the board decided the cost was too high and closed it. The Wallsburg school stayed open longer. In August 1947 town citizens refused again to bus the eighth graders to Heber, but two years later they gave in and agreed to bus just that grade. In 1957 the board announced the school would continue that year, but students could also be bussed to Heber. In 1960 the district hired only a first-to-third-grade teacher for Wallsburg, and a year later the school board voted to completely close the school. To meet the concerns of Wallsburg residents, the school superintendent asked the state to improve Highway 189 at the Wallsburg junction. The board made other concessions, such as providing a special bus run to return kindergarten children home at 11:30 A.M.⁸⁶

The Soldier Summit school presented unique problems because the number of students there continued to fluctuate. In 1948 there were forty-seven students; the next year there were only eleven. The building needed repairs, but the board was undecided about fixing it. Teachers who were willing to live in the area were hard to find. In 1950 there were two teachers at the school, but in 1951 one was transferred to Midway. The next year the board voted to close the Soldier Summit school because there were no Wasatch County students; but there were always a few pupils, so the school continued. In 1973 the

district closed the school and paid the families to take their children to Carbon County schools.⁸⁷

LDS church groups continued to use school buildings for activities from basketball games and socials to LDS stake conference while the church was building its new stake center. Schools were also used by other groups, including a Bible group from Grand Rapids and family reunions. Little League baseball, however, was barred from practicing in the girls gym at the high school for unspecified reasons. The board allowed a nonschool dance at the high school because it had already been advertised but would not allow more because they were against state law. The school board leased the social hall owned by the city for \$2,400 for the Northeastern Utah Educational Service Center and allowed the city to use the junior-high gym a minimum of three nights a week. The Heber city council agreed to use the lease money to restore the interior of the social hall, and the school board agreed to pay utilities.⁸⁸

Religion

The LDS church remained the dominant religion in the Wasatch County area. There were disagreements over the tabernacle, but for the most part residents accepted the decisions of church leaders. Because of their influence, LDS leaders were an integral part of the decision making in the area. The communities used the church organization to distribute material and occasionally used LDS chapels for meetings.

But the LDS church was not the only religion in the county. Catholics met in homes, the public library, the city hall, and even the fire station. In 1967 the Catholic church purchased the Heber Second Ward chapel and restored it. The restoration was a community effort. The Wasatch High School chorus had donated money from a concert, the Immaculate Conception Church in Copperton gave an altar, and the abbey at Huntsville gave a crucifix. A youth group from the Christ Methodist church in Salt Lake City helped to repaint the interior. The Saint Lawrence Catholic church was named for the first bishop in Salt Lake, Lawrence Scanlan, and for a Christian martyr from the third century. The Most Reverend Joseph Lenox Federal, the

bishop of the Diocese of Salt Lake City, dedicated the new church on 11 June 1967.⁸⁹

War and the Fear of War

The end of World War II opened another kind of conflict—the Cold War. Very shortly after the Axis powers surrendered, the Cold War started. The Allies divided Germany and Berlin into sections, and the Soviet Union blockaded its former allies out of West Berlin. The Americans responded with an airlift of supplies. Many feared war with the Soviet Union. The Allies also divided territory in the Pacific. Japan had taken over the Korean peninsula after the 1904–05 Russo-Japanese War. After World War II, Japan had to relinquish control of this area as one of the terms of surrender. President Harry S. Truman and Soviet Union leader Joseph Stalin discussed Korea's future at the Potsdam meetings in July 1945, but no action was taken until after Soviet troops entered the war in the Pacific and quickly moved through Manchuria and Korea. The American military wanted to prevent a Soviet takeover of Korea and sent troops into southern Korea. The country was divided along the 38th parallel, and Americans started occupying South Korea. Open combat began in June 1950 and lasted until 1953. Nearly six million Americans served in the conflict; 54,246 died and 103,284 were injured.⁹⁰

Like other Americans, people in Wasatch County continued to stress civil defense. In 1951 a special committee distributed pamphlets on air raids and survival under attack to all county residents. Heber City developed a civil-defense plan set in motion by ringing the stakehouse bell. The basement of the new county courthouse was a fallout shelter. The *Wave* explained: "Participation in the Civil Defense program is a must in Russia. In a free country no one is required to do anything. But if we want this country to remain free, then we must work to make it strong. Military strength is not enough." The article continued that the next war would affect the civilian population and declared, "War is more probable now that Russia has the H-bomb."⁹¹

Americans were uneasy with the conflict in Korea, but it was not a paramount concern to Wasatch County residents. There was some evidence of the war: the military continued to draft young men, and

the newspaper carried articles on how the draft worked. For those who had family members in the war, Korea became a watched place on the map. In February 1952, 146 Wasatch County men were serving in the armed forces. In all, 336 local men served in the war. Only one, Elwood Phillip Walch, a pilot, died during the war.

<i>Town</i>	<i>General Service</i>	<i>Occupation Forces</i>	<i>National Defense</i>	<i>Service</i>
Heber	71	26	57	52
Midway	11	5	17	13
Charleston	7		3	4
Daniel	3	6	6	3
Center Creek	5	2	3	4
Wallsburg	11	1	5	8
Keetley	1			
Soldier Summit	12			

Requiring “financial ammunition” to fight the Cold War, the U.S. government continued to set quotas and encourage bond sales. In 1951 Heber was short three businesses using bond payroll deductions to be a “flag city.” In 1957 Wasatch County residents purchased \$82,168 in bonds, 183 percent over their quota. At Christmastime in 1953, the *Wave* editorialized, “Christmas this year is an uncertain world fraught with war, strife, commotion, and unrest with no one too far removed from its turmoil to remain aloof.”⁹²

But for the majority of Wasatch County residents, Korea did not have the same home front effects as World War II. Rationing, shortages, and salvage drives were not necessary. The war meant the federal government continued to support industries in Utah. For example, in 1950, 14,800 Utahns were employed in defense. In 1951 that number increased to 28,000.⁹³ The defense industry did not directly affect Wasatch County; most of the military bases were farther north. But it continued to emphasize the importance of Geneva Steel in Utah County and other industries that directly affected those living in Wasatch County.

Although the Korean war did not directly influence most Wasatch County residents, many felt the tension of a new war so soon after World War II. Barbara McDonald, who moved to Heber City in 1947, remembered, “The Korean war came right on top of

World War II, and we were sick of death, destruction, and war. Many of the World War II veterans had remained in the military or in the reserves, and they, of course, were immediately recalled. Most of them had married and started families, and this new conflict meant they had to leave their loved ones behind while they were once more transported halfway around the world to fight. This was very stressful for the young men and their families.” She continued, “Those of us who lived through World War II knew what war was about, and our greatest fears were realized when our country called for our sons. Once more we were holding our breath and praying.”⁹⁴

The Cold War continued to rage, and the United States government believed that it should prevent any other countries from becoming communist-controlled. The domino theory held that the communists would continue to march through the world and therefore they had to be stopped somewhere. The United States not only feared the Soviet Union but also the People’s Republic of China. So when North Vietnam, a communist country that depended on both Soviet and Chinese support, attacked its neighbor, South Vietnam, the United States government decided that it needed to be involved. American military provided support to the South Vietnamese and those fighting the communists in the early 1960s.

In 1964 the North Vietnamese attacked a U.S. destroyer in international waters. Based on these incidents, President Lyndon B. Johnson asked Congress to pass a resolution allowing him to “take all necessary measures to repel an armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.” Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (the Southeast Asia Resolution). Johnson used this legislation as justification for sending troops to Vietnam.

American soldiers fought in Vietnam from 1965 until 1973. By the end of 1973 the forces were reduced to only fifty. Thousands of Americans, though, had fought in Vietnam during the war years, and 46,163 had been killed in action.

During the Vietnam war, the United States Selective Service continued to draft young men into the military. Men registered when they were eighteen years old. Initially, men were drafted if they did not have educational, religious, or medical deferments. Later, a lottery system based on birth dates was instituted. It was a time when

Americans again feared for the sons being sent off to war. Many Americans opposed the war: demonstrations were staged and, in some instances, riots broke out because of war opposition.⁹⁵

No demonstrations or riots took place in Wasatch County. Once again, the war was painful for the families who sent their loved ones off to war. They carefully watched the news and wondered what was happening halfway around the world. But with the expanded coverage of the war on television, Wasatch County residents could learn daily what was happening on the war front.

The Americans who served in Vietnam returned to a country that was largely hostile and indifferent to their efforts. These were young men; the average age of those who fought there was eighteen as opposed to twenty-seven during World War II. One veteran, referring to the reception he received when he returned, explained, “This country has made a mistake: it has confused the war with the warrior. Americans, through that war experience, became Vietnam veterans. It was an individual experience; everyone had his own war over there. We all had that commonality of being in combat.”⁹⁶ A 1979 issue of the *Wasatch Wave* included an article by Max Cleland, administrator of veterans affairs. Cleland noted that the war had been a “different” conflict with “limited objectives, was fought in an unconventional manner, and was surrounded by controversy from the beginning.” Still, he explained that Vietnam veterans had served honorably and should be treated with respect.⁹⁷

Summary

The period following World War II to the mid-1970s was a time of decision for Wasatch County. The county struggled to find new economic bases as mining and agriculture declined. The development of state parks made tourism a mainstay. Some people questioned the new industry although the major concerns came later in the 1970s. In the meantime, Wasatch County residents celebrated the peace by upgrading city services, developing zoning regulations, and building new schools, churches, and a hospital. Heber continued as the county focus point as schools were consolidated. Everything was not new; after a struggle, the Heber tabernacle was preserved. But depression, the cold war, and Americans fighting in Southeast Asia

dampened the optimistic attitudes. The county continued to depend on the federal and state government for much of its direction. The self-sufficient days for the area, as for most of the United States, were gone.

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YEARS OF DECISION AND GROWTH, 1975–1995

The world has changed radically during the 1970s and 1980s, and the pace is not slowing down. Those who have lived through this period may not recognize all of the differences at first, but if they reflect on the world they knew less than twenty years ago, they will notice dramatic changes. For example, in 1989 the Berlin Wall came down. The wall symbolized the division of Germany and the Cold War between communist nations and the free world. A baby boomer generation since World War II grew up being told that the Soviet Union was the enemy and that the responsibility of the United States was to protect free nations throughout the world. Now the arch enemy has reverted to its many components, and these new nations along with other countries struggle to find their identity in a changing world. In this search, ethnic wars continued, new dictators arose, and people throughout the world suffered from famine.

The United States also continued to change. In 1974 Richard M. Nixon resigned as president of the United States. A republican form of government that had survived for almost 200 years with an orderly succession of leaders now saw the worst of its political system. The

break-in at the Democratic headquarters at Watergate and the coverup that followed suggested that winning at any cost had become most important to some. Some questioned whether the country would survive, especially since vice president Spiro Agnew had also resigned. But the system worked. Gerald Ford took office for two years. In 1976, the bicentennial year, the election of Jimmy Carter returned American politics to normal.

Economically the country was on a roller coaster. The national debt continued to spiral upward while much of the time the nation was in the midst of recessions. The stock market soared and then dropped; so too interest rates. Some people prospered, and the number of millionaires increased; however, other companies laid off people, the unemployment figures grew, and more people found it impossible to fulfill the American dream of owning a home and other possessions. More people lived on the streets, surviving day to day.

America had become an urban society long before the 1970s, and cities continued to play an important role. With improved transportation, more people chose to live away from their work in small, self-contained communities. Newcomers split their lives between their city work and the family country lifestyle. Old-time small-town residents saw their quiet world disquieted.

Improved technology changed all Americans. Personal computers, faxes, and the Internet changed the business workplace and communication. All types of work-saving devices gave Americans more free time. VCRs and cable TV brought instant entertainment into homes. People sought wilderness experiences to escape the crowded cities. New farming methods increased production on less land. Many Americans became more environmentally conscious. Recycling became popular. People worried about protecting the water, the land, the ozone layer, and their bodies. Preserving the past through historic preservation continued. Federal- and state- funded projects required environmental impact statements and public hearings.

The U.S. government continued to play an important role in state and community activities. Federal programs in education, highway construction, business development, recreational programs, and reclamation projects provided funding for many projects and developments. The government established regulations it could enforce

because it held the purse strings. These ranged from sports in schools to the amount of water residents could use. Many saw the federal assistance as a mixed blessing.

Utah

These national trends influenced Utah. The traditional economic bases of agriculture and mining continued to decline. New industries reflected the national technology boom and helped Utah's economy remain strong despite national recession. More people migrated to the state. Farmland became more valuable as home sites. Improved transportation made it possible for people to live in rural counties and commute to their jobs in urban areas.

These outlying areas also became playgrounds to escape the urban life. Federal lands administered by the National Park Service, the National Forest Service, and the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) attracted ever more visitors. The state park system also drew tourists. Many rural areas encouraged travelers because they brought business, but while these visitors did not require year-round services like education, they did stretch limited water, sewage, and police facilities.

With increased tourism, federal agencies including the Forest Service placed more emphasis on recreation and less on traditional uses such as grazing, mining, and timbering. Overgrazing threatened watersheds and wetlands and damaged the natural habitat of fish and wildlife. Local residents who depended on the forest to run sheep and cattle resisted the impact on their livelihoods.

Wasatch County

Wasatch County has become a bedroom community for the Wasatch Front and a playground for others who do not live there. By 1996 the county included three large reservoirs: Strawberry, Deer Creek, and Jordanelle. Utah residents came to recreate at Strawberry, operated by the National Forest Service, and at Deer Creek, a state park. Jordanelle became a state park. Wasatch Mountain State Park continued to be a popular visiting spot, and privately owned facilities like the Homestead also attracted visitors. Important as recreation had become, the reservoirs primarily served other purposes.

They transferred water from Wasatch County and its back valleys to the populated Wasatch Front.

Wasatch County continued to export its agricultural goods to the Wasatch Front while importing finished products. There was very little industry in the county except for tourism, new residents, and federal monies. In 1977, according to County Commissioner Clyde Broadbent, 27 percent of the total county budget was federal money. He explained, "There was a time, years ago, when we could get along without it—when we had the mine, for instance—but now you can't expect to run the county on the taxes from a residential community." He continued, "We've been raised in a pioneer environment; we like to be independent." But, he argued, citizens pay federal taxes and might as well get back their share.¹

Wasatch County residents remained confused on how to respond to growth. On the one hand, the county needed the revenue visitors and new residents provided. On the other, more people changed the lifestyle and threatened limited resources. Many county citizens were still trying to decide how they viewed growth. They wanted to avoid becoming like Park City, a thriving ski resort, but they also did not want to reprise the recession they had experienced in the 1960s and early 1970s.

In the mid-1970s Wasatch County was still rural: fewer than 200 people lived in Wallsburg; 300 lived in Charleston; Daniel was a "tiny area that followed along Daniel Creek"; so was Center Creek. When Robert Mathis, the county planner, moved to the area, he recalled: "I could look out over a green expanse, an expanse that was watered with shovels. . . . It was like a house of cards. If the guy at the top didn't water, the guy at the bottom didn't water. There were these elaborate systems they'd worked through. It was very communitarian in its approach, much like what I saw as the plat of Zion." Heber City was "the queen city" of the county where everything centered. Midway survived in Heber's shadow because of the strong character of the people. The county was still very much Mormon. Communities drew their identity from church boundaries. The church gave the people a common set of values. Church members also were willing to do many things the church asked. But the church did not govern every aspect of their lives. When they felt that the



Wasatch County Courthouse and the Wasatch Stake Tabernacle, now the Heber City Hall, March 1996. (Allan Kent Powell)

church overstepped its bounds into secular areas the people voted their conscience.²

In the years since Mathis came to work as the county planner, the area has changed “not so much because of the number of people but the type of people that have moved here. . . . They look at the various compromises that worked out through the fabric of the community and allowed it to retain its identity and retain its communitarian flavor. They say, ‘This is dumb.’” They disagreed with how the longtime residents divided the water and participated in politics. While the newcomers did not want to follow the old rules, they also did not want to see the area change too much. They often led the fight against developments. While county residents do not support development in the communities in Heber Valley, there has been less opposition to growth away from the main towns. No one is actively opposing a large development at Mayflower near the Jordanelle Dam. But, as Mathis explained, the county “is a vacuum of instability. It’s ripe for

change because you can't encourage growth just eight miles from Heber City and not cause pressure here."³

Growth

Between 1970 and 1980, the county's population grew from 5,863 to 8,523—a 45.4 percent increase. This rate was not sustained, and in 1990 the county's population was 10,089, a 18.4 percent increase. Most of the growth took place in Midway and the unincorporated areas as new houses were built. Midway went from 1,194 to 1,544—a 30.1 percent increase—while the unincorporated areas went from 2,408 to 3,165—a 31.4 percent increase. For the same decade, the county's growth was slightly less than the state's growth at 37.9 percent. Neighboring Summit County experienced a whopping 74 percent increase, the third largest increase in the state.

The county's economic base shifted as farms became subdivisions and residents turned to recreational service businesses or employment outside the area. In 1977, 33.7 percent of the people worked outside the county and county officials expected that to increase with the improved highways to Utah and Salt Lake counties. Home construction broke records in 1975: seventeen homes and thirty-three multiple housing units were built in Heber, fifteen homes and one four-plex in Midway, and fifty summer homes, twenty-three single-family homes, and one duplex elsewhere in the county. The next year there was over \$6 million of construction with a total valuation doubling that of 1975. Most of the growth was in subdivisions and summer homes. Police records showed a similar increase in burglaries, automobile accidents, and people passing bad checks.⁴

When a "Profile of Heber Valley" was finished in 1975, the *Wave* declared it did not "wish to promote any activity that would greatly change our Heber Valley lifestyle." But the newspaper said those who saw a need for some growth "reflect[ed] more faithfully the tradition of progress which carved Heber Valley from the primitive wilderness over a century ago." The editorial concluded, "Changes are coming to this valley—changes of population and economic growth. To ignore them and ostrich-like pretend they won't happen is folly. Only through thought and planned action can the community assure a



A recreated railroad village in Heber City, March 1996. (Allan Kent Powell)

controlled future growth and remain as it is ‘Beautiful upon the Mountains.’”⁵

The county recognized in the early 1970s that it needed to monitor new construction more closely. Elmer Kohler headed the committee that drafted a county master plan in which the major concerns were water and sewage service to the new homes and protecting the environment. Before the county zoning laws were written, subdivisions were going up all over the valley. Roads were “too narrow and too steep.” Kohler’s committee talked to one hundred people from all walks of life in Wasatch County, held meetings about the plans, and then “with the help of a trained planner, . . . wrote the first zoning ordinances.”⁶ Residents debated the zoning regulations. Some saw the changes as government restrictions; others felt they would benefit the community by directing growth. The *Wave’s* editorial in July 1975 contended, “The controlled growth encouraged by proper zoning assures that economic growth will come hand in hand with population growth. In this respect, zoning is not a restriction but a guarantee of future stability and growth.”⁷

In 1976 Kohler’s committee presented its report to the county

commissioners. The new regulations allowed planned residential growth that would “literally build a new city.” Developers would have to build roads and provide utilities. In areas where there was no sewer, density was limited to one unit per acre. In areas like Midway where the sewer extended beyond the town limit, the regulations allowed units on one-half acre lots. The plan encouraged homes in the valleys, leaving the mountains for recreation. Very few of the 170 people who attended the public hearing supported the plan, especially the mountain rules. Head of the county chamber of commerce Gordon Mendenhall felt most of the county citizens supported the plan and just did not attend the meeting. In 1979 the zoning laws were modified to allow more summer homes while trying to still protect the soil, water, and animals in the mountains.⁸

Some county residents in the unincorporated areas opposed development. In 1975 nationally known golfers Don Collett and Billy Casper along with rancher Jay Quealy planned to build a country club and residences for 6,000 people in Center Creek. Those living in the area strongly opposed the plan. They feared they would have less culinary water, would be unable to drive cattle on the road, and would be overwhelmed by increased sewage. The next spring the county held a public meeting to discuss rezoning the area. Center Creek residents turned out in force to protest the change. They explained that their culinary water came from wells and the development would affect the ground water. They did not want to see the road widened to four lanes. The developers responded that the improvement of the property in Center Creek would enhance the tax base which would pay for a sewer and in turn preserve the valley’s beauty. MountainLands Planning Association estimated the project would cost a quarter of a million dollars more than it would generate. Almost all comments from Wasatch County residents were negative. As one editorial explained, “We are not against planned growth in the Heber Valley. However, 2,400 housing units and nearly 6,000 people is simply too ambitious for this area of the valley.”⁹

In the 1970s the county hired Dale Berg as its first planner. Robert Mathis took over the job just when the Center Creek proposal came to public debate. He recalled, “I came to understand it was my job to see that if this project wasn’t right for the county it wasn’t to

be built. If it was all right for the county, then it was my job to see that it was built correctly.” The county developed a new zoning category that would allow for the development. Mathis recalled how unpopular the project was countywide: “People would tell me with almost murder in their eyes what they were going to do to me if this project came through.” When the project fell through, he remembered, “I don’t know that I was a hero, but . . . it didn’t hurt my credibility in the community. I was greatly relieved because I was never comfortable with their density. I don’t know that I could have expressed at that time all the reasons why.”¹⁰

As Heber Valley became more of a recreational destination, developer Veigh Cummings planned Timber Lakes, a large summer-home resort ten miles east of Heber. He initially planned 9,000 homes using septic tanks. The county approved only 2,348 to comply with zoning regulations. Heber was especially concerned because the development was right above the city’s water supply. Timber Lakes developers tried to get around the restrictions by incorporating, but this effort failed because most owners lived in the county part-time and were not eligible to vote. Still not satisfied with the county’s decision to limit the number of units in his development, Cummings instituted a \$30 million suit against the county, claiming the commissioners had given him permission to build 9,000 homes. As a result of the possible lawsuit, the county amended and clarified the zoning ordinance in 1978, but the basis of the ordinance still required one-acre lots. The amendments allowed more than the absolute density limit if the developer included improvements. These changes did not affect the number of units allowed in Timber Lakes. In 1980 the county and Cummings settled out of court.¹¹

County residents remained concerned about growth. Paul Daniels had mixed feelings, “I guess you might say I have nostalgia when I look at changes. I miss some of the old things, but we have got to move on with the new and accept it because that’s our way of life.” Calvin Giles expressed more negative feelings. “The population growth worries me. . . . I would hate to see Heber City become another Park City. But the growth is coming here.” He felt that “the planning commission is trying to organize it so that’s it’s a healthy growth and not scattered here, there, and all over.” Giles expected

houses would soon surround him but grieved, "I hate to see it, but I cannot stop progress and growth." LeRoy Sweat reported that Center Creek lacked the community feeling that had been there when everyone knew everyone else. "Nowadays people are just too much to themselves." He also did not like the growth in the valley although he knew he could not change it. But Irene Thacker in Daniel saw all the newcomers adding to the community. "We're getting old, and it's hard for us to do so many things. Isn't it great that we have young people and new people coming in that are so enthusiastic that can do things for us?" She said some people were not the "best sometimes, but we shouldn't say that. We should look at the good side. We understand that we must put up with some of that."¹²

The growth brought not only more people but increased pressure on county services. Moroni Besendorfer described a common situation. "A farmer sells a one-hundred acre plot because it can no longer support a family. It is subdivided into two hundred lots, and then the county has to provide water, roads, and sewer." He continued, "When we get into those outlying areas of one hundred acre farms and develop them into housing units, then some form of infrastructure has to be made available to them. They can't do it. We will pollute the underground water which goes to Salt Lake and Wasatch Front."¹³

To meet these types of concerns, Heber City developed a new master plan in 1976 to deal with the next twenty years of growth. The plan called for "the development of quiet, safe, attractive and dignified conditions suitable to family life and the rearing of children." With the new plan, Heber City annexed land and in 1977 approved five subdivisions. Midway proposed a new zoning ordinance in 1975. The 1961 plan provided for only residential/agricultural and commercial divisions. Earl Kohler explained at a public meeting that it would preserve "the town's present values. We like the rural flavor here." Alma Huber, chair of the Midway Planning Commission, said the old plan was "not up to date with the needs of the community." In 1976 the city mailed a survey asking the residents what type of development they wanted to see in the area; 219 of the 500 surveys mailed were returned. Most respondents were married men between forty and sixty-one years of age who had lived in Midway for more than

twenty-five years, had less than five acres of land, and had a family income between \$10,000 and \$20,000. Over 90 percent (92.2) wanted Midway to retain a rural atmosphere. Just over half (53.9 percent) did not think the city should encourage growth. But just under half (49.3 percent) supported recreational development. Almost 70 percent (69.9 percent) did not want industrial development. And nearly everyone (90 percent) wanted the hot pot areas protected. When asked if the city was doing a good job planning, 32.7 percent said yes, 22.3 percent said no, and 45 percent said they were not sure.¹⁴

Midway grew more rapidly than other areas in the county during the 1970s and 1980s; much of the new construction was vacation homes. Elmer Kohler said, "All around us to the north and across the street to the south we have got people that have parties, second homes, and summer homes." Alvin Kohler felt good about the growth. "As I think about the people that have moved into this area, I can't point to one that I know personally but what has been an asset to the community." Elmer Kohler recognized, "The good old Midway has gone forever and never can come back." He explained he knew "we can't cut growth," but he felt that the newcomers should pay for their impact on the community. He added that many new people were not getting what they were after. "The thing that so many people of late years have come to Midway for is the country atmosphere. That is being somewhat ruined by the vast number that are coming."¹⁵

Population

Of the 10,089 people who lived in Wasatch County in 1990, 51.2 percent were male. Only 69 people, about 0.6 percent, were foreign born. Of these, only 19 had immigrated between 1980 and 1990. Over three-quarters (76.8 percent) were born in Utah. Nearly everyone (98.7 percent) was white. There were only six blacks, sixty-nine American Indians, sixteen Asian or Pacific Islanders, and forty-five "other races." When asked about their ancestry, several people listed more than one, so the total exceeds the population. Of the 13,649 people giving nationalities, 37.5 percent listed English. The next highest were German (13.2 percent), Irish (8.1 percent), and Scottish (6.9 percent). Only 3.5 percent listed Swiss ancestry. The population was

split evenly between the towns and rural areas. The census listed 47.4 percent living in urban areas and 52.6 percent in rural areas. Of the 5,378 people over twenty-five years of age, 84.2 percent had completed a high school or higher education; 18.5 percent held at least a bachelor's degree.

The census listed 4,340 employed people sixteen years or older. Their employment included retail sales (17.3 percent), construction (13.4 percent), personal services (11.2 percent), educational services (10.4 percent), manufacturing (6.8 percent), and health services (5.4 percent). Only forty people worked in mining. Of 4,276 listing distance from work, 31.5 percent lived less than ten minutes from work; 27 percent lived between twenty and forty minutes from their work place; only 13.8 percent lived between forty-five minutes and an hour and a half from work. Just over half (55.4 percent) worked in the county. There is a sense among the residents that more people work outside the county. As Douglas Merkley explained, "They're willing to drive that two hours a day to commute to their jobs." Paul Daniels estimated, "Ninety-some percent is an urban work force and the other is rural. We may live in a rural area, but we work in the urban area."¹⁶

Agriculture

By the 1970s, agriculture had declined in the county. Paul Daniels explained, "Farming is still important, but it's not as important as it was thirty years ago. Recreation seems to be the focal point." Douglas Merkley agreed: "In roughly forty-five years the whole thing has changed in terms of the economy of the valley and the emphasis on agriculture." Those who continued to farm were generally older. In 1978 the average age of farm operators was 52.8; it rose to 53.8 in 1982 and 55.6 in 1987. Calvin Giles estimated that only seven men around thirty were still farming and that they were helping their fathers. Most of the ground had gone into developments. He continued: "Farming has been rough in the valley. We have these rough winters. It's hard work. There are so many jobs nowadays that pay better than farming." The 1990 census confirms these opinions, listing a farm population of only 183. Those who did farm often had other jobs. Of 192 farm operators residing on the land in 1978, over



A modern sprinkler irrigation system in the Heber Valley, March 1996. (Allan Kent Powell)

two-thirds (130) worked more than 200 days off the farm. Agriculture remains “the basis of wealth,” but “it’s not in the production of crops. It’s the holding of land that makes up a large part of the wealth.”¹⁷ The number of acres farmed supported this conclusion. In 1978 there were 211,040 acres in farms. That figure dropped to 207,130 in 1982 and to 159,854 in 1987. There was also a change in irrigated lands. In 1978 there were 224 farms with 11,940 acres of irrigated crop lands. Four years later the number of farms increased to 237 with 13,085 acres. The figure dropped slightly in 1987 to 230 farms and 11,809 acres.

Farmers still raised the same crops. Most grew alfalfa: 199 farms in 1978 and 1987 and 200 in 1982. The acreage remained at about 8,000. The remaining crops included other types of hay, barley, and oats.¹⁸ Although hay was the major crop, farmers did not raise enough alfalfa to feed all the area’s dairy cows and had to truck in “considerable” amounts even though there were fewer dairies in the area. In 1978, sixty farms had 2,062 milk cows. The number of farms

remained the same in 1982, but the number of cows increased to 3,000. By 1987 the number of farms with milk cows dropped to twenty-nine with only 1,915 cows. Alvin Kohler, who trucked milk during the 1950s and 1960s, estimated there were twelve or thirteen dairies left by 1994 but they were producing more milk than before. The dairies continued to mainly produce Grade-A milk for drinking. This milk had to travel through pipelines directly onto trucks. Small-time operators were forced out of business because they could not afford the equipment.¹⁹

Livestock ranching continued to decrease as the Forest Service cut back the number of animals allowed on public lands. The 1987 agriculture census showed a drop in the number of farms with grazing permits from fifty-two in 1978 to twenty-nine in 1982. The number rose again to forty-three in 1987. Meat production continued to play a role in the area's economy. Calvin Giles explained, "The livestock industry has gone by the wayside. . . . But there's still a lot of livestock and sheep in the valley." In 1978 there were 103 farms with 3,003 beef cows. The numbers dropped to 99 farms and 2,641 cattle in 1982 and slipped again to 93 farms but increased to 2,682 cattle in 1987. The drop in sheep was even more dramatic. In 1978 there were 39,537 sheep on fifty-four farms in the county. The total number of sheep dropped to 38,385 in 1982, but the number of farms increased to sixty-seven. In the next five years there was a significant cut. Fifty-two farms still had sheep, but the total number of animals had dropped 50 percent to 18,990 in the area. Most of these operations ran their animals on their own property, not on Forest Service lands. Horses were the only livestock that increased in number, and they were used for recreation. There were 696 horses and ponies in 1978; by 1982 there were 908, and in 1987 there were 979.²⁰

Mining

Summit and Wasatch county residents were shocked when Park Ventures announced on 13 January 1978 (a Friday) that the company would close the Ontario Mine in February. While the major blow to the mining industry had struck when the Mayflower closed, the Ontario was the last operating mine in the area. Park City Ventures, a company representing two mining firms, Anaconda and ASARCO,

had leased the Ontario from the United Park City Mines Company a few years earlier. Stanley Walton, a miner, explained that the company "claims [to] have put in the neighborhood of thirty million dollars in that place in about the last four or five years. It's a lot of money to walk off and leave." Some remained optimistic. Shelley Christensen, a twenty-two-year-old from Heber, preferred mining work over her previous office employment and she was sure the mine would open again. As the mine closed down to a maintenance staff, Dallas Peterson, who had been in charge of production at the mine and headed the maintenance crew, also felt the mine would open again.²¹

The present was not bright. Of the 350 miners who had been employed at the Ontario, only thirteen were kept. Wasatch County's unemployment jumped to 15 percent. Half the miners moved to Carbon County. However, not long after Park City Ventures lost their lease, United Park City Mining Company leased the Ontario to Noranda Mining Inc. of Canada. By 1982 Noranda left Park City. In 1994 only a handful of employees were working the Ontario and other mines owned by the United Park City Mining Company. Most were office staff at the Number Three Shaft and miners who maintained the underground workings and managed the pumps.²² The company no longer produced ore in Summit or Wasatch counties, but it continued to operate, focusing on recreation and tourism. In 1995 company officials were constructing a historical mining museum, both surface and underground, in Park City.

Recreation

As mining and agriculture declined in the 1970s, Wasatch County residents had to decide what they wanted it to be. Did they want to attract business? Did they want to encourage recreation? To help answer these questions, in 1976 the county commissioners formed the Wasatch Committee on Industrial and Commercial Growth. Commissioner Harold Smith explained, "Our tax base needs to expand to include more than residential and agricultural investments, and our recreation and tourist facilities need to be expanded." With money from the room tax fund, the lodging association, and the county chamber of commerce, the new council hired Monte Bona as executive director. Two years later he resigned, explaining

that when he came to Heber Valley he hoped to attract small industry but by 1978 he believed the county should focus on recreation. He concluded, "Our future is to provide recreation for the Wasatch Front. Tourism and recreation and filming are the cleanest industries you can get."²³

Others also encouraged tourism. According to the *Wave*: "The local businesses will have to cater to a different population than just the county residents. Local ordinances will have to reflect the needs of visitors as well." Former county commissioner Harold Smith declared, "Our future will lie in increasing recreational programs, and our ability to adapt and still keep the recreational programs providing a livelihood for our people." Lowe Ashton pointed out that attempts to attract light industry had failed and concluded that bringing people to play in the area was the best answer. Like other residents, he looked to the rapid development in Park City and did not wish that on Heber Valley. He argued, "Recreation need not be bad for us. With the park and a merger between private and public, we can develop with taste." He added, "I'm not speaking of growth if you consider growth to be an increase in the number of bodies. I'm speaking of growth in the sense of people being able to have year-round employment at decent paying jobs." In 1978 the *Wave* conducted a poll to see how the residents felt about tourism. The outside consulting firm found that 80.7 percent of the Heber residents approved tourism promotion, as did 74 percent in Midway. They also supported water projects that would expand recreation: 77.9 percent supported Jordanelle and 82.4 percent favored expanding Strawberry. An editorial in the same issue claimed tourism "is the only major industry that we have."²⁴

What type of recreation did Wasatch County residents want to promote? Developers tried several. Some were successful; some failed miserably. One large push was for the Heber Creeper. As one of his responsibilities, Bona received \$500,000 worth of federal grants to upgrade the railroad. Lowe Ashton, the owner, had ambitious plans which appeared feasible. He had convinced the Sons of Utah Pioneers to close down their museum at Corrine in Box Elder County, a town the freeway bypassed, and donate the buildings and railroad items to a museum in Wasatch County. Wasatch Mountain State Park owned



The Heber Creeper, March 1996. (Allan Kent Powell)

seventeen miles of the track from the old Denver and Rio Grande Railroad and the state agreed to support the idea although it made it clear it did not want to run a railroad. To help in the effort, Ashton and others formed a nonprofit organization, the Timpanogos Preservation Society, to receive government grants and donations.²⁵

The Creeper ran for over a decade, but financial problems came to a head in 1990. The Timpanogos Preservation Society folded, and the Ashton family took control of the property again. The Ashtons lobbied the state legislature to continue the railroad, but some state officials disapproved. The deal fell completely apart when a state government audit turned up some irregularities. The Heber Creeper stopped operation in 1991. County leaders still had hopes for the railroad and asked to use state properties. The state recovered all its assets from the Ashtons and approved plans for a new Heber Valley Railroad Company. In 1995 the state-operated railroad ran from Vivian Park in Provo Canyon to Heber Valley. The Ashtons had retained the name “Heber Creeper” and the railroad village. In 1994 the village was sold and attempts were made to revive it.²⁶

Other recreation possibilities included ski resorts. The state

reconsidered a plan to build a tram in the 1970s. The plan looked possible in 1977 until a report showed many ski resorts planned or operating in the area. Only if developers did not complete Deer Valley in Summit and Wasatch counties or Heritage Mountain in Utah County would there be room for the tram. On the down side, Monte Bona argued that skiing might bring more second homes and more sewer and water problems into the county.²⁷

There were also attempts to develop ski resorts in Wasatch County, including Brighton's plan to expand over the mountain. Mathis favored the ski resort's plan to install two lifts coming over the mountain between Pioneer Peak and Clayton Peak. He explained, "I was sure that the project could be done in such a way that it would not damage the fabric of the community" and "would implement the master plan" which called for "putting in four-season resorts including a ski program." The developers presented a plan to allow ski lifts, a base facility, and a restaurant at the top, while it denied construction of condominiums in Snake Creek Canyon. At a public hearing, a member of the Midway city council complained that the resort meant bringing a ski rental shop in Midway. When Mathis responded yes, the man responded, "We don't want that." Midway citizens feared the resort would "strike at the heart of the unique rural flavor of the community." The Brighton proposal failed.²⁸

Another proposed ski resort was at the site of the Mayflower Mine. Plans started in 1972 and continued during the next few years. When the Mayflower Mine closed in 1974, New Park City Mining Company separated the surface interest from the mineral rights and sold about 6,000 acres of surface rights to Lon Investments. The new owners proposed building a new ski resort. Some Wasatch County residents felt it would revive the economy. The *Wave* explained, "Since the Wasatch Valley is primarily known and famed as a summer resort recreational center, the addition of a ski resort would greatly enhance the possibilities of growth."²⁹

The timing was not right for the resort in the mid-1970s, however, and plans were dropped. In the meantime, a developer sold property interests to investors in Holland, telling them the resort was completed. The developer was later convicted in Los Angeles of fraud. Nine years after the resort was first suggested, it was still in the

design stages. The county planning commission had approved the plans, but the commissioners had not because of concerns about sewage facilities and possible pollution in the Jordanelle Reservoir. The new European owners were looking at an enlarged 9,000-acre development and hoped to move on it. They also hoped Salt Lake City would get the 1980 Winter Olympics and use the facility. Many felt that when Salt Lake did not get the Olympics bid, the resort also died. There were also concerns about the costs of bringing in a resort larger than any other county business and its dependence on completion of the Jordanelle to make the site a true four-season resort.³⁰ Before the resort could be completed, sewage facilities needed to be developed. In 1980 the county commissioners asked for a fee to defray review costs and got \$25,000. An agreement was made for a new sewer district that opened in July 1995.³¹

Part of the Deer Valley Resort is in Wasatch County, although most of it is in Summit County. Deer Valley did not obtain permission to put ski runs in Wasatch County. In 1980 when the resort attempted to correct the mistake by giving \$2,500 to the Wasatch Economic Development Committee, the county commissioners refused the offer and planned an investigation. Two weeks later the county accepted \$5,000 and the developers agreed to rewrite their environmental impact statement.³²

Wasatch County also tried other recreational projects. The Heber Valley Horse Association improved the facilities at the county fairgrounds and promoted horse racing. While there was some criticism, the county commissioners helped finance the costs of horse stalls. The fairgrounds were also used for snowmobiling races, and in the 1970s, the county chamber of commerce helped sponsor state snowmobile championships. Snowmobiling continues to be a popular winter activity at Wasatch Mountain State Park, though the state park manager rejected a proposal by a West Yellowstone group for a hotel and a theme park centered on snowmobiling.³³

Heber Valley is an ideal place for nonpowered aircraft because of the afternoon updrafts. The Federal Aviation Administration has discouraged gliding activities since the nonpowered craft interfere with powered aircraft; but in 1994 there were still two gliding operations at the airport. The same winds that make gliding interesting also power



The Children's Swiss Chorus at Midway's Swiss Days, September 1986. (Betty North)

windsurfing in the area. Sometimes there are so many windsurfers on Deer Creek Reservoir that powerboats cannot travel north and south. In the 1970s the National Laser Sailboat and American Windsurfing group held championship races on Deer Creek.

In 1977 the organizers of an Indian powwow came to the valley. They said, "The way they treated us, the people up there are really progressive. Also we wanted to get into a rural area, and the facilities in Heber were the best we've seen." Billie Garmick, the fiscal manager of the Utah Native American Consortium, was "delighted with the way Heber treated us. . . . We would like to come back if they'll let us." The group had expected a bigger crowd; seventy-five families stayed on the fairgrounds and there were 2,500 Native Americans. But the total gate was 5,000 for the two days, and the organization hoped that with publicity the event would grow. A regular powwow started in 1987, and in 1990 the group held its third annual event in Heber City.³⁴

The county and community also continued to sponsor events that had been successful in the past including the county fair and the Midway Swiss Days. Swiss Days grew until it attracted more than

70,000 people over Labor Day weekend in 1993. Residents turned the main square in town into a miniature Swiss village with craft shops and food booths. Performers entertained the crowds from a small stage. Additional concerts and events occurred in the WPA town building. Parades marched down Main Street. While sandwiches were no longer free, there were snacks ranging from traditional Swiss bratwurst to “Swiss tacos.” Swiss Days combined the energy of the local Mormon church and the Midway Boosters Club.³⁵

State Parks

Recreation includes the three state parks: Wasatch Mountain, Deer Creek, and Jordanelle. More than 650,000 people visit Deer Creek each year where they do sightseeing, picnicking, swimming, fishing, and boating. The state also plans a trail system that will connect the state parks from Echo Junction in Summit County through Wasatch County.³⁶

Reclamation—Strawberry

When the Bureau of Reclamation built Strawberry Reservoir in the 1920s it expected the major use to be the storage of water for southern Utah County. In 1926 the Strawberry Water Users Association took over the management of the reservoir and began developing its recreational possibilities. With no established guidelines, the first fishing villages sprang up at random along the reservoir’s shores. By the late 1970s old house trailers, buses, cabins, and boats dotted the landscape in an unsightly clutter. Uncontrolled development along the reservoir shores threatened to pollute the reservoir. According to the *Wasatch Wave*: “The area around the reservoir is a study in contrasts. Sections of immaculate green lawns sit next to parched patches of sagebrush and june grass. Battered buses, their windows long since demolished, are parked next to newly-painted cabins. Piles of trash and rubble assault the eye where comfortable cottages once stood.” Sanitation facilities were even worse. “Sanitation practices were eclectic. They would dig pit latrines, and when they were filled up, they would move them.” Robert Mathis compared the camps to ones in the *Grapes of Wrath*, explaining the users grew up in that era. And although they were a health hazard,

people “tolerated and loved it.” Even his “really fastidiously clean” aunt told him, “I hope you’re not going to be too rough on those people. It’s just kind of fun.”³⁷

But the situation could not continue. In 1973 the Strawberry Water Users Association met with Wasatch County and Utah State health board representatives to decide how to control development around the reservoir. The major problem was that the cabins did not have proper sanitary facilities. For nearly a decade Wasatch County officials, the Strawberry Water Users, the state board of health, and the Bureau of Reclamation continued to debate who was responsible for establishing and maintaining cabin regulations. In 1975 the state board asked trailer owners to move 100 feet from the reservoir to protect the water, but the owners protested. When it looked like no one would take action, Wasatch County officials complained that the Strawberry Water Users Association was only collecting fees and not helping to protect the area. The Utah County water group countered that the reservoir was primarily for agriculture and that the recreational uses were a county problem.³⁸

State and county officials agreed that the trailer camps on the reservoir had to be closed. The Strawberry Water Users then developed a plan to meet the state health board’s requirements, including charging higher fees to cover the cost of renting chemical toilets and requiring trailer owners to meet county sewage guidelines. By October 1976, 80 to 90 percent of the owners were following the new rules and the board of health was condemning those who did not comply.³⁹

The county officials had other problems with the Strawberry Water Users group. The water users required fishers to pay a fee. However, when the organizers tried to file a complaint against those fishing without paying, the county attorney found no documentation authorizing the fee. The county decided that while the water users could continue to collect the toll, they could not stop traffic on the county road. This allowed recreationists to avoid paying the fee. This issue continued to be a problem in 1983 with the Bureau of Reclamation supporting the water users’ right to control access and the county supporting public access to roads and right-of-ways. Other county and water users disputes included complaints that the

water users had established an illegal landfill and had not paid taxes on the reservoir lands.⁴⁰

In 1978 the Bureau of Reclamation began plans to enlarge Strawberry Reservoir. Some cabins at the reservoir would be inundated, and owners were given three years to move the cabins from the area. Some owners simply abandoned their cabins, opening a new dispute between the water users and county officials. The water users contended that the county should remove the buildings because Wasatch County collected taxes. The county officials, however, said it should be the water users' responsibilities since they had collected the fees. In the end, the water users moved the cabins under the direction of the Bureau of Reclamation.⁴¹

What has been the impact of Strawberry Reservoir on Wasatch County? The reservoir has brought in many recreationists. In the late 1970s the Bureau of Reclamation called it "Utah's finest fishing hole." Visitation increased from 168,629 in 1973 to 248,338 in 1975. A study showed it was the sole destination for most of these visitors; they did not add Strawberry to a longer trip. Eighty-five percent of the visitors came from the populated areas of the Wasatch Front. Most visits were on weekends and holidays, and 75 percent of the people stayed overnight. Nearly everyone, 99 percent, came to fish. People stayed longer if they had success fishing.⁴²

At first glance it might appear that Strawberry added to the economy of Wasatch County by bringing in over 200,000 visitors; but that has not been the case. People came to Wasatch County to play, but a Utah State University study found that these visitors spent very little money in the county. About 80 percent spent less than five dollars while they were at the reservoir; 44 percent spent nothing at all. Most people came with their own supplies; they did not stop in other parts of Wasatch County to buy them. While Wasatch County received very little revenue from Strawberry, its expenses were high. The county officials were responsible for public health and safety, fire protection, and law enforcement.⁴³

Reclamation—Jordanelle

The idea for the dam at Jordanelle was not new. In 1905 an engineer suggested diverting Colorado River water from the south side of

the Uinta Mountains to the Wasatch Front by constructing dams and tunnels. The Colorado River Compact of 1922 and the Upper Basin Compact of 1948 guaranteed Utah a share of Colorado River water. To transport this water to the populated areas, Utah officials and Bureau of Reclamation engineers began planning the large and complex Central Utah Project (CUP) in 1956. The largest unit of the CUP was the Bonneville Unit, which included the Jordanelle Dam, the crown jewel of the CUP. The Jordanelle's purpose was to help maintain a full Deer Creek Reservoir and to store approximately 320,000 acre-feet of exchange water which was earlier stored in Utah Lake for the Great Salt Lake Valley.⁴⁴

The Bureau of Reclamation planned to build the Jordanelle Dam near the border of Wasatch and Summit counties on land belonging to the Jordan family. John Jordan came to Heber in 1859. He bought a ranch north of Heber and moved there in 1875. John's son George and his sons ran cattle and sheep there until George retired in 1931. George also built a small resort with a store and cabins. The family brand was Jordan L, so they named the resort Jordanelle.⁴⁵

As Jordanelle was in the planning stages, the Bureau of Reclamation asked Wasatch County residents for their reactions. A telephone survey showed that 30 percent felt the dam would bring tourism, 25 percent said more employment, and 21 percent said improved water. On the negative side, 42 percent opposed the growth the dam would bring, 15 percent were concerned about safety, and 11 percent expected an increase in crime. A Bureau of Reclamation study in 1978 pointed out additional benefits. Irrigation companies would receive 26 percent more water, which could boost farm income by a million dollars a year. It would also bring 100 jobs and seasonal housing. The study said the reservoir would create 1,300 jobs but acknowledged that most people would probably commute from areas other than Wasatch County. On the negative side, the reservoir would bury 3,060 acres and require use of another 3,000 acres.⁴⁶

Jordanelle threatened the lifestyles of thirty-eight families, approximately one hundred people. The dam's water covered three businesses, farms, and a family cemetery, and it also destroyed wildlife and river habitat. The Jordans wondered where food would come from if reservoirs covered farmland. County Commissioner



Jordanelle Dam and Reservoir, March 1996. (Allan Kent Powell)

Tom Baum complained, “Private land is continually being used here for public uses and we are losing out. We have two reservoirs, fish and game land, mitigating land and with the possibility of the reservoir, our private lands are slowly diminishing.” Residents of Keetley protested that the relocated Highway 40 would split their farms. While the environmental impact statement talked about the recreational advantages for Wasatch County, some residents complained that the focus was all on leisure activities and ignored those who made their homes in the area.⁴⁷

The citizens had an even greater concern. What would happen if the dam did not hold and the stored water dumped on Midway and Heber City? Just before construction began, the Teton Dam, a large federally constructed project in eastern Idaho, broke, flooding much of the downstream area. Could the same thing happen in Utah? Mining interests were especially concerned. During hearings in 1979 Clark L. Wilson from the United Park City Mines Company reported that the dam was on a fault line. However, some questioned the mining companies’ motivation. Were they trying to prevent water from backing up into the mines? Did they recognize their mines were now

worthless? Were they trying to get a higher settlement from the government for burying the nonproductive mines?⁴⁸

Initially the county commissioners gave cautious support to the Jordanelle project, but when other studies showed the fault line through the proposed dam site, county officials and citizens expressed more concern. One geologist, Leon Hansen, declared the dam site was unsafe and said that if it broke “a minimum of 50,000 lives would be lost.” Four geologists from BYU questioned the safety of the dam because of the geological conditions in the area. The Bureau of Reclamation geologists agreed there was a fault line in the area but argued “lay observers . . . and even experienced geologists are not qualified to comment on whether or not engineering can compensate for site problems.”⁴⁹

As the groundbreaking date neared, many Wasatch County residents saw the disadvantages outweighing the advantages. As Robert Mathis explains, “People were really unhappy. They were unhappy about water rights, unhappy that the dam was here, and unhappy about the loss of tax base. I thought most importantly they were unhappy about being left out of the basic planning.” In 1975, by a vote of 1,090 to 853, they rejected requests by the Central Utah Water Conservancy District to enter a supplemental repayment agreement. Along the Wasatch Front voters had agreed to the proposal by a 73 percent margin.⁵⁰

Changes in the CUP continued, and Wasatch County residents became increasingly upset. The original CUP bill had called for \$20 million to provide pressurized irrigation systems for Heber Valley. With the cutback in water, the farmers would have to make better use of their water, sprinkling instead of flood irrigating. In 1990 Congress changed the bill and cut the provision to a \$500,000 feasibility study. Other CUP projects would transfer water from Daniels Creek. The *Wave* protested in March 1990: “First Wasatch people lost rights to Strawberry Water. Then almost an entire community was uprooted from their family farms and homes to make room for Deer Creek Reservoir to store downstream water. Then the bureau took more homes and farms to store upstream Provo River water, and now their eyes are on Daniels water. We’ll share our water—reluctantly, yes, but we will share. However, we expect a fair deal, including a place in the

front of the line for our own water and a sprinkling system, free of charge without having to grovel for it.”⁵¹

County commissioners Moroni Besendorfer and LeRen Provost went to Washington, D.C., to protest the loss of water rights in Wasatch County. They claimed, “It would take twenty percent of the county’s irrigation water and dry up Daniels Creek in order to increase flows in the Upper Strawberry River tributaries.” The county officials formed a partnership with state environmentalists and presented the argument that adapting the project to meet the needs of Wasatch County residents would also preserve the wetlands. Congress modified the legislation. The county now has two representatives on the Central Utah Water Conservancy District Board, but “people are still somewhat distrustful. They have felt that by getting the CUP Completion Act through that a deal had been struck which allowed us to receive some benefits from the project and prevented further changes in lifestyle.”⁵²

In 1994 Besendorfer thought people still worried about the location of the dam. He said he tried to watch the construction and “a couple of times they kind of ushered me away from the areas because I’m not sure they wanted me to see what was there. Hopefully nothing ever happens because if it does, it’s not just going to affect our county. Utah County would be wiped out. That would be a sad thing because we’d lose a lot of lives.”⁵³

The construction of Jordanelle prompted the Bureau of Reclamation to look at recreation possibilities not only on that reservoir but also on the Provo River between Jordanelle and Deer Creek. The bureau first asked for a fifty-foot access right-of-way. Property owners protested that they did not want to deal with the trespassers, trash, and garbage that would come with the public access and that they did not want the area fenced off because they wanted their animals to be able to get to the river. According to Tom Baum, “We are tired of giving up our land in Wasatch County so that others can come in here. . . . We have already given up hundreds of acres of land here for recreation use and it’s our economic loss.” Later the government condemned the fifty-foot access area.⁵⁴

Dams, Reservoirs, Recreation, and Irrigation

Despite the problems, the reservoirs may benefit Wasatch County. During periods of drought, Jordanelle will provide a way to save more water than was possible with the pioneer reservoirs. It also provides an opportunity to modernize the irrigation system. This may be a mixed blessing for the Wasatch Front. The areas downstream have benefited from the overwatering in Wasatch County. The excess water went directly through the soil and back to the river. With improved irrigation, there may be less return. The completed reservoirs and planned parkways will also bring more tourists to the area. The state parks at Deer Creek and Wasatch Mountain brought almost 1.5 million visitors to the area in 1994. Jordanelle State Park and the proposed trails will increase that number. More business may come to the area. At the same time, many Wasatch County residents question how much growth they want to see in the area.⁵⁵

County and City Governments

The community and county governments provide many similar services. In 1972 some felt that their working together would improve service at less cost. The various governments formed a Wasatch County Council of Government which controlled the landfill and the united fire department. The library and the health departments were also combined. Other efforts at combination failed, however. At one point the Wasatch County Council of Governments suggested combining police forces. Heber city council members disagreed, fearful the police might focus on the county when 90 percent of the businesses were in Heber. The council also worked on arrangements to share a building inspector. A 1980 audit suggested that the council had misused its money, and the organization was disbanded. Many felt that it had just added another layer of government. The communities feared a loss of identity.⁵⁶

There also were disputes over the airport. In 1976 the Heber city council decided the airport was unnecessary and asked the county government to take the airport over. The city planned to lease it from the county. Throughout the next year, citizens debated the airport's value. City leaders argued that the community lost money on the airport; others felt that it brought business to the area. County com-



Glockenspiel added to the Midway Town Hall in 1987. (Allan Kent Powell)

missioner Thomas Baum pointed out, “Mining and agriculture are rapidly being dispossessed” and the new attractions were the “attractive endowments created by Mother Nature.” He contended that there

needed to be an airport to expand the community's recreational possibilities.⁵⁷

Sewer and Water Systems

With so much of its water going to serve the Wasatch Front, Wasatch County had to protect its water sources. Much of the water in Deer Creek, for example, is destined to be culinary water for Salt Lake City residents. Polluting that water with sewage from Wasatch County could create a disaster. Federal legislation in 1973 mandated clean water, and Heber Valley residents had to respond. Heber City applied to the Environmental Protection Agency for funds throughout the 1970s and eventually received a grant.⁵⁸

Later the entire valley needed a sewage treatment plant. The communities organized into the Heber Valley Special Services District in 1977 which overlapped town boundaries, and by late 1977 the federally funded project was ready to begin. Center Creek and Daniel decided not to join the special district. The cost of a trunk line to these communities was more than those towns could support. In addition, the two communities feared they would be inviting large development if they built the sewer facilities. Charleston was interested but had to develop a collection system. Midway and Heber City already had sewer systems which could be hooked into the regional system.⁵⁹

After studying a variety of options, the special service district chose a lagoon system. Midway and Charleston protested. They claimed it would not have been considered if it was closer to Heber City and maintained that it was sad to turn a lovely meadow into sewage. There were also concerns about how the lagoon would affect irrigation water. The county residents debated for two years before deciding to put the lagoon in Fox Den. In August 1978 the Heber Valley voters passed a \$2.95 million bond by a three-to-one margin.⁶⁰

Landfill

Smaller communities in Wasatch County often felt that the larger towns and the county pushed them around. In 1978 the county and Heber needed to find a new landfill site, and the most likely place was on county-owned property near the airport. Daniel residents

objected since the site was near a residential area. They felt the landfill would “blight our end of the valley.” The debate continued to rage for a year. Eventually the landfill was placed at the airport, but the county commissioners bought more land and operated it.⁶¹

As that landfill reached its limit, the county started looking for another site. The land was so porous that waste was leaching from the former landfill. The commissioners had to locate a site outside the valley. They suggested an area near Wallsburg on property belonging to the Division of Wildlife, but the state overruled the plan because it would disturb elk winter range. To solve the garbage problem, the county formed a sanitation district and trucked the garbage to Duchesne County. According to County Planner Robert Mathis, “We don’t think there will ever be another landfill in Wasatch County. With the current emphasis on recycling, mulching, and composting, there will likely be less garbage. Until that is the case, we’ll probably take the garbage out to Duchesne. It apparently has enough place in their laying field to go forever.”⁶²

Businesses

Wasatch County’s economic base was dependent on other areas, especially the Wasatch Front. Most products left the area as raw materials. The area also provided the water for the populated area and gradually became a playground for Wasatch Front residents. With few new jobs and taxes, the county was rich in natural resources but rather poor economically. In 1983 the largest employers in Heber City were the federal, state, county, and city governments—employing 593 of the 1620 workers. County residents also depended heavily on service industries and construction. A Jordanelle Dam feasibility study showed the three major employers were the Wasatch School District, the Granite Construction Company, and the Homestead resort. The school district had between 300 and 399 employees; the Homestead and Granite Construction Company each had under 200.⁶³

Wasatch County also wanted to attract new business. In 1976 Heber City bought land and then applied for an Economic Development Administration grant to build an industrial park. The city received some of the requested funds to start work on the park

but spent most of it on drought relief during the summer of 1977. More funds were released in 1978.⁶⁴

The Heber City Industrial Park has never been very large, and some of its tenants have gone out of business. For example, Cloyes Gear Company made machine-gear parts for transmissions. The city worked with the company to build a suitable building, but shortly after the company began production, the industry changed over to plastic parts. When the business began to fail, the city required it to vacate. Several other companies, including a garage door manufacturer and a boat manufacturer, tried using the facility. In 1994 a food wholesale business was using the facility. County Planner Mathis explained: "They added fifteen new employees the first quarter of this year. That was one of the significant changes in our job economy if you can imagine fifteen jobs making a difference." Other businesses in the industrial park include a cabinet shop and a plaque-making business. One company, Accuracy Machinery, started out in the park but moved onto Highway 40. According to Mathis, the park "is only now, some eighteen years later, . . . beginning to show some fruit. They are landscaping it and bringing it to grade. But it doesn't have enough room. If we wanted to bring a business in that employed one hundred people, we'd have to develop land adjacent to the park."⁶⁵

Education

As the local population increased, the school board worried about how to educate the students. The tax base was severely affected by the closing of area mines. The mill levy on property had to be increased to support the schools. Superintendent Douglas Merkley complimented the residents, "They passed the mill levies without any hesitation. That allowed us to move ahead with the program."⁶⁶

More students also meant larger schools. The district opened bids for an addition to the high school in 1979. That same year county residents approved a bonding issue to build a new elementary school in Heber and to add on to the middle school. The district then purchased land on the north end of town for the J.R. Smith Elementary School. In 1981 the board accepted bids for the middle-school addition. By the end of the decade, the schools were too small



Midway Elementary School, March 1996. (Allan Kent Powell)

again, and the county again bonded for additions to the middle school and high school. The board of education opened the bids for the enlargement of the schools in August 1990.⁶⁷

The new schools and the changing population base meant adjusting where students from outlying areas attended. With the increased classrooms, the board suggested moving the Heber, Daniel, and Charleston students from the Midway school to the new school in Heber. Wallsburg parents protested because they wanted their children to have an early bus schedule and preferred returning them to the Midway school. Even then the new Heber elementary school was not large enough. The board put the kindergarten classes on the ground level of North School even though parents complained it was not safe.⁶⁸

All these changes affected education in the county. Superintendent Merkley believed that the new residents came to the area to escape “crowded urban conditions” and wanted the same educational opportunities there. Moroni Besendorfer, former principal of the Midway school, felt his elementary school became less “family.” There were more students, which led to increased discipline problems

and less support from parents. By 1994 the school had 425 pupils, well beyond its capacity of 350 students.⁶⁹

Provo Canyon Road

During the 1980s the Utah Department of Transportation proposed widening Utah State Highway 189 through Provo Canyon. Residents of the canyon, including Sundance Resort owner Robert Redford, fought the proposal on the grounds that the wider road would impair the beauty of the canyon. Wasatch County officials, however, favored the plan. In 1986 Heber City Mayor Gordon Mendenhall explained, "Our people drive up and down Provo Canyon constantly to jobs, to shop, to conduct business, and to do [LDS] temple work. And a lot of people come here from Utah County for business and recreation." He continued, "People tell me that they have close calls every time they have to travel on the road." Four years later, in 1990, the Wasatch County Board of Education requested a better road since students used the road regularly. It claimed, "Safety is the priority issue with regards to individuals traveling Provo Canyon."⁷⁰ Despite opposition, work has continued on widening road.

Soldier Summit

During the 1970s Soldier Summit's population continued to drop. By 1979 only some ten to thirteen adults lived in town. The only businesses were a cafe, a motel, a service station, and a bar. The only paved road in town was four hundred yards of Highway 50. Town residents, however, demanded that motorists on the highway respect the "reasonable and prudent" speed limit. Those driving through complained that Soldier Summit was a speed trap, claiming the police department was issuing more than one hundred speeding tickets a day and netting \$9,000 a month. Police Chief Roger N. Anderson said it was "ridiculous, downright impossible" for the four part-time police officers to issue that many tickets a day and that they were only collecting \$4,500 a month. The Soldier Summit council also defended its ratio of one officer to every seven residents because speeding threatened residents. Police Chief Anderson insisted there was not a speed trap. "Our philosophy was not to see how many tick-

ets we could give, but to save lives and do a good job.” Because of the speed limit, 1.5 million vehicles had passed through Soldier Summit in 1977 and there had been no injuries, deaths, or property damage.⁷¹

Because of the charges made by motorists and the defense of the Soldier Summit police, the Utah Attorney General studied the situation. The Utah Chief of Police Association also investigated the police department and concluded, “Our evaluation reveals that the apparent ulterior motive for having a police department in Soldier Summit is to support basic city services such as sewer and water. . . . It is doubtful Soldier Summit or any other town of its size should have a part-time town marshal, let alone a police department,” adding the usual ratio was one police officer to one thousand residents.⁷²

After the investigations, some citizens pressed for Anderson’s resignation because the town leaders “were allowing Anderson to operate in such a way as to bring scorn, ridicule, humiliation, and disgrace to the good name of our town.” All registered voters except the elected officials signed the letter. Anderson eventually resigned in April 1979 though he continued to claim he was a victim. Kenny Pruitt, a construction worker, replaced Anderson as police chief. But after only a few weeks Pruitt quit, saying there were no law-enforcement problems. The town eventually disbanded the police department. New mayor Don Chambers said, “We would like to put our heads in the sand and forget that the entire thing happened.”⁷³

Solving the police problems did not stabilize Soldier Summit. County officials in both Utah and Wasatch counties recommended that the town be dissolved or be made part of Utah County. In 1978 Wasatch County Attorney Harold Call wrote that Soldier Summit had closer ties to Utah County (which surrounded it) than it did to Heber City, concluding, “It is difficult to manage and supervise a town so far away.” The Utah State Chief of Police Association also recommended the town become part of Utah County. But the citizens of Soldier Summit did not want to disincorporate, explaining, “Soldier Summit has always been a nice little place to live and raise children and a town we could be proud to call home.” The issue resurfaced in 1979 when Soldier Summit accepted a \$10,000 fee from RLC Investment and attempted to annex 4,000 acres of Utah County. It was a move to escape Utah County’s restrictive zoning ordinances

and develop a resort they touted as “the Queen of the West.” Despite opposition from the town residents, Wasatch County agreed to disincorporate Soldier Summit and Utah County agreed to participate in a special service district for the area.⁷⁴

County Alignment

Woodland was split by the Provo River; those on the south side of the river lived in Wasatch County. Some residents, including Debbie Fields of Mrs. Fields Cookies company, pressured the state legislature to transfer her home (and others) to Summit County since her business was in Park City. There were concerns with the transfer though. The Wasatch County Attorney feared that “to allow the first annexation could establish that as the solution for the problems and we could end up chopping away at Wasatch County.” Wasatch County commissioners feared both the loss of tax revenue and the deterioration of water quality of the Provo River. Both Wasatch and Summit county voters defeated the change, but the election did not resolve the issue. According to Mathis, “There is still some uneasiness between the areas. There is some feeling among people in Bench Creek that they aren’t quite loved or appreciated. When we enforce zoning ordinances against them, it’s almost as if they feel like they’re being regulated without appropriate representation.”⁷⁵

LDS Church and County Policies

The Mormon church continued to play an important although declining role in the county as nonmembers moved into the area. A classic example was the 1970s debate over Sunday beer sales. In 1975 the county government, beer license owners, and LDS church stake leaders met to discuss the beer laws. Those selling beer asked the county not to ban Sunday beer sales. The commission agreed as long as the merchants strictly enforced closing hours and laws against selling to minors. Three years later the issue resurfaced. A group of LDS church leaders went to the Heber City council meeting, and although it was not on the agenda, they asked the governing body to eliminate Sunday beer sales. The council voted to ban Sunday beer sales.⁷⁶

A community school advisory council then took the issue to the county commission and on the basis of the ban in Heber City asked



LDS Church in Midway, March 1996. (Allan Kent Powell)

for a countywide policy. The chair of the advisory council presented the proposal: “We feel that the quality of life in our county is deteriorating, and we think banning the sale of beer on Sunday would improve the quality of life.” Lowe Ashton, who owned the Heber Creeper, came to the same county commission meeting with a petition bearing 867 signatures he had collected in eight hours asking the commission not to ban Sunday beer sales. He argued, “We have one future, and that’s recreation. And those 15,000 people are here to buy the goods and services, and we who pay the taxes and employ the people are entitled to an opportunity to sell them any legal product.” He also felt, “You cannot pretend to be an open society and allow freedom of religion and let your religion dictate whether I can drink beer on Sunday.” The debate continued throughout the meeting with some people arguing newcomers would not come to the area if the county passed the ban and others saying it would not make a difference. For some people it was strictly a Mormon issue; others felt that it extended beyond the church. Ron Crittendon, for example, felt the ban would create more of a family recreation orientation in the valley.⁷⁷

After Heber passed its ordinance, Midway also banned Sunday

beer sales. The concessionaires at Wasatch Mountain State Park rallied and convinced the state park people not to go along. Some businesses tried to sue Heber City to stop the ordinance from taking effect but an injunction was refused. Since Midway and Heber both had laws banning Sunday beer sales, the county commissioners agreed to pass a countywide ban. Clyde Broadbent, a commissioner, claimed that the county needed to go along with the ban or it would defeat the purpose of the Midway and Heber laws.⁷⁶

Some Heber and Midway residents, however, did not like the laws. They called for a referendum in the November poll. The issue was hotly debated. The newspaper carried articles on both sides of the issue from both Heber and Midway. Those who opposed beer sales said that the sale of the beverage any time and especially on Sunday "in a Christian community [was] undesirable." The residents of the towns needed to set examples. Those who favored the beer sales said that prohibition had failed in the 1920s, banning sales would hurt tourism, and banning beer sales would hurt other sales and thus hurt all of Wasatch County. More than 80 percent of the registered electorate voted. In both Heber City and Midway more than 50 percent of the voters agreed to Sunday sales. Utah law did not allow a county referendum, but the county officials agreed to a straw vote to see how those in the unincorporated areas felt. Those residents voted 540 to 414 for banning Sunday sales of beer. Again the county commissioners felt there could not be two separate laws, and the county also agreed to allow beer sales on Sunday. The residents debated so furiously that the *Wave* editorialized that it had "split the community into two polarized factions which cannot agree on anything." The *Wave* asked residents to "bury the hatchet" and all work together. The outcome did not surprise some Wasatch County residents. As one citizen explained to Robert Mathis, "These Mormons will vote with the stake president in the open, but when they get in a ballot thing they'll strike it down."⁷⁹

Religions

Other religions have had small local congregations but have always been in the minority. During the 1920s boom, Baptists had a building in Soldier Summit. In 1980 the American Baptist church

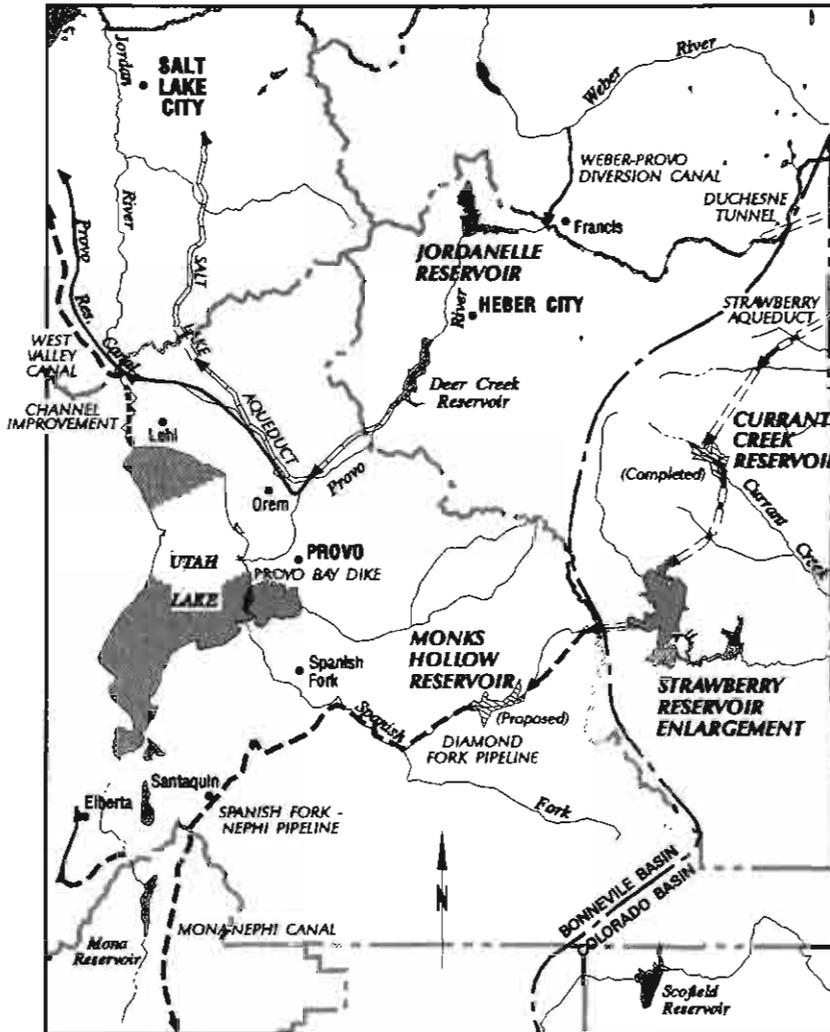


Heber Valley Baptist Church, March 1996. (Allan Kent Powell)

attempted to revive it. In 1980 Thom Ernest was pastor of the Heber Baptist church. He explained to the *Wave* that he would like to convert Mormons but added, "I'm not out to cram it down their throats." While he agreed, "We're a minority," he saw "no ostracism." The major problems he saw were that the Mormon church sponsored the Boy Scouts and that Mormon youth avoided non-Mormons. Reverend Patrick Carley of the St. Lawrence Catholic church felt Mormons were "a little bit oppressive at times." The thirty Catholic families in the Heber Valley area were strong, however, in part because they were a minority. Bob Richards, the pastor of the Heber Valley Bible church which opened in 1980, explained, "We are aggressively evangelistic, but we feel this is a demonstration of our love for people, not hatred." He and his wife spent eighteen months fundraising throughout the United States for money to support their church in Heber.⁸⁰

Life in Wasatch County

What do people like about living in Wasatch County? A tele-



Bonneville Unit, Central Utah Project

phone survey conducted for a Jordanelle Dam study found that 59 percent said living in the county was very pleasant and another 40 percent said it was pleasant. People enjoyed the rural atmosphere (59 percent) and the environmental quality (23 percent). Only 7 percent said they enjoyed the recreation most. They disliked the area because there were few services (31 percent), the area had been growing too

fast recently (17 percent), there was a lack of employment opportunities (10 percent), and they disliked the people (10 percent). Most said they would like to see the community remain the same during the next twenty years (60 percent). Half that many (29 percent) wanted to see gradual growth. Only 5 percent wanted to see the area become a recreational community.

What is the future of Wasatch County? Government officials predict additional growth. In 1994 county commissioner Moroni Besendorfer reported that developers hoped to put in from 7,000 to 10,000 units over the next few years. He added, "We can't afford to make mistakes if we want to preserve our lifestyle and what our kids need for the future." Robert Mathis sees more growth in tourism and the service industries supported by visitors. And he sees more people moving to the county and working along the Wasatch Front.⁸¹

Wasatch County is at a crossroads. The area will probably continue to grow as improved transportation facilities give people a chance to live further from their work. But how much growth will Wasatch County allow and how much can it sustain? Since 1976 county residents have opposed certain types of growth. The trend seems to favor controlled growth in areas outside the present communities. Despite this growth, Wasatch County's communities basically remain small LDS colonies dependent on other areas, but the products are now less agricultural and more recreation-oriented services.

ENDNOTES

1. *Wasatch Wave*, 14 July 1977, 2.
2. Robert Mathis, Oral History, interview by Jessie Embry, 19 July 1994.
3. Ibid.
4. Uinta National Forest Plan, Draft environmental impact statement, Intermountain Region, Forest Service, 1982, 3–3; Jordanelle, III-1; *Wasatch Wave*, 15 July 1976, 1; 22 January 1976, 1; 26 May 1977, 1; Wasatch County 1990 Census Record.
5. *Wasatch Wave*, 9 January 1975, 1; 27 March 1975, 2.
6. *Wasatch Wave*, 17 January 1974, 1; Elmer Kohler, Oral History, interview by Rebecca Vorimo, 1993, 7.
7. *Wasatch Wave*, 10 July 1975, 2.

8. *Wasatch Wave*, 8 April 1976, 1; 5 August 1976, 1; 19 April 1979, 1-A.
9. *Wasatch Wave*, 14 August 1975, 1; 28 August 1975, 1-2; 29 July 1976, 2.
10. Mathis, Oral History, 3.
11. *Wasatch Wave*, 10 March 1977, 1; 21 March 1977, 1; 11 August 1977, 1-2; 26 October 1978, 1; 28 February 1980, 1-A; Elmer Kohler, Oral History, interview by Rebecca Vorimo, 1993, 7.
12. Paul Daniels, Oral History, interview by Rebecca Vorimo, 1993, 4; Calvin Giles, Oral History, interview by Rebecca Vorimo, 13 January 1994, 10; LeRoy Sweat, Oral History, interview by Rebecca Vorimo, 13 February 1994, 10, 12; Irene W. Thacker, Oral History, interview by Rebecca Vorimo, 4.
13. Moroni Besendorfer, Oral History, interview by Rebecca Vorimo, 25 February 1994, 9.
14. *Wasatch Wave*, 4 November 1976, 1; 24 June 1976, 1; 1 December 1977, 1; 20 March 1975, 1; 13 January 1977, 1; 19 February 1976, 1.
15. Elmer Kohler, Oral History, 9-10; Alvin Kohler, Oral History, interview by Rebecca Vorimo, 21 October 1993, 2.
16. Wasatch County Census Report, 1990; Douglas Merkley, Oral History, interview by Rebecca Vorimo, 12 November 1993, 6; Paul Daniels, Oral History, interview by Rebecca Vorimo, 1993, 4.
17. Daniels, Oral History, 1; Merkley, Oral History, 2; Calvin Giles, Oral History, 9; Mathis, Oral History, 29-30.
18. All types of hay were the most popular harvest: 10,214 acres in 1978; 11,153 in 1982; and 10,697 in 1987.
19. Daniels, Oral History, 2, 3; Alvin Kohler, Oral History, 8.
20. Giles, Oral History, 10; Agricultural Census, Daniels, Oral History, 3.
21. *Wasatch Wave*, 19 January 1978, 1, 9; 7 September 1978, 1.
22. *Wasatch Wave*, 7 September 1978, 1; Wasatch County Commission minutes, 19 November 1980, 175-G; Mathis, Oral History.
23. *Wasatch Wave*, 29 January 1976, 1, 2; 28 February 1978, 2.
24. *Wasatch Wave*, 6 May 1976, 1; 30 December 1976, 1; 27 October 1977, 1; 16 November 1978, 1-2.
25. *Wasatch Wave*, 28 September 1978, 2; 9 August 1979, 1-A; 9 August 1979, 1-A.
26. Mathis, Oral History.
27. *Wasatch Wave*, 9 December 1976, 1; 10 February 1977, 1; 23 June 1977, 1; 13 July 1978, 1.

28. Mathis, Oral History, 6.
29. *Wasatch Wave*, 23 January 1975, 1.
30. Mathis, Oral History; *Wasatch Wave*, 27 September 1979, 1-A; 21 February 1970, 3-A.
31. Wasatch County Commission minutes, 19 May 1980, 141-G; 19 December 1980, 209-G; Mathis, Oral History.
32. Wasatch County Commission minutes, 20 June 1980, 149-G; 15 August 1980, 164–65-G; 5 September 1980, 171-G.
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34. *Wasatch Wave*, 2 June 1977, 1; 23 June 1977, 9; 30 May 1990, 1-A.
35. Alvin Kohler, Oral History, 9.
36. Mathis, Oral History.
37. Bureau of Reclamation, "Strawberry Reservoir Enlargement: Recreation Master Plan," 1978, 3; *Wasatch Wave*, 7 October 1976, 1; Mathis, Oral History, 17.
38. Wasatch County Commission minutes, 3 April 1973, 453-E; *Wasatch Wave*, 17 July 1975, 1.
39. *Wasatch Wave*, 7 August 1975, 1; 4 December 1975, 1; 22 April 1976, 1; 7 October 1976, 1.
40. *Wasatch Wave*, 7 August 1975, 1; 18 September 1985, 1; 21 August 1975, 1; 18 September 1975, 1; 6 May 1976, 1; Wasatch County Commission minutes, 17 February 1983, 504-H; 3 September 1974, 95-F.
41. *Wasatch Wave*, 31 August 1978, 1; Wasatch County Commission minutes, 17 February 1983, 504-H; 7 August 1983, 565-H.
42. "Strawberry Reservoir Enlargement," 55–58; "Supplement to the Final Environment Statement for the Recreation Master Plan, Strawberry Reservoir Enlargement, Bonneville Utah, Central Utah Project, Utah, 1978, 56.
43. "Supplement to Strawberry Reservoir Enlargement," 95.
44. *Wasatch Wave*, 21 November 1985, 1; 14 March 1985, 2-A; Jordanelle, 1–5.
45. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 406.
46. *Wasatch Wave*, 16 March 1978, 1–2.
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49. *Wasatch Wave*, 24 May 1979, 1-A; 5 April 1989, 1; 18 April 1990, 1-A.
50. Mathis, Oral History, 25; *Wasatch Wave*, 21 November 1985, 1.
51. *Wasatch Wave*, 15 August 1990, 1-A; 7 March 1990, 2-A; Mathis, Oral History.
52. *Wasatch Wave*, 5 September 1990, 1-A; Mathis, Oral History.
53. Besendorfer, Oral History, 6.
54. *Wasatch Wave*, 13 September 1979, 1-A; 14 March 1990, 1-A.
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58. *Wasatch Wave*, 10 August 1978, 1; 13 February 1975, 1; 24 July 1975, 1; 11 February 1976, 1.
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62. Mathis, Oral History, 33–34.
63. Bureau of Economic and Business Research, Graduate School of Business, University of Utah, “Profile of the Heber City/Park City Labor Market Area” (August 1983), 14; Jordanelle, C-31.
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65. Mathis, Oral History, 30.
66. Merkley, Oral History, 3–4.
67. Wasatch County Board of Education minutes, 14 June 1979, 1272; 21 June 1979, 1273; 4 October 1979, 1286; 25 October 1979, 1287; 31 January 1979, 1258; 26 March 1981, 1343; 21 December 1989, 1686; 29 March 1990, between 1698–99; 16 August 1990, 1711.
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75. Mathis, Oral History, 37–38; *Wasatch Wave*, 6 April 1988, 3-A; 12 October 1988, 1.

76. Wasatch County Commission minutes, 7 May 1975, 140-F; Mathis, Oral History, 10–12.

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78. *Wasatch Wave*, 27 April 1978, 1–2; 4 May 1978, 1; 11 May 1978, 2.

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81. Besendorfer, Oral History, 5; Mathis, Oral History, 26.

CONCLUSION

As Utah celebrates its centennial, the state is examining the role its counties have played in its history. Wasatch County has had a prominent role in providing resources to the populated Wasatch Front. That was not always the case. The area communities started as self-sufficient Mormon villages. But they did not have the funds to develop the natural resources of the area. As a result, the county lost water and grazing rights and became dependent on other areas of the state. In addition, larger outside industries were economically more competitive, forcing smaller Wasatch County businesses such as the creameries and pea factory to close. As transportation has improved, more people have moved to the county, frequently to escape urban life.

A constant in the area has been the Mormon church. Even as newcomers move to the area, most residents continue to be Latter-day Saints and their church still plays an important role in policy-making decisions, although that influence has declined somewhat.

Wasatch County currently is at a crossroads. The county's population will continue to grow, but many oldtimers and newcomers

who moved to the area for its rural environment will continue to discourage extensive growth. They hope to maintain a rural environment. But what kinds of services will that rural economy be able to provide? And what effect will increased recreationists have on the area? The answers to these questions will help determine the future of Wasatch County.

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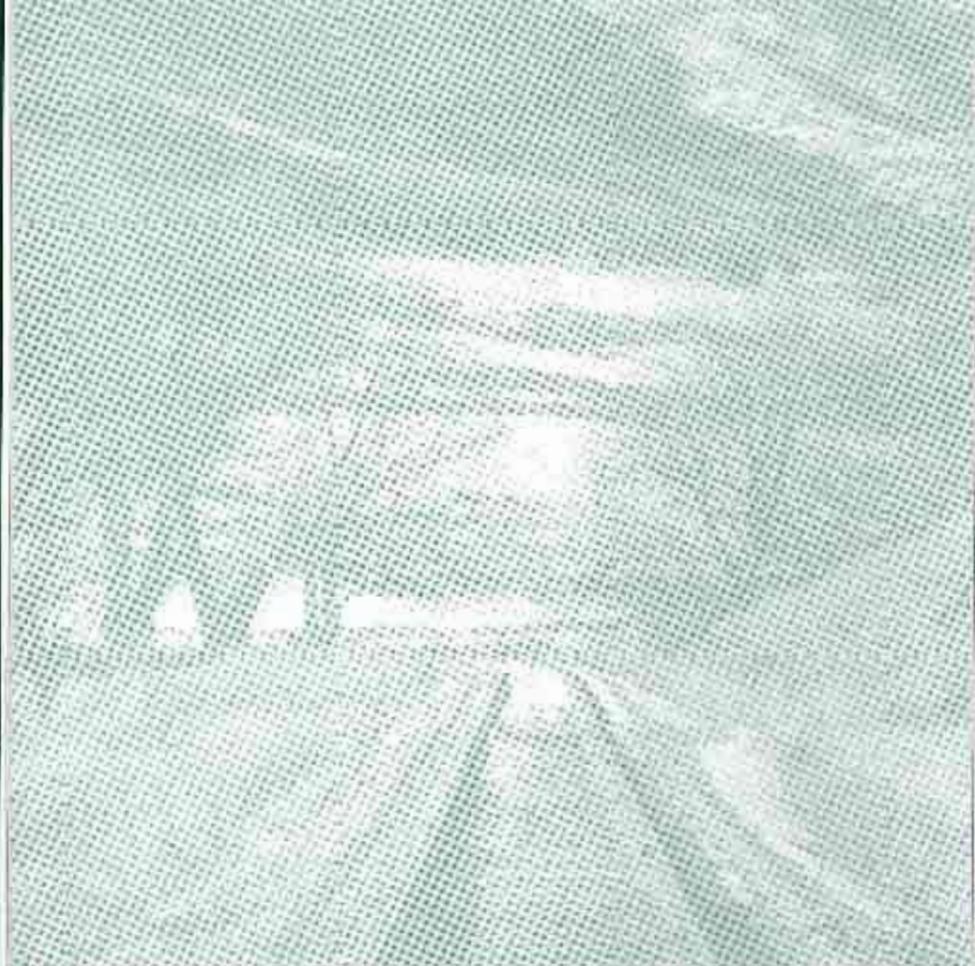
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Front dust jacket photograph of Heber City in 1941; courtesy Utah State Historical Society.

Back dust jacket photograph of railroad tracks through Wasatch County, with Wasatch Mountains in background; photograph by Alan Day.

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