The Pennsylvania State University
The Graduate School
College of Earth and Mineral Sciences

THE WASP IN THE BEEHIVE:
NON-MORMON PRESENCE IN 1880S UTAH

A Thesis in
Geography
by
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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Master of Science

August 2008
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Abstract

Recent studies have reconsidered the Mormon Culture Region in light of its 1880–1920 transition to American political and economic norms. While these studies emphasize conflicts between the Mormon establishment and the non-Mormon federal government, Mormon/non-Mormon relations within Utah have received little direct attention. Based on religious affiliations recorded in the 1880 federal census of Utah Territory, this study uses historical GIS to visualize the composition of Utah’s “Mormon” and “non-Mormon” towns. The results highlight the extensive presence of religious minorities in Utah’s settlements. Case studies of farm villages, mining camps, and urban neighborhoods probe the social and economic contexts of non-Mormon presence in Utah. These studies, based on Sanborn maps and city directories, explore the geographical mosaic of Mormon and non-Mormon residence and business activity. These variegated patterns, often absent from historical accounts of the region, enable localized analyses of the ensuing decades of cultural conflict, transformation and assimilation.

Keywords: Mormons, non-Mormons, Mormon Culture Region, Utah, 1880 Census, historical demography.
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Acknowledgments

In preparing this thesis, I have amassed debts of gratitude to numerous people. Deryck Holdsworth’s lectures illustrated the utility of census records in historical geography, leading me to the long-ignored census notations at the core of this study. The staff of the Utah State Historical Society’s research center in Salt Lake were unfailingly helpful through a long summer of data transcription—a summer which would have been much longer had it not been for Amy Glasmeier’s help in locating partial transcriptions of the census schedules. The geovisual analysis in Chapter 2 would not have been possible without the assistance of Frank Hardisty at Penn State’s GeoVISTA Center, who generously shared his work-in-progress and fixed bugs as I encountered them. Thanks also to the LDS Church History and Family History Libraries, whose archives extend well beyond their Mormon emphasis.

I am deeply indebted to my masters committee for their patience as I worked to phrase and refine the central themes of this thesis. Sue Friedman’s probing questions were especially helpful. Deryck Holdsworth saw me through numerous cycles of writing and revision, providing quick and helpful critiques and an always-open door even as he juggled the workload of numerous graduate students. Roger Downs left an initial draft of the thesis bleeding blue ink, but showed me questions I had not thought to ask, challenging me to strengthen my argument in answering them. I hope I have answered that challenge.
I am similarly grateful to the teachers, colleagues, and friends who offered open doors and open ears during an often-difficult writing process. My fellow graduate students, especially Jeremy Fisher, Matt Hartzell, and Wes Stroh, were true friends, offering commiseration and sound advice. Michael Conzen offered a much-appreciated vote of confidence during an all-too-brief encounter at the Association of American Geographers’ Annual Meeting in Boston. Finally, thanks to my parents, not only for their numerous phone calls as I struggled to refine outlines and chapters, but for sparking my geographic curiosity many years ago, as I looked out from the back seat at the landscapes of the Intermountain West.
Chapter 1

Utah on the Eve of Transformation

1.1 The End of Utah’s Isolation

In the late nineteenth century, Utah transformed from an isolated enclave dominated by an unusual religious sect into a territory headed steadily (if not entirely willingly) toward conformity with American cultural and economic norms. At the center of this transformation lay two opposing visions of Utah’s geography, identity, and significance. To Utah’s Mormons, the mountain valleys adjoining the Great Basin were a special homeland, a Zion prepared in the wilderness as a refuge from religious persecution. Within that Zion, Mormons worked to build a millenarian community, redeeming the arid landscape through irrigation and agriculture, and perfecting their society through religious communitarianism. These practices, however, clashed with the political and cultural norms of an expanding non-Mormon presence in the West. Non-Mormon settlement, fueled by mineral exploitation and transcontinental commerce and emphasizing individual gain, both encircled Mormon Utah and infiltrated its core, forcing a reconciliation between Mormon practices and those of the American mainstream. This process restructured Utah’s economy, reframed its identity, and reshaped its geography.

1. This thesis uses Mormon to denote members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Others are identified as non-Mormons, a heterogeneous category encompassing numerous groups. These distinctions will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 2.
This transformation emerged from a decades-long struggle in which Mormons and
non-Mormons sought to control Utah’s settlement, social character and economic de-
velopment. Mormons had a considerable head start in building such dominance: following
initial Mormon settlement of Utah in 1847, nearly 25 years of church-directed migration
and settlement—the largest centrally organized migration in American history—had by
1868 transplanted as many as 70,000 converts from the eastern U.S., Canada, Europe,
and beyond to the Great Basin. These individuals and their descendants populated
hundreds of cities and towns, each laid out according to Mormon precepts and centered
around Mormon institutions. Mormon settlements stretched over 300 miles of mountain
valleys, covering much of Utah Territory, and extending into neighboring Idaho, Nevada,
and Wyoming. Within these settlements, the cultural, economic, and political life of
much of Utah’s population were shaped by Mormon influence.

This dominance had never been absolute. A year after Mormon leader Brigham
Young entered the Salt Lake Valley, the Mexican Cession placed the nascent Mormon
settlements within the borders of an American West, and under the supposed authority
of the non-Mormon federal government. Mormons did not explicitly challenge this
status, but instead sought federal recognition of their autonomy, first by proposing a
sprawling “State of Deseret,” and subsequently within the Territory of Utah established

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2. Other migrations in American history, including that of English Puritans to New England in the early 17th century, the centuries-long slave trade, and the 20th century “Great Migration” of African-Americans to the North, rival the Mormon migration, both in sheer number of people transported and in their effect on the evolution of American cultural landscapes. Unlike these migrations, however, the Mormon “gathering to Zion” was carefully directed under the centralized leadership of the Mormon Church.

3. Wallace Stegner, The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail (Salt Lake City: Westwater Press, 1981), 9, concludes that some 70,000 converts had emigrated by 1868, of whom nearly 50,000 these were British and European immigrants. Wayne L. Wahlquist, “Population Growth in the Mormon Core Area,” in The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West, ed. Richard H. Jackson (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1981), 108, suggests that 70,000 is likely an inflated figure, but does not offer an estimate of his own.
by Congress in 1850 (Figure 1.1). Such autonomy proved elusive. After the 1849 California gold rush, Salt Lake City developed as a major supply point for overland wagon trains, establishing connections between Utah and the larger American economy. As western settlement expanded, the federal government restricted Mormon control of Utah: in 1857, a military expedition installed a non-Mormon territorial governor, and Utah’s petitions for statehood were repeatedly denied. During the 1860s, large areas were removed from Utah Territory, forming Nevada and Western Colorado. These restrictions, however, did little to challenge the established, and rapidly expanding, Mormon settlements in Utah’s core.

The balance of power shifted dramatically in 1869, when the Transcontinental Railroad was completed at Promontory, 150 miles northwest of Salt Lake City. As a result of the railroad’s completion, non-Mormon settlement of the west expanded rapidly, curtailing Mormon settlement outside of Utah. Within the territory, new imports undercut Mormon initiatives for economic self-sufficiency, while the availability of cheap transportation spurred the development of Utah’s mineral resources. Implicit in these new developments was an increased federal involvement in Western expansion and development. Federal policies promoted settlement of the West, encouraging the construction of railroads and the development of mining, and promising free homesteads to farmers. Within Utah, these policies directly challenged the cultural and spatial dominance of Mormons. A federal land office invalidated Mormon systems of land tenure, while mining lured non-Mormon settlers to Utah. Amid national controversy over Mormon polygamy

Fig. 1.1. Reductions in the area of “Deseret” and Utah Territory, 1847–1868. (Meinig, *Transcontinental America*, pg. 97.)
in the 1880s, federal policies attacked Mormon religious authority itself. Mormon leaders were jailed, faithful Mormons were denied the vote and the Mormon Church itself was legally dissolved. Although the Mormon abandonment of polygamy in 1890 secured Utah’s 1896 statehood, this capitulation was only one part of a broader transformation in Utah’s demographics, economy, and character brought about by the end of isolation.

As conflict between Utah’s Mormons and the federal government simmered during the 1870s and 1880s, increasing numbers of non-Mormons within Utah proved a powerful catalyst for change in the territory. Leaving agricultural settlement to the Mormons, these settlers instead developed Utah’s commercial and industrial sectors. Gold and silver mining, long proscribed by Mormons as contrary to their communitarian ethos, proved particularly profitable, leading to the development of numerous mining camps and smelter towns, and the expansion of Salt Lake City as a commercial entrepôt and supply center. This non-Mormon presence challenged Mormon dominance of Utah: non-Mormon merchants supplied imported goods to Mormon settlements and non-Mormons organized to challenge Mormons in local and territorial government. At the same time, however, this non-Mormon settlement was situated both spatially and economically within the existing frames of Mormon Utah. Miners relied on the agricultural produce of Mormon farmers, and railroads channeled non-Mormon commerce and industry into established Mormon cities. The changes caused by the presence of non-Mormons in Utah thus affected not only the settlements where non-Mormon activity concentrated, but influenced the entirety of Utah. Nonetheless, those changes were uneven across the spatial and economic hierarchies of Utah’s settlement system.
The 1880 federal census for Utah—an extraordinarily comprehensive but little-analyzed record of the territory’s population at a key point in Utah’s adjustment to the end of isolation—illustrates the complexity of Mormon and non-Mormon settlement in Utah. Marginal notations in the manuscript census schedules identify individuals’ religions, along with their ancestries, living arrangements, and occupations. These records highlight a richly variegated array of Mormon and non-Mormon presences, including Mormons in mining towns, non-Mormons in Mormon farm villages, and intricate mixtures of the two populations in Salt Lake and other cities. Indeed, rigid boundaries between Mormon and non-Mormon communities are difficult to define. Utah’s population included increasing numbers of former Mormons—some in breakaway groups, others simply no longer active in Mormon religious life. At the same time, the census records suggest the parallel evolution of Utah’s Mormon economy, recording a considerable diversity of occupations even in largely Mormon areas. Utah’s transformation, therefore, was not simply an outcome of the conflict between Utah’s Mormons and the federal government, but a result of the presence of Mormons and non-Mormons in a still-evolving Utah settlement system, and the range of inter-group interactions—at various scales—that those presences enabled.

In order to understand the extent and complexity of Mormon and non-Mormon settlement in Utah, and the effects of this settlement on the transformation of Utah’s economic and cultural geography, this thesis traces the presence of non-Mormons in Utah in the 1880s. Using the detailed portrait of Utah’s religious geography recorded in the 1880 census, it explores this presence at multiple scales. It first investigates territory-wide variation in settlements’ religious composition, tracing the extent of non-Mormon
settlement in Utah in previously impossible detail. Its goal, however, is not strictly
demographic. By identifying several distinct trends in this religious composition, it
relates non-Mormon presence to the underlying structure of Utah’s settlement system,
considering the effects of urban hierarchies, transportation networks, and economic
linkages on non-Mormon settlement in the territory. In order to further illuminate the
roles of non-Mormons in Utah’s transformation, it goes on to explore case studies of
representative Utah settlements. By combining the census records of religion and occu-
pation with archival city maps and business directories, it reconstructs the geographical
contexts of non-Mormon settlement in Utah, tracing indications of the broader changes
in Utah’s economy and society that non-Mormons catalyzed. Through an illustration of
the intricate patterns of Mormon and non-Mormon settlement in Utah, it explores the
diversity of Utah’s population in the context of the territory’s changing character.

The 1880s are an intriguing decade for such an exploration. In 1880, ten years
after the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad, much of Utah was within reach
of national economic and cultural forces, but Utah’s assimilation was far from com-
plete. Although the establishment of new Mormon settlements continued, its pace had
slackened as agricultural lands became scarce. Utah’s economic growth was increasingly
driven by commerce and industry structured by a rapidly expanding railroad system.
Even so, many Utah settlements remained unconnected agrarian villages, and agriculture
played a significant role even in many larger cities. In addition, the 1880s were the high
point of federal presence in Utah. This presence, geared largely toward enforcement of
anti-polygamy laws, encouraged non-Mormon settlement in the territory, but strongly
polarized Utah’s territorial politics. The 1880s are also notable for the rich array of
documentary evidence they offer. The census notations, which provide an unmatched record of Utah’s religious geography, are available only for 1880, and detailed census schedules for 1890 are no longer extant. Other sources, including business directories and Sanborn fire insurance maps, were first produced for Utah during the 1880s. These records, however, have not previously been analyzed from a geographical perspective. Most previous studies on Utah’s historical geography have instead focused on the early Mormon settlement of the territory. Although this literature has provided useful analysis of the spatial frames, centralized planning, and distinctive landscapes of Mormon colonization, historical geographers have offered less insight on the presence of non-Mormons within Utah, and have only recently begun to consider Utah’s cultural transformation and assimilation into a broader American West.

1.2 Literature Review

Despite the complexities of Utah’s transforming human geography at the end of the 19th century, the majority of scholarly and popular accounts of the state’s past have emphasized Utah’s initial Mormon settlement, treating the renunciation of polygamy and Utah’s 1896 statehood as an effective end to the state’s distinctiveness. This is understandable—Mormon migration and colonization occupy a unique place in western American history, driven by the worldview and leadership of a distinctly American religious movement. Unfortunately, much of this literature has produced what has been called “first wagon history,” dominated by the lives and legacies of Mormon leaders and elites, and less attentive to the stories of “the lesser known but significantly more
numerous rank and file." Although historical geography, with its focus on places over people, has emphasized the common culture and landscape of Mormon Utah, historical geographers have devoted less attention to the ways Utah changed after its isolation ended. This literature, moreover, was long dormant—although a flurry of articles, books, and theses were published between 1965 and 1980, less work emerged in subsequent years. During the past fifteen years, however, geographers have begun to incorporate insights from synthetic historical studies of the American West, tracing the encounter of Mormons and non-Mormons within Utah, and suggesting the roles of these meetings on Utah’s politics, economy, and culture.

1.2.1 Meinig’s “Mormon Culture Region:” A Legacy of Differentiation

Much of the outpouring of research on Utah’s historical geography followed Donald Meinig’s 1965 “The Mormon Culture Region,” the first explicitly geographical analysis of Mormon colonization. In order to explain the spatial clustering of Mormons in Utah, and their diminished presence elsewhere in the West, Meinig’s article presented “a refined definition of the areal dimensions of Mormon culture . . . developed out of the principles of historical geography.” This study did not undertake detailed historical or

cultural analysis, but instead outlined several successive regional frames that governed Mormon planning. Meinig first traced the reduction in scope of Mormon planning from control of a vast and autonomous State of Deseret to spatial dominance of the Territory of Utah. Within the territory, Meinig set out a model of “contiguous colonization,” in which Mormon converts were “called” to establish settlements in three successive tiers of interlinked mountain valleys (Figure 1.2). By the late 1870s, however, available arable land in Utah had begun to dwindle, curtailing this colonization, while expanding non-Mormon settlements restricted Mormon expansion beyond Utah. Although Meinig did acknowledge the settlement of non-Mormons within Utah, he presented this settlement as a handful of “Gentile Intrusions” (Figure 1.3). These were largely confined to railroad corridors and mining camps, though Salt Lake City and Ogden are mentioned as centers of non-Mormon enterprise injected “directly into pre-existing Mormon communities.”

Meinig concluded his analysis by proposing a simple areal structure for the “Mormon Culture Region”, marked by a “core” along Utah’s Wasatch Front, a “domain” in the areas of early Mormon colonization, and a surrounding “sphere,” in which Mormon settlements and institutions exist, but do not predominate. This structure, he argued, had essentially been defined by 1890, if not before. Although Meinig briefly evaluated Mormon presence in these areas in the 1960s, this served primarily as an illustration of the continuing accuracy of his regional perspective.

A closer reading of Meinig’s article shows it to be only a first step in understanding Utah’s history, structure, and development. Meinig offered little insight as to just what constituted “Mormon culture”—although his introduction noted the existence of

Fig. 1.2. Meinig's frame of “contiguous colonizations” in Mormon settlement. (Meinig, 1965, pg. 202.)
Fig. 1.3. Meinig’s “Gentile Intrusions” in the Intermountain West. Area under Mormon influence is shaded. Squares represent mining towns, while small circles indicate railroad towns. Salt Lake City and Ogden, where Gentile commerce occupied large Mormon settlements, are indicated with half-shaded circles. (Meinig, 1965, pg. 210.)
distinctive Mormon settlement types and unusual religious homogeneity as hallmarks of the region, he provided little detail on the ideologies and cultural practices which shaped the region’s settlement. The possibility of changes in those ideologies was therefore only briefly explored. Meinig’s portrayal of non-Mormons in Utah was similarly brief, and its spatial restriction to a scattering of settlements offered little ground for exploring the evolution of Mormon/non-Mormon relations. Such omissions owed much to Meinig’s overall emphasis on regional differentiation—a central theme of human geography in the 1960s. Meinig’s concern was not to probe the archives for a full accounting of Utah’s diversity, but to trace the boundaries of a clearly distinct part of the American West within a brief article. This he did clearly and effectively. Meinig’s paper emerged as a classic of American cultural geography, with numerous other studies drawing on his core-domain-sphere model.[9]

Even today, Meinig’s study remains a useful frame for understanding the most evident differences between Utah and the surrounding American West. Meinig subsequently compared Utah’s Mormon settlement with other settlement processes in the West, synthesizing a generalized geographical interpretation of Western expansion.[10] Such regional characterizations and comparisons, expanded to a national purview, would become Meinig’s master-work, the four-volume *Shaping of America*, completed in 2003. That extensive study incorporated more detailed characterizations of Mormon and other cultures, along with an overall narrative that emphasized the imperial expansion of America. Nonetheless, the structure of Meinig’s chapter on “Zion, Deseret, and Utah”

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is largely recognizable as the outline of settlement expansion and restraint first proposed over thirty years earlier. Although Yorgason has lamented Meinig’s 1965 paper as “less a work of cultural analysis than of geopolitical mapping,” that complaint primarily illustrates the changing emphases of human geography over the past four decades.

Despite its generalization of cultural subtleties, Meinig’s overview provided a coherent geographical frame for the study of more specific aspects of the historical geography of Mormon settlement. During the next fifteen years, numerous studies analyzed the character and history of the region Meinig outlined. These works often drew heavily on extensive archival and field research to support (and, at times, challenge) Meinig’s regional framework. Rosenvall, for instance, explored the spatial frames of Mormon colonization in detail, compiling and analyzing a comprehensive catalog of Mormon settlements. Wahlquist, in contrast, turned to Meinig’s “core” area in the Wasatch Front region of Northern Utah, investigating church-directed settlement through case studies of three towns. Other studies focused more closely on variation within the Mormon cultural landscape. Jackson and Layton highlighted considerable differences in the dimensions and layouts of Mormon settlement plats, challenging the assertion that Mormon leader Joseph Smith’s “Plat for the City of Zion” was implemented in all Mormon towns. Francaviglia traced the distribution of house types, irrigation patterns,

field layouts, and other elements of the Mormon landscape. Through these works, among numerous others, the spatial extent, organization, and character of Mormon directed settlement in Utah was explored in detail.

These authors, however, paid much less attention to the subsequent complexity and evolution of a multicultural Utah. Understanding of the history and character of the Mormon settlement system illuminated the changes caused by the end of Utah’s isolation, but these changes were not subsequently investigated. Jackson and Layton, for instance, focused on the initial platting of Mormon settlements, rather than the subsequent restructuring and subdivision of those plans as Utah’s cities grew. Likewise, Francaviglia addressed historical change of the Mormon landscape solely through the lens of the modern need for historic preservation. Only one geographical study—Dean Hodson’s 1971 thesis—traced the non-Mormon presence in Utah. This thesis, focused on three case studies of mining camps and railroad towns, probed the “Gentile Intrusions” identified by Meinig, but other dimensions of non-Mormon presence in Utah remained unresearched. It is unclear why so few scholars considered Utah’s subsequent development, but by the 1980s, research on the state’s historical geography had fallen into decline. Although insights from many of the earlier studies of Utah’s historical geography were brought together in the 1994 *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, this work contained little new material.

1.2.2 Beyond the Western Frontier

Although geographical interest in Utah’s past waned after 1980, Western history rapidly became an center of interdisciplinary interest. Studies on the American West—long in the shadow of Frederick Jackson Turner’s frontier thesis—were revitalized by an increasing awareness of the significance of race, class and gender—themes that had forced the critical reconsideration of much of American history during the 1970s. These themes were powerfully synthesized in 1987, when Patricia Limerick’s *The Legacy of Conquest* spurred a movement toward a “New Western History” that reverberated across multiple social science disciplines—including geography. Limerick argued that emphasis on early Western frontiers had left Western History an intellectual backwater, with little relevance to the problems of the contemporary American west—among them continuing reliance on boom-and-bust natural resource economies, the effects of drought in an arid physical environment, and continuing ethnic tensions within a diverse population. Limerick instead proposed a new meta-narrative for Western history, claiming that “the history of the West is a study of a place undergoing conquest and never fully escaping its consequences.”

Instead of a generally empty and peripheral region, Limerick framed the West as the meeting point of numerous characteristic (and, indeed, contradictory) themes in post-bellum American society. These themes—including an emphasis on the individual acquisition of wealth and property, a simultaneous reliance on outside economic links and capital investment, power structures clearly delineated in terms of ethnicity and gender, and the central (though hardly impartial) role of government

as enabler, allocator, and arbiter—were deeply incised upon the arid landscapes and resource economies of the West, and the diverse life-worlds of the region’s inhabitants. To Limerick, Western history did not simply retell picturesque stories of a distant frontier past, but emphasized the continuity between that past and the present, the convergence of diverse peoples, the emergence of power structures rooted in American conquest, and an enduring complexity that eluded simple conclusions or easy moral judgments.²⁰

Although Limerick did not draw extensively on Utah in arguing her thesis, the themes she raised offer a useful foundation for this study of the contestation and evolution of Utah settlement. Mormon Utah, rather than a peculiar segment of a generalized Western frontier, can instead be read as a central proving ground for the federal power, Protestant capitalism, and American nationalism that Limerick placed at the center of Western expansion. Although Utah was one of the earliest centers of American settlement in the west, numerous aspects of its Mormon ideology and culture were deeply at odds with the emerging national order. Mormon society emphasized the common welfare rather than individual gain, and placed loyalty to church leaders above the directives of the national government. Mormons, rather than supplanting the Native American population, preached that the Indians were a lost tribe of Israel to be evangelized and redeemed. The Mormon religion, with its Old Testament prophets, secret temple ceremonies, and sacralization of polygamy, was deeply at odds with mainstream American Protestantism. The assimilation of Utah thus tested America’s tolerance for cultural

diversity, challenging how deeply and forcefully American norms would be imposed across the land.

Limerick’s emphasis on race, class, and gender as significant loci within a culturally complex American West highlights the need for consideration of these issues within a diverse Utah. Half a century ago, when Meinig first framed his “Mormon Culture Region,” the development of Utah could be characterized as a binary opposition between Mormons in Utah and the non-Mormons who encircled and infiltrated the territory. Utah’s population, however, included men and women from a wide variety of cultural backgrounds. Both Mormons and “Gentiles” came from diverse migration hearths, worked at a range of jobs, and had widely varying access to power and influence. Chinese and Native Americans were Utah’s most visible ethnic minorities, but the presences of Anglo-Americans, Irish, Scandinavians, and other groups were recognizable within Utah’s settlements. Moreover, religion in Utah was not confined to a binary religious opposition: besides Mormons and Gentiles, Utah was inhabited by inactive Mormons and members of breakaway sects. However, understanding of race, class, and gender in the context of late nineteenth-century Utah is far from complete. Although several studies since the 1970s have attempted to tell the “missing stories” of Utah’s ethnic diversity, they have largely emphasized the twentieth century, when immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe lent a distinct ethnic flavor to Utah’s mining towns.

Nonetheless, it is clear that an understanding of Utah’s cultural evolution within, and partial assimilation into, the American West requires careful attention to these themes.

1.2.3 New Historical Geographies of Utah

Limerick’s New Western History has offered an intriguing framework for rethinking the roles of extra-regional capital investment, government power, and ethnic and economic conflict in shaping the American West. The New Western Historians, however, have offered little suggestion as to how those themes operated within one of the West’s most unusual regions. Fortunately, several new studies on the historical geography of Utah have emerged during the past two decades. These works have reexamined established views of Mormon Utah, confronting and problematizing the change of Utah’s cultures over time in light of new developments in history, geography, and the broader social sciences. In doing so, they have begun to explore many of the themes suggested by the new western history within the spaces and places of Utah. Perhaps understandably, these works have been far less thematically and methodologically unified than the clear mapping of regional frames at the core of Meinig’s work. Nonetheless, the variety of work published on Utah highlights the range of overlapping peoples and processes that shaped the state’s landscapes, cultures, and economies. Much work remains to be done before a comprehensive understanding of these themes can be realized, but current research has highlighted both Utah’s continuing distinctiveness and its transformation within the context of a broader American West.
New Western themes lay at the center of Wyckoff and Dilsaver's collection of essays, which explored the effects of the West’s mountainous topography on its human geography. Two of these essays focused on studies of Utah. Jackson traced the background of federal land ownership in the West, evaluating Mormons’ responses to federal land management in light of current conflicts between tourism and natural-resource economies. Kay, in contrast, pursued a humanistic understanding of the role of mountains in the Mormon experience, suggesting that Mormons had viewed their mountain surroundings not only as sources of vital water and timber resources, but as battlements of their sacred Zion. These essays highlighted both the commonality of many problems of settlement in the West and the continuing relevance of the Mormon experience in light of those problems.

Other authors have built a deeper understanding of Utah’s place within the West by focusing on the interactions of Mormons and non-Mormons, and the cultural discourses they produced. Mitchell analyzed written accounts of non-Mormon travelers’ reactions to Salt Lake City, noting that while nearly all authors appreciated Mormons’ lawful and orderly society and commitment to industry, attitudes regarding Mormon polygamy and patriotism differed greatly. Morin and Guelke, in contrast, addressed more complicated, but highly specific, issues of gender and representation within this travel literature, probing in depth British women travel writers’ descriptions of Mormon

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polygamous wives. Their essay, essentially a study of representational techniques, explored the strategies by which these writers—marginalized within the structures of British imperial patriarchy—claimed the authority to write on Utah’s unusual gender relations. At the same time, the authors noted, Mormon women reversed these strategies, using both outsiders’ travel literature and their own writing to support and defend Utah’s institutions. Guelke and Morin, however, did little to situate their relatively narrow body of literature in the variable and contested spaces of Utah.

One of the most interesting works to come out of the recent reawakening of geographical interest in Utah is Ethan Yorgason’s *Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region*. Yorgason notes that many of the cultural elements central to Mormonism in the late nineteenth century—including polygamy, a strong economic communitarianism, and a broad skepticism of the U.S. government—had largely disappeared from Utah by 1920. By analyzing the discourses of Mormon newspapers and instructional materials, as well as the statements and sermons of Mormon leaders, Yorgason tracks these changes. The Mormon abandonment of polygamy, he argues, was not simply a straightforward bargain for Utah’s statehood, but part of a broader transformation of Mormon culture that took place between 1880 and 1920. Along with renouncing polygamy, Mormons turned embraced conservative views on gender, abandoned their earlier communitarian focus, and vocally emphasized their American patriotism. By deemphasizing what had been central roles of religion in Utah’s politics and economy, Yorgason argues, Mormons were able to secure their place in America while retaining a distinct regional identity. Due

to these cultural shifts, Yorgason argues, Utah’s Mormons and non-Mormons were able to establish a “politics of home” that allowed peaceful, if sometimes uneasy, coexistence between the two groups.

Although Yorgason’s analysis draws heavily on recent developments in cultural geography to explore and problematize the region as an analytical frame, its focus is primarily on changes within Mormon culture. Yorgason is a geographer, but the discourse analysis at the center of his argument is often frustratingly aspatial—it is unclear whether the cultural changes he tracks occurred equally throughout Utah, or diffused outward from specific cultural loci. Moreover, while Yorgason’s framing of these cultural changes within a narrative of Americanization is effective, he offers little insight to the roles of Utah’s non-Mormons in motivating, perpetuating, and shaping Utah’s transformation. Nonetheless, Yorgason’s analysis provides a long-awaited counterpoint to studies of the initial character and progress of Mormon settlement, drawing attention instead to essential changes in the Utah’s culture and character after Mormon colonization had waned. The 1880–1920 “Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region” is thus the central analytical frame of this thesis.

1.3 Populations and Presences in a (not entirely) Mormon Culture Region

Utah’s transformation highlights both the utility of considering the territory as part of a larger West, and the influence of Mormon settlement and culture in shaping Utah’s continuing distinctiveness. Utah, clearly, developed not only through centrally organized and homogeneous Mormon colonization, but through numerous interactions
between Utah’s Mormons and the broader non-Mormon world. These included, but were not limited to, the increased Federal presence in Utah, the competition between Mormons and non-Mormons for control of the territorial economy and government, and Mormons’ own reconsidering of the meanings of Utah and Zion. A complete understanding of the effects of these interlinked processes remains elusive, however. Although Yorgason showed the cumulative effect of these interactions in changing Mormon culture, understanding the finer details of Utah’s transformation requires attention to the geographic structures of settlement in Utah, and the changing economic, demographic, and cultural contexts of that settlement.

In order to explore Utah’s transformation as a geographical as well as a historical process, this thesis explores the extent of non-Mormon presence in Utah at the beginning of Yorgason’s period. Although this non-Mormon settlement was only one of the factors noted above, it is of particular interest in exploring the overall fabric of the changing territory. Utah’s non-Mormons were not only the agents through which the territory was commercially and politically connected to a broader America, but their presence also catalyzed change among Utah’s Mormon majority. Using the 1880 census data, it is possible to ascertain the extent of non-Mormon presence in Utah’s settlements, identifying the places where Mormon/non-Mormon interactions were concentrated. City maps and business directories allow investigation of the economic and social contexts of non-Mormon presence in the territory, tracing those inter-group interactions through Utah’s economic networks and settlement hierarchies. By highlighting the social, economic, and geographic aspects of non-Mormon presence in Utah, this work explores Utah’s intersection with, and partial assimilation into, a broader American West. In
doing so, it works toward a more geographically and culturally nuanced understanding of the regional transformation Yorgason describes.

Although this thesis is structured around Yorgason’s frame of Utah’s turn-of-the-century transformation, it additionally addresses many of the themes raised by other authors noted above. The census schedules are an extremely rich data set, providing the religious affiliations, occupations, and ancestries for nearly all of Utah’s inhabitants. As such, they allow Meinig’s frames of Mormon expansion and “Gentile intrusion” to be evaluated against direct archival evidence. Such evaluation confirms the overall accuracy of Meinig’s summary mapping of Mormon and non-Mormon concentrations, but points out considerable intermingling of the two populations—a theme Meinig did not address. Similarly, the census schedules enable investigation of ethnicity, class, and gender across the breadth of Utah’s population, tracing aspects of Utah’s diversity in addition to religion. Nonetheless, the primary focus of this thesis is the presence of non-Mormons in Utah. This exploration is neither a discourse analysis nor an exercise in statistical plotting, but instead is a reading and reconstruction of the place of non-Mormons in 1880s Utah, and the historical settlement hierarchies, economic structures, and urban and rural landscapes that situate and illuminate that presence.

Within this thesis, analysis of the non-Mormon presence in Utah is structured at two main spatial scales. Both draw heavily on Meinig’s framework of Mormon and non-Mormon settlement in Utah (Figure 1.4). First, in order to ascertain the overall distribution of non-Mormons across Utah’s system of settlements, Chapter 2 analyzes the transcribed census data through computer-assisted visualization techniques. The census notations enable a previously impossible analysis of the religious composition of
Utah’s population at territory-wide, county, and settlement scales. The results of this analysis confirm the non-Mormon majority populations in Meinig’s “Gentile intrusions,” but also identify extensive settlement of non-Mormons elsewhere in Utah. Subsequent chapters explore the economic and social contexts of non-Mormon presence through case studies of three representative settlements drawn from Meinig’s frameworks. Using Sanborn fire insurance maps and business directories, it is possible to reconstruct the ranges and geographies of economic activity within each settlement, highlighting the characteristic roles played by Mormons and non-Mormons. This investigation is most comprehensive in Salt Lake City (Chapter 3), Utah’s commercial center, where the two groups lived alongside one another in large numbers. In Salt Lake, address listings allow the reconstruction of commercial and residential geographies, allowing the overlapping spatial presences of Mormons and non-Mormons to be traced in detail. Chapter 4, in contrast, traces commercial links away from Salt Lake City, comparing two regions in Utah’s hinterland: the majority Mormon farm villages of Sanpete County, and the Gentile-majority mining town of Park City. These smaller settlements lack the rich archival record of Salt Lake, but substantial minority populations within each emphasize the interaction of Mormons and non-Mormons through large stretches of a diverse and transforming Utah. The concluding chapter returns to this theme of transformation, tracing the subsequent development of each of the three case studies through the 1920s. In doing so, it highlights the convergence of the analytical frames traced above, suggesting several promising avenues for future research on Utah’s incorporation into, and place within, a spatially diverse and historically rich American West.
Fig. 1.4. Meinig’s map of “Mormonland” in 1890 structures the two scales of this analysis. An overall evaluation of the composition of Utah’s settlements tests Meinig’s mapping of Mormon settlements and Gentile towns. Subsequent case studies of Salt Lake City (A), Sanpete County (B), and Park City (C), highlight a continuum of Mormon and non-Mormon occupancy in Utah, tracing the contexts of non-Mormon presence in each place. (Adapted from Meinig, *Transcontinental America*, pg. 105.)
Chapter 2

Marginalia and Centrality:
The 1880 Census as an Analytical Portal

Understanding of the roles played by non-Mormons in Utah’s transformation has been handicapped by limits in the archival evidence of non-Mormon presence. The differing analytical frames discussed in the previous chapter certainly reflect the changing priorities of research in the social sciences, but in large part reflect the logistics of framing research around available records of settlement and interaction within Utah Territory. The planning and direction of Mormon settlement was unusually well-recorded, providing a solid foundation for Meinig and his successors to delineate and describe the “Mormon Culture Region.” No such central direction, however, governed Utah’s non-Mormon settlers. Studies of the non-Mormon presence in Utah, along with subsequent interactions between the two groups, have instead relied on individual diaries, church and government records, and newspaper accounts, among other sources, to explore specific case studies. These have probed many aspects of Utah’s history, but have been of more limited use in advancing a geographical understanding of the territory’s evolution.

Fortunately, there exists a far more extensive record of Utah’s religious geography than those used for local-scale case studies of the territory’s non-Mormons. The manuscript schedules of the 1880 federal census for Utah territory, in addition to enumerating the territorial population, note the religious affiliation of each individual in marginal notations. These notations appear only in the Utah census, but they were...
collected throughout the territory according to a common scheme identifying Mormons, non-Mormons, and several breakaway Mormon groups, along with Chinese and Native Americans. Although the reason for the collection of this information is unclear, the census schedules, recorded at a critical point in Utah’s transformation, provide an individual-scale record of Mormon and non-Mormon presence, collected uniformly across the territory, and relatively unencumbered by external interpretation. This record has seen little attention from scholars, and lacks much of the human richness of other primary sources, but its comprehensiveness makes it an extremely useful analytical portal for exploring Utah’s religious geography.

This chapter uses the census data to explore overall trends in Mormon and non-Mormon presence in Utah, by comparing the populations and religious composition of different census precincts. These precincts—corresponding to defined cities, towns, or rural districts—were the building blocks of Utah’s settlement system, as envisioned by Mormon leaders and adapted by non-Mormon settlers. Such an analysis looks beyond binary division between Mormon and non-Mormon settlements, instead exploring the variation in minority and majority and minority populations across Utah’s settlement system. Census records of precincts’ total population and religious composition allow the relative presences of Mormons and non-Mormons to be interpreted in light of an evolving and multifaceted hierarchy of settlement within Utah. To explore the variation recorded in the census data, this chapter applies several techniques for the visual exploration of quantitative spatial data to precinct-level compilations of the census records. An investigation of the relationships between precincts’ total population and their proportional religious composition suggests several pervasive trends in Utah’s settlement
system, within which individual precincts can be framed, interpreted, and classified. These trends correspond to overall patterns in the religious, political, and economic hierarchies of settlement in Utah. Several case studies, selected as representative of these patterns, are explored in greater detail in subsequent chapters. Before undertaking this investigation, however, it is necessary to explore in further detail the background of the census data, and especially to investigate the unprecedented inclusion of individuals’ religious affiliation in the census enumeration.

2.1 The 1880 Census: A Neglected Historical Record

The census of the United States enumerated during the month of June, 1880, was the tenth undertaken by the federal government for the nation as a whole, and the fourth for Utah Territory. Under the constitutional mandate to produce a decennial enumeration of the national population as a basis for congressional apportionment, census takers attempted to visit every household in the territory. Based on a standardized list of questions, the enumerators listed each inhabitant of those households, and recorded their characteristics on a series of pre-printed census schedules. In doing so, they produced a nearly-complete cross-section of the territorial population—the census schedules list the names, ages, family structures, and living arrangements of 144,963 men, women, and children in the territory. In addition to this basic demographic data, the schedules record individuals’ occupations, patterns of illness, disability, and education, and the birthplaces of individuals and their parents. The manuscript census schedules were

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1. This is Utah’s population as given in *Tenth Census of the United States*, volume 1 (Population) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883). 3. Manuscript schedules for some communities—most notably for two precincts in Northern Utah’s Rich County—have been lost, but detailed data for 142,745 Utahns survives, and is used as the basis of this analysis.
never more than an intermediate step in the compilation of statistical reports on the national population but they were retained in government archives. Although sealed for 70 years to protect individuals’ privacy, the census schedules are today a key resource for historical researchers, providing records of individuals’ residence and occupation and allowing analysis of community composition and demographics at multiple scales.

The data recorded in the 1880 census (Figure 2.1) includes information well beyond the specific needs of a count of population. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, the census had become a tool for research within emerging social science disciplines. As Hannah notes, census director Francis Walker substantially revised the process of enumeration, with the stated goal of producing an accurate and “scientific” count of population. Previous censuses had relied on relatively few politically-appointed “assistant marshals” who undertook their enumerations over the course of six months. Walker in 1880 employed 31,500 enumerators—a fivefold increase from the decade before—and required that those enumerators be restricted to districts of no more than 4,000 inhabitants. Enumeration was to take place within one month in rural areas, and within two weeks in cities. Enumerators were required to be residents of their districts, allowing them to draw on their own local knowledge. The data collected were standardized under uniform rules, and directly addressed issues central to evolving national political discourse. In contrast to previous censuses, the 1880 enumeration

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2. The complete report for the 1880 census, published beginning in 1883, spans 23 volumes, summarizing not only the national population at a variety of scales, but also the country’s agricultural, mineral, and industrial production.


Fig. 2.1. A portion of a page from the 1880 census manuscript schedules for Salt Lake City, Utah. Rows record individuals, grouped by households. Columns record individuals’ names, ages, marital status, occupation, and ancestry, among other data. Marginal notations give individuals' religions.
schedules included both specific questions about the birthplaces of individuals’ parents and a far more comprehensive accounting of illness, disability, illiteracy, and their impacts on individuals’ ability to work. In Hannah’s analysis, this was a direct response to growing concern about increases in immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe and theories that these “inferior” populations would “pollute” the genetic stock of white Americans. Previous censuses had focused on race in a similar manner. However, Walker’s increased focus on standardized data collection and wide dissemination of the resulting statistics marked a new project for the census, applying the apparatus of enumeration to an emerging project of social science in the public interest.

Although Hannah’s work extensively analyzes Walker’s focus on ethnicity vis-à-vis education and disability in the 1880 census, his argument does not consider one of the most unusual features of the census data collection. In Utah Territory—and nowhere else in the United States—enumerators recorded not only the nationally uniform population attributes outlined above, but noted each individual’s religion in the margins of the census schedules (Figure 2.2). This data is mentioned nowhere on the printed census forms, but appears to have been collected consistently throughout the territory. The scheme of these marginal notations is almost entirely centered on each individual’s relationship to Mormonism. Mormons are given no notations, while non-Mormons are marked with a “G,” indicating “Gentile.” 7 Other notations include “AM” for apostate Mormons and “DM” for disfellowshipped Mormons indicating, respectively,

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7. Mormon doctrines held that the gathered Latter-day Saints were the literal successors to the biblical Israelites as God’s chosen people. Non-Mormons, therefore, were referred to as Gentiles—a term that came to be used in Utah by Mormons and non-Mormons alike. In this analysis, “Gentile” is used to indicate individuals who were not, and had never been, associated with Mormonism. “Non-Mormon,” in contrast, refers to the broader assortment of Gentiles, apostate and disfellowshipped Mormons, and ethnic minorities.
Fig. 2.2. Notations in the margins of the census schedules record individuals’ religions. These notations, a close-up of the manuscript page recorded in Figure 2.1, indicate Gentile, apostate Mormon, and Mormon households. Notably, the apostate household employs three Mormon servants.
those who had freely left Mormonism and those who had been excluded by formal proceedings in ecclesiastical courts. “JM” denotes affiliates of the breakaway Josephite sect, which held that Mormon leadership passed not to Brigham Young, but to the direct descendants of Joseph Smith. In contrast, Chinese and Native Americans—two groups outside this Mormon/non-Mormon continuum—were inconsistently recorded across different enumeration districts.

The recording of these marginal notations was remarkably uniform. Utah’s 1880 census was undertaken by 107 enumerators in 213 census precincts. The backgrounds of these enumerators, and the composition of their precincts, will be discussed below in greater detail, but only five of these enumerators made no notations in their schedules. It is difficult to tell, however, whether this absence of notation reflects ignorance of the effort to record religion, or simply that their assigned precincts were entirely Mormon. As these precincts—thirteen in total—were located in recently settled areas in isolated parts of Southern Utah, the latter is quite possible. Even if this was not the case, however, religious data were clearly collected by 102 of the 107 enumerators and for 200 of the 213 precincts. The uniform scheme of these marginal notations, coupled with their nearly universal collection throughout the territory, suggests that the collection of religious affiliation as part of the census was centrally coordinated in some fashion. As Utah’s “Mormon Question” loomed as a national issue in the politics of post-reconstruction America, it appears likely that these marginal notations constituted an attempt to gauge

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8. Recording of Utah’s Chinese and Native Americans varied from precinct to precinct. In some precincts, they were noted as Gentiles, while in others they were left blank. A few enumerators even denoted the Chinese with “H”—presumably indicating “heathen.” This variation appears to reflect the enumerators, rather than the individuals enumerated, prompting a separate “ethnic” category in this analysis.
the continuing extent of Mormon dominance in Utah. Although this is well in line with Walker’s overall project of using census data to address national social concerns, no direct record of such a directed effort has emerged. Nonetheless, the marginal notations in the 1880 census allow contemporary researchers to investigate the relationships between place, population and religious presence across Utah’s cities and towns, and to investigate more detailed relationships between religion, ancestry, and occupation within those places. In doing so, they provide a significant complement to existing archival evidence on Utah’s past.

Curiously, historians and geographers have paid little attention to the census in their research on Utah. Although state- and precinct-level totals from the census are frequently cited, little attention has been paid to the patterns within Utah’s population that the census data reveal. The marginal notations, moreover, have received even less attention—they appear to have been noted in the literature only by Bennion, who briefly mentioned them in the course of a more general portrait of Utah settlement in 1880. Although Bennion hoped that “once they are coded and collated, these original returns will enable to us to construct standard age-sex pyramids for each of Utah’s major peoples (although not for the native Utes and Paiutes),” he suggested that this analysis was a distant goal—presumably due to the size of the dataset and the labor involved in the analysis. This goal, however, remained unrealized: no subsequent work on Utah has investigated the census data, and it appears that few researchers were even aware of the marginal notations. Although this lack of attention to a valuable data source is

surprising, it can be explained by noting several factors. In addition to the apparent lack of awareness of the census data, the size and scale of the data set presents challenges to the would-be analyst. A 143,000-record data set is easily manageable with today’s database systems, but such systems were far less accessible three decades ago. In the years since Bennion wrote, moreover, much historical and geographical work on Utah has emphasized other analytical frames, turning from overall description and quantitative analysis to more localized case studies. Finally, while microfilmed copies of the census schedules have been widely available, these copies frequently do not clearly reproduce the marginal notations. Although these microfilms were transcribed into computer files in the 1980s as part of the University of Utah’s Mormon Historical Demography Project, this project focused on corroborating demographic analyses of Mormon genealogical records, and apparently ignored the marginal notations entirely.\(^{10}\)

Before exploring the populations recorded in the census, however, it is necessary to establish the reliability and validity of this data set. Given the lack of documented procedures and standards for the recording of religious affiliation, it is important to consider the process under which these data were collected. Several concerns regarding Mormons’ reactions to the federally organized enumeration cast doubt upon the accuracy of the resulting data. Utah’s political climate in 1880 was marked by escalating conflict between the Mormon hierarchy and the federal government, largely centered around federal attempts to prosecute Mormon polygamy. The Morill Act of 1862 had declared

\(^{10}\) The transcription was later released through the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, as Lee L. Bean, *Census of Utah Territory, 1880*, Distributed by Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, Compiled by Mormon Historical Demography Project, 1989. See also Geraldine P. Mineau, Lee L. Bean, and Douglas L. Anderton, “Description and Evaluation of Linkage of the 1880 Census to Family Genealogies: Implications for Utah Family Research,” *Historical Methods* 22, no. 4 (1989): 144–157.
the practice illegal, but Mormon-dominated grand juries blocked effective enforcement, and polygamy remained openly practiced. Many Mormons may have been reluctant to openly declare their living arrangements to federal officials. Moreover, the direct recording of individuals’ religious affiliations was unprecedented in the history of the American census. Although a religious census had paralleled the enumeration since 1850, it was vague and voluntary, relying on information reported by the leaders of local congregations. In contrast, the Utah data were collected by federal enumerators, and explicitly connected individuals to their religious preferences—a topic which, in Utah, effectively corresponded to their political views. If indeed these data were part of an attempt to ascertain Mormon presence and plan federal policy, many Mormons may have resisted such an effort, throwing the accuracy of the census records into question. Finally, the backgrounds of the enumerators themselves likely played a key role in producing an accurate census. On the national scale, Walker had hoped to select enumerators resident in their assigned precincts, but in Utah such local familiarity had more extensive implications. Utahns may have been more willing to answer questions posed by known individuals, particularly individuals of their own faith. Likewise, in the absence of defined standards for religious affiliation, enumerators’ own knowledge of Utah’s religious landscape was likely essential to determining individuals’ classification. Although it is impossible to discern the minute details of individuals’ response to the census enumeration, a brief review of available records on Utahns’ reaction to the census

and the backgrounds of the census enumerators dispels the most troubling concerns of data accuracy.

Reassuringly, reports from several Utah newspapers show no apparent qualms or controversy resulting from the collection of the religion data, or the census enumeration as a whole. The Mormon church-owned *Deseret News* and Mormon-friendly *Salt Lake Herald* both encouraged their readers to respond accurately and honestly to enumerators’ questions, despite their “invasiveness.”\(^\text{12}\) The *Herald* further urged compliance, citing Francis Walker’s instructions that polygamous wives should truthfully disclose their status without fear of criminal prosecution.\(^\text{13}\) The day before the enumeration began, the *Deseret News* reported that there would be “no special questions for Utah or for any other place.”\(^\text{14}\) Although the recording of religious affiliation suggests that this was not entirely true, no protests were noted.

Following the initial census enumeration, newspapers published the population totals based on preliminary census returns. These reports frequently carried political overtones: the *Herald* boasted of the scarcity of transients compared to neighboring states, while the *News* used the population tallies to support renewed calls for Utah’s statehood, a status that had been granted when other territories had reached populations of 60,000.\(^\text{15}\) As further counts and analyses were distributed, the *News* praised the quality of Utah’s census enumeration, quoting a census official’s statement that Utah’s

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12. *Salt Lake Herald*, 25 May 1880; *Deseret News*, 27 May 1880, both in *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Archives of the Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.
15. *Salt Lake Herald*, 1 July 1880; *Deseret News*, 20 July 1880, both in *Journal History of the Church*. 
returns were “more complete and competent than those returned from any other district in the country.”\footnote{16} Subsequent publication of statistics on religion suggests awareness and acceptance of the recording of religious affiliation. Nearly two years after the enumeration took place, the \textit{Herald} noted the balance of Mormons to non-Mormons, but offered no further analysis.\footnote{17} The \textit{News}, in contrast, launched an attack on the prevalence of non-Mormons in Utah’s territorial government, noting that Mormons were a majority of the territorial population, but comprised less than half of its federally appointed territorial registrars.\footnote{18} Notably, neither newspaper protested the collection and recording of religious affiliations, nor the subsequent compilation of statistics on Utah’s Mormon and non-Mormon populations.

In addition to this apparent lack of concern over the propriety of including religious records in the census, the conduct of the census enumeration in Utah followed the rigorous national guidelines instituted by Francis Walker. As part of his effort to conduct a “scientific” enumeration in the 1880 census, Francis Walker had substantially revised procedures for the selection of enumerators. Previous censuses had relied heavily on assistant federal marshals appointed through political patronage—a system that had raised doubts in the post-bellum South, where Republican appointees were accused of deliberately undercounting the population. In contrast, Walker had by 1880 instituted a new system, in which 150 carefully chosen district supervisors were given full-time responsibility for the census. These supervisors were then given broad authority to

supervise the merit-based hiring of enumerators within their districts. These enumerators would be hired without regard for party affiliation, and would ideally be residents of their assigned precincts, in order to take advantage of their local knowledge. These enumerators were supplied with clear and uniform directions outlining their duties, including the treatment of family and household relationships, the classification of jobs, and the location of individuals not living in traditional households. This standardized enumeration, moreover, was undertaken under rigorous supervision: enumerators were supplied with specially printed postcards, to be used for daily progress reports to their district supervisors and the Census Office in Washington, D.C. Completed schedules were required to be submitted with a sworn statement of accuracy, and those for several Utah precincts were apparently returned to enumerators for lack of such statements. It appears that little actual conflict arose over the taking of the census—as noted above, Utah’s Mormon leaders urged cooperation, while Walker’s instructions urged enumerator courtesy over legal compulsion in collecting data. Nonetheless, it is worthwhile to examine the backgrounds of the census enumerators, in order to ascertain possible sources of bias, whether in the enumerators themselves or their superiors.

The census enumerators’ backgrounds suggest that the census supervisors not only followed national policies for enumerator selection, but were sympathetic to Utah’s unique situation. Of the 107 individuals employed in enumerating Utah’s population, 86 were readily identifiable in the schedules of the census—frequently in their own handwriting. An additional eight enumerators were not listed by name, but could be

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20. Ibid., 122.
21. Ibid., 131.
22. Ibid., 121.
connected with their families and religious backgrounds based on their presence in other
censuses. Finally, 15 enumerators were apparently never recorded as Utah residents. The
backgrounds of these individuals are unclear—affidavits in the census schedules suggest
that a few resided elsewhere in the United States, but their names do not appear in the
censuses for those places. These were most extensive in Salt Lake County, where seven of
24 enumerators were unidentifiable. It is unclear, however, whether these were officials
brought in from elsewhere in the country, or whether they were simply not recorded.
The 92 enumerators recorded in the census exhibited considerable diversity: 47 were
recorded as Mormons, 26 as Gentiles, and 16 as apostate Mormons. Although these
disproportionately represented the numbers of Gentiles and apostates in the territory,
it appears that the census administrators were nonetheless willing to trust Mormons as
accurate recorders of the census.

The geographic distributions of enumerators’ religion exhibits several interesting
patterns. Many of Utah’s smaller counties—including some of its most heavily Mormon—
were enumerated entirely by Mormons. These include several counties in southern Utah,
but also Morgan and Rich Counties in the north. Kane County, notable for its nearly
complete absence of recorded non-Mormons, also falls into this group. In heavily Mormon
Cache County, by contrast, four of six enumerators were apostate Mormons—a status
held by only a handful of the county’s inhabitants. Gentiles and apostates comprised the
majority of enumerators through many of the more populous counties of northern Utah’s
Wasatch Front, including Salt Lake, Utah, and Weber Counties. Throughout these
counties, however, Mormon enumerators almost always played some role. In general,
it appears that the crucial principle explaining the assignment of enumerators was the
availability of competent individuals in close proximity. Heavily Gentile areas were almost always enumerated by Gentiles, while Mormons were selected in heavily Mormon areas. Although non-Mormon enumerators were over-represented in many areas of the state, religious affiliation was not an absolute determinant of census supervisors’ hiring decisions.

As it appears that national merit-based hiring policies were followed in Utah, it is useful to consider the occupational backgrounds of the territory’s enumerators. These can be grouped into seven categories: government officials, businessmen and retailers, professionals, teachers, clerical workers, farmers, and tradesmen. Mormons and non-Mormons were roughly balanced in five of these groups, though Mormons made up the majority of the farmers and teachers. Additionally, the distribution of these groups across Utah’s geography is not particularly surprising: clerical workers predominated in larger cities and farmers in rural precincts, leaving businessmen, teachers, and professionals to head the enumeration in many small cities and towns. These distinctions, however, were far from absolute—Ogden’s enumerators included a well-known hotel keeper, a miner, and a farmer. Similarly, little emphasis appears to have been placed on enumerators’ stature within their communities. Although the territory’s enumerators included court officials, attorneys, and one prominent Mormon leader, the ranks were filled out by an assortment of students and tradesmen. Finally, it is worth noting that Utah’s enumerators included three women. As women were first hired as enumerators during the 1880 census, these three suggest not only the presence of women in the territorial labor force, but also further evidence that national census policies were closely followed in the territory.
Despite the sparse record of the actual process of enumeration in Utah, available evidence suggests that many of the doubts raised above are of diminished importance. The census itself was accepted as a neutral exercise in collecting information, rather than an explicit project of political control. Although the lack of clear definition of the religious categories remains a concern, the overall religious distributions calculated from the marginal notations are broadly in line with both historic and contemporary calculations of Utah’s population and religious distribution (Table 2.1). My transcription and analysis of the census schedules (detailed below) gives a total of 142,745 Utah residents, of whom 117,623, or 82.4%, were Mormons. In contrast, the Deseret News in 1882 reported a total population of 143,963, of whom 120,283, or 83.5% were Mormons. As the News recorded some 1,716 individuals as having “doubtful” religion, this discrepancy is not of great concern. Similarly, May’s analysis of Mormon church records suggests that in 1880 Utah’s Mormon population numbered 113,828, or 79% of the territorial total. Despite the possibility of uneven recording standards, therefore, the marginal notations produce a record of Utah’s religious distribution broadly in line with other sources. Unlike those sources, the census data can be explored in much greater detail to reveal the links among place, religion, and economy in territorial Utah.

Table 2.1.
Comparison of three analyses of Utah’s religious composition in 1880.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deseret News, 1 Sept. 1882</th>
<th>Transcribed Census Schedules</th>
<th>May, 1983</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mormons 120,283 83.6%</td>
<td>Mormons 117,623 82.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentiles 14,156 9.8%</td>
<td>Gentiles 14,136 9.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apostates 6,988 4.6%</td>
<td>Apostates 9,186 6.4%</td>
<td>Mormons 113,828 79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josephites 820 0.6%</td>
<td>“Ethnic” 1,219 0.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Doubtful” 1,716 1.1%</td>
<td>Unreadable 581 0.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 143,963</td>
<td>Total 142,745</td>
<td>Total 143,963</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2 Frameworks for Census Data Analysis

2.2.1 Data Transcription and Standardization

This remarkable data set required considerable transcription and standardization before it could be analyzed. The census recorded details for over 143,000 Utahns, making a computer-based analysis essential. Unfortunately, previous transcriptions of the census data into machine-readable formats have ignored the marginal notations. Since microfilmed copies of the census schedules were frequently unclear, it was necessary to consult the original manuscript schedules, which are housed in the archives of the Utah State Historical Society in Salt Lake City. During the summer of 2007, I transcribed the marginal notations into a database containing the census data, as released in 1989 by the Mormon Historical Demography Project. Although many of the original manuscripts were in poor condition, the transcription proceeded smoothly. Marginal notations were unreadable for only 0.4% of Utah’s population. These transcribed schedules, however, were simply copies of the manuscripts compiled by each enumerator. Despite standardized procedures and forms, Utah’s census enumerators offered free-form descriptions of localities, occupations, and birthplaces. Many records were only partially legible, and
transcribers had introduced numerous spelling errors into the dataset. Although these errors did not seriously compromise data integrity, it was necessary to sort the descriptive identifiers into defined categories before a comprehensive analysis could be undertaken.

As part of this standardization, religion was reduced to a four-fold division. Mormons and Gentiles were assigned their own categories. Apostate, disfellowshipped, and Josephite Mormons proved more challenging, as the marginal notations were frequently cut off, leaving only an “M” visible. Because of this, they were combined into a common “apostate” category. Due to their inconsistent recording, Chinese and Native Americans were assigned a separate “ethnic” category. Unreadable entries, largely restricted to a handful of precincts, were ignored. The array of place descriptions were consolidated, initially at the county level (Figure 2.3), and subsequently into 213 geo-coded precincts, corresponding to those used in the 1880 census compilation (Figure 2.4). Based on these county and precinct-level consolidations, the census data were joined to shapefiles representing the geographic locations of Utah’s counties and precincts.

Data on ancestries and occupations, proved more challenging. Census enumerators listed over 3,322 distinct occupational descriptions for Utah’s population. Although many of these were transcription errors or variant wordings, they nonetheless represented nuances that eluded classification. The classifications used by the census itself were of some use, but they nonetheless offered 278 categories. Alternatively, a simple division of agricultural, service, commercial, and manufacturing sectors eliminated much of the interesting texture from this dataset. Recorded ancestries proved similarly challenging—while most entries could be reduced to state or country terms, regional classification implied the loss of possibly significant nuances within the data. In the absence of an
Fig. 2.3. Utah's counties (numbering 23 in 1880) were a first level of data aggregation.
Fig. 2.4. The 213 precincts recorded in the 1880 census.
adequate framework for classifying these dimensions of the census record, the overall analysis discussed in this chapter focuses on the more straightforward, but still substantial, relationships between the populations and religious compositions of individual places. Partially standardized ancestry and occupation data remains in the census dataset, however, and will be qualitatively discussed later in this thesis, when the analytical focus shifts to the in-depth analysis of representative case studies.

Several distinctions between the precincts used in this analysis and the system of blocks, tracts, and designated places used in modern census data deserve comment. Little concrete definition of the boundaries used in delineating the 1880 census precincts has survived. Instead, precincts are identified based on geographic features, typically their central towns. In some cases, precincts were subdivided—into urban wards, rural localities, or distinct villages—but this subdivision was not undertaken consistently across the territory. For the sake of consistency across places, these subdivisions were ignored in favor of the precinct-level division. (Here, again, these finer locational details will be investigated in greater detail later in the thesis, particularly in the third chapter’s investigation of Salt Lake City.) Finally, although it was possible to determine and geocode the approximate locations of each precinct, the absence of recorded boundaries meant that these locations were recorded as point data. These points generally correspond to important concentrations of population within the precincts they represent, but they do not fully illustrate the spatial extent of those precincts, or the size and distribution of the population within them. Salt Lake City precinct, for example, contained

25. The vast majority of the 1880 census precincts have survived as present-day towns. Others have been abandoned, but their locations are well-known. For a handful of elusive precincts, however, John W. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990) proved an invaluable resource.
a population of over 20,000, while many other precincts contained under 100 people. Both, however, were represented as simple points in the precinct shapefile. Although this data structure limited the usefulness of some standard cartographic techniques, it was nonetheless possible to identify numerical and spatial patterns in the underlying data through geovisual analysis.

2.2.2 Geovisual Analysis and Historical Geography

As Gregory and Healey note in a recent review, the past decade has seen a dramatic increase in the use of Geographic Information Systems in historical geography. In contrast to other geographic subfields, historical geography has been relatively late in incorporating methodological advances made possible by GIS. Several misconceptions about the nature of GIS have been identified as reasons for this delay: GIS was seen as either a mere automation of cartography or a repackaging of previously dismissed positivist epistemologies and methods. These notions have been largely dismissed: GIS is not a commitment to an exclusively positivist worldview, nor merely a technology facilitating the storage and presentation of cartographic data, but a powerful tool allowing the interactive exploration of spatial information. Historical geographers have employed GIS analysis in a wide variety of research projects. GIS methods have helped historical geographers to relate and analyze data across multiple spatial and temporal scales, and to investigate previously intractable historical problems. The essays collected in Knowles’

27. Ibid., 639.
Past Time, Past Place\textsuperscript{28} showcase examples of these applications, including production and organization of digital versions of historic maps, tracing residential patterns and comparing urban distributions, and to reconstructing the individual life-worlds of Civil War soldiers.

Underlying the explorations in GIS showcased by Knowles and the theoretical challenges and opportunities evaluated by Gregory and Healey is a remarkable transformation of the role maps play in geographical research and analysis. Although researchers both within and beyond the discipline of geography have long been concerned with identifying and investigating patterns within spatial phenomena, the process of mapping has been applied in two distinct ways. Maps have long been the primary method of presenting known spatial relationships to others, but they have also been used in a more exploratory sense, to identify and trace unknown relationships\textsuperscript{29} This distinction between exploration and presentation has never been absolute, but it has been greatly blurred in recent decades by technological and theoretical developments. Computer-aided cartography has dramatically reduced the effort necessary to map information, while increasing the volume of data that can be represented. The map itself, moreover, is no longer a static representation of prespecified information, but a dynamic interface connecting the user to data from various sources\textsuperscript{30} The result is a powerful tool that blends programmatic analysis with visual exploration. GIS users—no longer necessarily divided into analyst and audience—can dynamically use displays to visually explore a

\textsuperscript{28} Anne K. Knowles, ed., Past Time, Past Place: GIS for History (Redlands, Calif.: ESRI Press, 2002).


wide variety of spatial data and identify patterns, and reframe those displays to highlight or challenge those trends.

Paradoxically, these techniques for displaying spatial data often diverge from familiar cartographic approaches to data representation. Indeed, some of the most frequently used tools for exploring complex spatial data are not maps but conceptual and statistical diagrams, such as parallel coordinate and scatter plots. Although these tools are not immediately spatial, they highlight patterns in multidimensional data that would be difficult to represent in strictly geographical frames. In addition, these statistical models are interactively linked to map displays, allowing the geographical structure of identified patterns to be ascertained. Although the map is frequently not the initial paradigm for displaying data, its omnipresence is key to the utility of geovisual data investigation. The apparent aspatiality of these visualization techniques is thus no hindrance to geographical understanding. Rather, it is a crucial means of portraying complex information in cognitively accessible formats.

Although these techniques for computer-aided geovisual analysis are one of the most intriguing and rapidly advancing frontiers in current Geographic Information Systems research, their application in historical geography is only beginning. Neither Knowles’ showcase of historical GIS nor Gregory and Healey’s review article extensively
explores the application of these techniques to more abstract and quantitative visualizations of historical data.\footnote{31} These omissions are especially surprising in light of the recent compilations of geo-coded historical databases noted in the latter work\footnote{32}

Historical geographers, of course, are hardly strangers to the possibilities of visual representation of data. Through much of the twentieth century, historical atlases have played a key role in the collection and dissemination of research in historical geography. These atlases, additionally, have employed a wide variety of cartographic techniques to illustrate the processes of place-making and historical change. As Baker notes, these have included “arrows to depict movement qualitatively, isopleth and choropleth maps to depict change quantitatively, and sometimes other non-cartographic, graphical portrayals of change, such as graphs, pie charts, and histograms.”\footnote{33} The latter category of illustrations has increased in prominence in recent decades, notably in the three-volume \textit{Historical Atlas of Canada.} Nor have these “non-cartographic graphics” been restricted to the realm of the historical atlas: the success of Meinig’s \textit{Shaping of America} rests heavily on its maps and diagrams, which expertly blend geographic fidelity with evocation of underlying patterns, structures, and processes.\footnote{34} Although these maps and diagrams were primarily intended to communicate pre-defined conclusions rather than


\footnotetext[32]{Gregory and Healey, “Historical GIS,” 640.}

\footnotetext[33]{Alan R. H. Baker, \textit{Geography and History: Bridging the Divide} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 199.}

\footnotetext[34]{Representative examples of the schematic conceptual maps found throughout the four-volume work include Donald W. Meinig, \textit{Atlantic America: 1492–1800}, vol. 1 of \textit{The Shaping of America} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 260–261, 265, 376, 402.}
to support exploratory analysis, they nonetheless show the utility of conceptual as well as explicitly spatial visualization in historical geographic research.

Computer-aided geovisualization has expanded and transformed the possibilities for exploring historical data through visual representation. Computers, now cheap, fast, networked, and ubiquitous, remove many of the constraints of static media and manual design, offering dynamic and interactive portrayals of historical data. Unfortunately, many visualization methods have been relatively inaccessible to researchers not specifically focused on their development. ESRI’s ArcGIS, the most prevalent software environment for creating and analyzing geospatial data, includes built-in tools for familiar cartographic techniques, but more sophisticated data visualization generally requires custom scripting approaches beyond the training of many casual GIS users. More recent developments in visualization have been explored largely as research frontiers in their own right, while incorporation of those techniques into accessible tools has progressed more slowly. Of late, however, several software packages have combined multiple geovisual techniques, with the aim of producing integrated visualization environments accessible to the end user. One of these environments, the GeoViz toolkit, provides several tools useful for exploring the multiscalar relationships between places’ population and religious composition, as recorded in the 1880 census.

2.2.3 The GeoViz Toolkit

GeoViz, a software environment produced by the GeoVISTA Center at Penn State University, brings together numerous tools for the visualization of multidimensional geographic data. Based on GeoVISTA Studio, a previous project of the GeoVISTA
Center, GeoViz aims to provide a “user-friendly” environment for data exploration. In contrast to Studio, which provided a framework for the development of new geovisual techniques, GeoViz allows the user to choose from numerous pre-written components. These components are closely interlinked—a data set loaded into GeoViz will be displayed in all active components. Additionally, components are coordinated, meaning that data selected in one component will be highlighted or otherwise emphasized in other components. This feature allows the user to dynamically explore patterns across multiple statistical and geospatial representations of a dataset.

Through these interlinked visualization components, GeoViz provides a highly useful environment for exploring the census data set. Even though the current analysis will not extensively consider the records of occupation and ancestry found in the census, the relationships between places’ population and religious composition involve multiple interconnected variables. The goal of this analysis, moreover, is not suited to standard statistical regression methods. Although the correlations between variables will prove useful, formal regression analysis requires the selection of dependent and independent variables, and the underlying assumption of some causative relationship. This investigation, on the other hand, is more concerned with identifying patterns in Utah’s population. Rather than a direct calculation of numerical relationships between variables, this is an open-ended search for similarities between places across multiple spatial scales. Visual tools provide several avenues for identifying both common patterns and outlying exceptions in the dataset, but dynamic mapping is essential for developing

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these observations into spatial frameworks for understanding Mormon and non-Mormons presences in Utah.

Although the GeoViz toolkit is still in alpha release, many of its features work smoothly enough to support analysis of the compiled census data. Four interlinked tools were used in this investigation (Figure 2.5). First, a bivariate distribution map comparing total populations with relative Mormon percentages aided initial data exploration, allowing places with similar attributes to be grouped and identified. This map showed the spatial relationships between two variables by dividing each into tertiles, yielding a nine-category choropleth map. By assigning a different color to each variable, the spatial distribution and correlation of the two variables was clearly visible. Unfortunately, these choropleth maps were only effective at the county scale. The small size and high concentration of the points representing the precinct-level data precluded the use of color for displaying distributions. Second, a dynamic parallel coordinate plot highlighted several characteristic patterns in the relationships between multiple variables. This approach represents the data set as a number of vertical axes, each corresponding to a particular variable. Each data point is represented as a multi-segment line connecting its respective values for each variable. The multiple lines of the dataset thus show any prevailing trends in the association between variables. Moreover, they allow the identification of clusters of data points with similar attributes. Once identified, these clusters can then be selected for display on a corresponding map.

Third, star plots highlight both the relationships of attributes within each individual data point and the overall prevalence of those relationships across a data set. A given data point is represented by a polygon comprised of multiple axes, each
Fig. 2.5. The four geovisual methods used in this analysis: bivariate distribution maps (A), parallel coordinate plots (B), star plots (C), and scatter plot matrices (D).
corresponding to one of the variables in the data set. The magnitude of each variable, compared to the maximum and minimum values for that variable across the overall dataset, determines the position recorded on the corresponding axis. The overall shape of the polygon, therefore, shows the relationship of the selected variables within each data point, potentially suggesting its overall character. Although each plot represents only one data point, plots for the entire dataset are displayed in an array, sorted based on one of the attributes. Comparison of the shapes of multiple points is thus possible. Finally, a matrix of scatterplots adapts a familiar statistical tool for the analysis of bivariate distributions to a multidimensional and interactive contest. Each pair of variables within the dataset is represented in a scatterplot, along with a least-squares regression line. This allows outliers and clusters to be easily identified, mapped, and traced in other variables, but also provides numerical correlation coefficients for each variable pair. Throughout this process, each of these components coordinated with one another and with a map of all of the data points, allowing ready identification of spatial patterns in the data.

### 2.3 Census Visualization and Analysis

As noted above, this analysis focused on one particular aspect of the census dataset: the relative spatial distributions of Mormons and non-Mormons in Utah, and the relationships of those distributions to places’ total populations. These relationships are recorded in five key variables: for each county or precinct, the total population was calculated, along with percentages of Mormons, Gentiles, apostate Mormons, and ethnic minorities within those populations. The geovisual analysis took place over three phases: first, population totals for Utah’s 23 counties allowed the evaluation of broad trends in the
distribution of Utah’s religious groups. Second, evaluation of religious affiliations at the level of Utah’s 213 precincts highlighted the presence of a number of outliers, in which religious affiliations and population size ran counter to trends prevailing throughout much of Utah territory. Although the presence of these outliers was notable, the extreme values these places represented tended to obscure finer patterns of religious distribution elsewhere in Utah. Therefore, a third data set excluded 21 precincts, corresponding to majority non-Mormon precincts and Utah’s largest cities, removing the effects of their extreme values on the exploration of Utah’s majority Mormon precincts. The analysis of these data sets highlighted several layers of Mormon and non-Mormon presence in Utah.

2.3.1 County Level Data: Broad Religious Trends

The first phase of the analysis, using county level data, sought to evaluate the overall trends of population size and Mormon dominance in Utah. As a first step in this analysis, a map of the bivariate distribution of county population and Mormon percentage (Figure 2.6) proved very useful. Classification of these variables into tertiles revealed several patterns. Most clearly evident was the concentration of settlement in north central Utah’s Wasatch Front, where a column of counties running from Cache County in the north to Sanpete County near the territory’s center were all in the top tertile of population. The bivariate map also highlighted several similarities that were less immediately apparent. Rural Box Elder County, in Utah’s northwest corner, was likened to Salt Lake County due to its high population and relatively few Mormons.\[36\]

36. The tertile based division made this similarity somewhat relative. Although Box Elder and Salt Lake Counties were both roughly 75% Mormon, Salt Lake had a population of 31,989, while Box Elder had only 6,766—roughly one-fifth as many. Still, this lesser population was greater than that of two-thirds of Utah’s counties.
Fig. 2.6. Bivariate map of total population and Mormon percentage by county. Shades of maroon represent increasing Mormon percentage, while green shades indicate larger populations. See also Table 2.2.
Table 2.2.
Religious composition of Utah’s counties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>% Mormon</th>
<th>% Gentile</th>
<th>% Apostate</th>
<th>% Ethnic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beaver</td>
<td>3864</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>9.0</td>
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<td>Box Elder</td>
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<td>76.9</td>
<td>10.6</td>
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<td>5166</td>
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<td>1.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emery</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>88.8</td>
<td>9.0</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Iron</td>
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<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
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<td>4140</td>
<td>73.2</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weber</td>
<td>12358</td>
<td>81.8</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other counties along the Wasatch Front exhibited far stronger Mormon majorities. By contrast, Mormons were less prevalent in several counties along Utah’s western border. These counties were not contiguous, however—heavily non-Mormon counties, generally corresponding to areas of intense mining activity, were interspersed with a number of strongly Mormon agricultural counties. Juab and Sevier counties, located near the geographical center of the Utah, further proved intermediate in both their total populations and their Mormon percentage, while the counties of southern and eastern Utah were identified as low in population and highly Mormon.

In contrast to classification based on simple presence or absence of Mormons, a parallel coordinate plot (Figure 2.7) allowed the percentages of Mormons, Gentiles, apostates, and others to be simultaneously compared, showing several trends in the correlation of these variables. Although all counties in the data set had Mormon majorities (the weakest Mormon majority being 57% in Beaver County), high percentages of Gentiles corresponded to lower levels of Mormons. This is not entirely surprising, since the four categories must sum to 100%, but this inverse relationship was more clearly defined than that between any other two variables, suggesting that the oft-repeated themes of Mormon/Gentile opposition have some accuracy. Existing literature, however, says much less about the presence of other groups within the territory. The distribution of apostate Mormons was notably bimodal—large percentages of apostates were associated with relatively high percentages of either Mormons or Gentiles. Box Elder, Piute, and Tooele Counties, meanwhile, stood out as having high percentages of Chinese and Native Americans. These counties each had relatively low percentages of Mormons, but moderate Gentile and apostate populations. Salt Lake, Weber and Juab counties,
Fig. 2.7. Parallel coordinate plot of religious affiliation in Utah’s counties. Counties are colored based on quintiles of Mormon percentage.
meanwhile, fell in the middle tertiles for each of the four groups. This balanced pattern, however, had considerably lower percentages of Mormons, and correspondingly higher percentages of Gentiles and apostates, than the territory as a whole. It is important to remember, however, that these values reflect only the proportional populations of each county, rather than the actual number of Mormons, Gentiles, or apostates residing there. Thus, although Salt Lake County’s percentages of Gentiles and apostate Mormons were far from the territorial extremes, the county’s large population gave it the largest number of Gentiles and apostates in the territory. Other counties had far smaller populations, including three with fewer than one thousand inhabitants.

Star plots (Figure 2.8) highlight the large number of counties where large Mormon majorities and handfuls of apostate Mormons comprised the population. Although roughly half of Utah’s counties have sufficient population in each of the four categories to be displayed as visible quadrilaterals, those in the rows 3 through 5 appear almost as lines, indicating that their population contained significant numbers of neither Gentiles nor ethnic minorities. The same plot, however, shows the relative absence of Mormons in Beaver and Summit Counties (A1 and B1), the large Gentile populations in Beaver, Washington, and Uintah Counties (A1, D1, and E1, respectively), and the aforementioned concentrations of Chinese and Indians. The scatter-plot matrix, in contrast, allowed the relationships between county population and religious affiliation to be examined more closely. Surprisingly, the correlations between the populations of Utah’s counties and their proportional religious affiliations were effectively zero. Both heavily Mormon and heavily Gentile counties were found at a wide range of county populations. Nonetheless, this analysis highlighted the fact that Utah’s most populous
counties tended to have fairly high percentages of Mormons, with the exception of Salt Lake City. In addition, the scatter plots allowed the correlations between the four groups to be explicitly calculated. Here the inverse relationship between Mormon and Gentile counties was again clear, with a correlation coefficient of 0.90. No other pair was so strongly correlated, but the bimodal distribution of apostates and Gentiles was again evident.

The county level analysis thus identified several patterns in the spatial distribution of religion in territorial Utah. Religious diversity was not uniform across the territory, but neither was it the exclusive province of particular regions or more populous counties.

Fig. 2.8. County level star plots of religious affiliation. Many of the counties are represented as rough quadrilaterals, indicating populations in all four religious categories. Others, however, have few Gentiles or ethnic minorities, and are represented as vertical lines.
Although high levels of Mormon and Gentile settlement occurred in opposite areas, the other two groups exhibited a far less predictable pattern. In keeping with their status on the fringes of Mormon religion, apostate Mormons lived alongside both Mormons and Gentiles. Nearly half of Utah’s counties had populations primarily comprised of Mormons and apostates, with very small—or nil—proportions of Gentiles or ethnic minorities. It should be noted, however, that the county level data reflect the proportions of each group within the population, rather than the raw numbers. Additionally, analysis at the county level potentially masks variation within counties’ component precincts. Utah’s counties spanned large geographical areas, with the possibility of many different land uses and social textures in different settlements. Although the trends identified at the county level are intriguing, they capture only the coarsest variation within Utah’s population. To plumb the finer details of that variation, it is necessary to investigate religion at the precinct level.

2.3.2 Precinct-Level Data: A Closer View

Precinct-level data posed several challenges for the visualization methods outlined above. Most fundamentally, there are considerably more data points to visualize—213 precincts rather than 23 counties. While this number is well within the capabilities of the GeoViz toolkit, it necessitates a shift in analytical focus. Instead of tracing the representations of individual counties through the four components, the analysis instead identifies clusters of data points in relation to overall trends. In addition, the precinct data have much larger ranges than the county aggregates for nearly every attribute considered in the study. Although every county had a Mormon majority, some of Utah’s
precincts had non-Mormon majorities, and one had no Mormons at all. Similarly, the population disparities noted in the analysis of Utah’s counties are even more striking at the precinct level. Many of Utah’s less populous precincts had populations less than one hundredth of Salt Lake City’s. Since the analytical tools comprising GeoViz generally display quantitative data on a linear scale defined by each variable’s maximum and minimum values, such quantitative disparities tend to highlight extreme values, while obscuring trends elsewhere in the data. Finally, the point structure of the precinct data limited the utility of analysis through bivariate mapping—with so many small points, many of which were in close proximity, color could not effectively represent trends in the data. It was possible, however, to use dynamic maps to identify the spatial locations of precincts selected through other tools.

A parallel coordinate plot (Figure 2.9) of the precinct data illustrates these quantitative disparities. Nonetheless, one trend in the precinct level data was unmistakable. Mormon percentages, which at the county level were no lower than 57%, ranged at the precinct level from zero (at the U.S. Army post of Fort Douglas) to 100 (in thirty-nine different precincts). The vast majority of Utah’s precincts, however, were strongly Mormon: the lowest quintile of Mormon percentages ranged from zero to 78%, while the remaining four-fifths of the precincts were at least 79% Mormon. The distributions of Utah’s Gentile and apostate percentages were similarly skewed: the highest quintiles ranged from 10 to 98% for Gentiles and 10 to 35% for apostates. The extreme values of these non-Mormon precincts visually distort the overall distributions of Utah’s population. A Gentile minority of ten percent is well above the precinct-level median, but appears much less significant when compared with precincts that are almost
entirely Gentile. Despite these distorting effects, however, analysis of the precinct level data reveal a great deal about the distributions of Mormons, Gentiles, apostates, and others within Utah Territory.

Many of the trends noted at the county level were echoed in the precinct-level analysis, although extreme values at times obscured more general trends. The most heavily Gentile precincts, primarily found in mining camps surrounding Salt Lake City and railroad towns in Utah’s remote northwest corner, had extremely low (though rarely zero) Mormon populations, while low Gentile populations were associated with highly Mormon places. Precincts with weaker Mormon majorities, however, frequently had substantial Gentile minorities. These precincts were often railheads and transit hubs peripheral to mining centers, though they included a few mining towns and agricultural villages. Apostates, in contrast, were again bimodally distributed. The largest percentages were found in otherwise-Mormon communities, but most of the precincts with large Gentile populations also fell in the upper quintile of apostates. This distribution, however, was only evident in precincts with large apostate percentages. Clear patterns were less discernible in places with fewer apostates, though small apostate percentages were quite common in otherwise Mormon precincts throughout Utah.

The precinct-level data additionally emphasize the concentration of Utah’s ethnic minorities in a handful of precincts. Fully four-fifths of the territory’s precincts contained neither Chinese nor Native Americans. Those that did can be separated into three groups. First, the largest concentrations of Natives recorded by the census were at Mormon Indian farms, including those at Portage in Box Elder County, Kanosh in
Fig. 2.9. Parallel coordinate plot of precincts in Utah Territory. Color bands represent quintiles of Mormon percentage. Very large Mormon majorities, coupled with very small or absent Gentile populations, are found in many precincts.
Millard County, and Koosharem in Piute County\footnote{37}. These precincts showed strong concentrations of Mormons and ethnic minorities, but very few Gentiles or apostates. In contrast, the Gentile railroad towns of western Box Elder County were populated heavily by Chinese workers. Finally, it was not uncommon for other precincts to include smaller concentrations of Chinese. This pattern was most frequently associated with Gentile mining towns, but it also appeared in Salt Lake, Ogden, and other larger cities and towns.

Star plots at the precinct level further highlight the wide disparities between the precincts with Mormon minorities and the remainder of Utah (Figure 2.10). Plots for 213 precincts are necessarily small, but sorting them by Mormon percentage produces several easily recognizable patterns. As in Figure 2.8 many precincts are represented only along the vertical axis, indicating the presence of Mormons and apostates, but the near-absence of Gentiles, Chinese, or Indians. The upper third of the figure (rows 1 through 5) shows more diversity. Much of row 1 is comprised of right-pointing triangles, indicating areas with higher Gentile populations. These chiefly indicate mining and railroad towns, including Silver Reef (D1), Stockton (F1), and Ophir (N1). Left-pointing triangles, corresponding to Mormons and ethnic minorities, are less common, but correspond to Mormon Indian farms, as at Indianola in Sanpete County (B2). More curious are the upward pointing triangles, indicating areas with Mormons, Gentiles, and ethnic minorities, but no apostates. These correspond to the railroad towns of Northwest Utah, including Kelton (G1) and Terrace (C1). The absence of apostates in these places,

\footnote{37. The census recorded only those Native Americans living in contact with Euro-American society. Other Indians, including those on reservations, were excluded from the enumeration.}
however, is surprising. In comparison with the county star plots, however, no precinct has significant representation on all four axes.

Scatter plots at the precinct level add precincts’ population to the earlier analysis of religious distributions. Here again, extreme values were readily apparent—Salt Lake City was clearly visible, as were Ogden, Provo, Logan, and several other large towns. Due to the linear scale of the scatter plots, however, population variation elsewhere in Utah was less clearly displayed. Nonetheless, the total population plots highlighted the relative sizes of Mormon and non-Mormon towns. Precinct populations were somewhat lower as Mormon majorities approached 100%. Precincts with Mormon percentages less than 70% also tended to have lower populations, though a cluster of mining towns with small Mormon populations defied this trend. Furthermore, the inverse relationship between Mormons and Gentiles was again evident, though the correlation was only 0.845 when calculated at the precinct level. Apostates were also negatively associated with Mormons, but at a much weaker level of correlation. More notable in the plot of apostate and Mormon percentages was a clearly defined line of precincts where Mormon and apostate percentages equal 100%. Although these precincts were most common at very high Mormon percentages, the upper bound remained clear as apostate percentages increased. In addition, the linked scatter plots were useful in identifying clusters of outliers among Utah’s precincts. Several clusters with low percentages of both Mormons and Gentiles had correspondingly high populations of apostates and ethnic minorities, though rarely both. The handful of precincts with large numbers of Chinese and Indians were also clearly visible. These clusters of outliers, however, held few surprises—they
Fig. 2.10. Star plots for Utah’s 213 precincts, ordered by Mormon percentage.
merely depicted in bivariate form the more diverse precincts highlighted by the star plot analysis.

2.3.3 Tracing Variation in the Mormon Domain

Although the analysis of the precinct-level data did not dramatically contradict the patterns found at the county level, it offered considerably more detail and spatial resolution. Two distinct patterns in precincts’ religious composition were evident: first, a relatively small number of majority non-Mormon towns stood out against a background of majority Mormon places. However, Utah’s remaining precincts varied as well, ranging from Mormon exclusivity to relative diversity within Mormon-dominated communities. Unfortunately, the tools available in the GeoViz toolkit tended to emphasize the majority non-Mormon precincts, while obscuring variation among Mormon settlements. When the precinct data were displayed on axes scaled to each attribute’s most extreme values, more subtle distinctions and patterns were not readily visible. The Gentile towns and ethnic worlds highlighted above correspond to Meinig’s framework of “Gentile intrusions,” but they were only one aspect of non-Mormon presence in Utah. Thus, a third analysis was necessary to focus on population composition within Utah’s Mormon-majority areas. Fortunately, this was relatively easy to accomplish. The extreme values that compromised the effectiveness of the previous visualization corresponded to only 21 of Utah’s precincts: nineteen majority non-Mormon towns, and Salt Lake and Ogden, the territory’s two most populous cities. Removing those precincts from the analysis left a data set of 192 precincts, which allowed the more subtle patterns of non-Mormon presence in Utah to be analyzed.
This third analysis is not new, but a subtle refinement of the previous investigation. Thus, a parallel coordinate plot (Figure 2.11) showed the previously noted Mormon/Gentile inverse relationship across precincts ranging from 50.4 to 100% Mormon. This reduced range, however, offered sufficient resolution to discern three distinct groups, which roughly correspond to the tertiles of Mormon percentage. (These divisions fall, roughly, at 87 and 98% Mormon.) The first of these groups, corresponding to the lowest tertile of Mormons, included all precincts with Gentile percentages over 5% and apostate populations over 11%. In addition, this first category encompassed nearly all precincts with recorded ethnic minorities. The second tertile, by contrast, included some small Gentile percentages, but frequently had over 5% apostates. The third group was almost exclusively Mormon, although occasional Gentile and apostate populations were evident. Two clusters of extreme Mormon dominance were evident in Northern Utah’s Cache County and the “Dixie” region of the territory’s southwest corner, but spatial clustering was far less pronounced elsewhere in the territory. By and large, precincts from these three categories were evenly interspersed throughout Meinig’s three tiers of Mormon settlement. Star plots revealed much the same trends—even though the axes were scaled to emphasize variability in the reduced data set, many precincts were comprised only of Mormons and (fewer) apostates. Others, however, indicated several patterns of overlapping population. Several precincts on the peripheries of Mormon settlement had small populations of Native Americans. Other precincts featured relatively large numbers of Gentiles and apostates, and not infrequently handfuls of Chinese. These were often located in precincts where mining and railroad activity overlay previous Mormon agricultural settlements, though a handful were also located at the territory’s extreme
fringes. Gentile presence in Utah was, therefore, not limited to a handful of “intrusions,” but occurred in numerous precincts with Mormon majorities. Areas with larger Mormon majorities, however, tended to be inhabited by apostates rather than Gentiles, and thirty-nine precincts—fully one-fifth of this reduced data set—were 100% Mormon.

Even with the more extreme values removed from the scatter plots, little correlation was visible between precincts’ total population and Mormon, Gentile, and apostate percentages. Although the highest Mormon percentages were disproportionally associated with very low populations, the least Mormon precincts in the data set were also sparsely populated. Instead, variations in precincts’ religious compositions reflected local-scale differences in land use and economic function. Among relatively populous places with low Mormon percentages, Beaver County’s Beaver, Wasatch County’s Heber, reflected the effects of mining activity in close proximity to prior Mormon agricultural areas. Both precincts, notably, were the seats of government of their respective counties. Ashley, in contrast, was located in Uintah County, on Utah’s eastern frontier, where Mormon influence was reduced. Provo and Logan were evident as the most populous precincts remaining in the reduced dataset, though Logan was far more heavily Mormon than Provo. Nonetheless, Logan contained far more Gentiles and apostates than the Cache County precincts that surround it. The precincts with the highest percentages of apostates were also surprising—one might expect these to correspond to concentrations of Gentile population, but instead they are typically agricultural communities surrounded by strongly Mormon precincts. This suggests that high levels of Mormon apostasy may
Fig. 2.11. Parallel coordinate plot of religious composition of Mormon-majority precincts. Data are colored based on tertiles of Mormon percentage.
have been influenced as much by the attitudes of local Mormon leaders as by territory-wide social and economic changes. Finally, while the inverse relationship between Mormons and Gentiles is repeated in these precincts, this analysis reveals for the first time a similar inverse relationship between Mormons and apostates. This relationship was not as strong—its correlation coefficient was 0.44 in comparison to 0.58 for the Mormon/Gentile relationship—but it nonetheless describes the composition of precincts where Gentiles were absent.

2.4 Patterns of non-Mormon Presence in Utah

Geovisualization of the census data has revealed considerable presence of Gentiles, apostate Mormons, Chinese, and Native Americans alongside the Mormon population of Utah Territory. These presences, however, take on remarkably different characters at the three levels of analysis. The county level analysis highlighted considerable diversity in many of Utah’s counties, while the precinct level analysis, in contrast, shifted the focus to a handful of clearly identifiable Gentile-majority towns, set against a background of Mormon precincts. Utah’s less Mormon counties were not uniformly diverse, but generally contained one or two of the Gentile towns in the midst of a relatively smaller number of Mormon-majority precincts. These Mormon precincts, however, were themselves far from uniform. Mormon majorities, ranging from moderate to absolute, lived alongside Gentiles and apostates in precincts throughout Utah. Finally, successively more focused analyses cast doubt upon overly simple generalizations about the places

of ethnic minorities and apostate Mormons. Although large populations of Chinese and Native Americans corresponded to railroad camps and Indian farms, smaller populations of both were found in many precincts in the territory. Apostates intuitively occupied a middle ground between Mormons and Gentiles, but also existed in large numbers in otherwise heavily Mormon precincts and regions—a pattern only visible when the analysis was confined to majority Mormon precincts. These patterns, once discovered, can be traced back through the larger-scale analyses, but they were far from initially apparent at the county level.

Visualizing the census data has identified several patterns in the religious composition of Utah, but it has not allowed full comparison and evaluation of the relative magnitudes of the identified trends. Although the total populations of Utah’s counties and precincts were included in the scatter plot analysis, most of the other components of the analysis analyzed religious affiliation in percentage terms. These visualizations gave all precincts equal representational weight. This highlighted the patterns prevalent across Utah’s system of settlements, but downplayed the actual numbers of Mormons and non-Mormons in particular precincts. As a revealing example, it bears noting that Salt Lake City alone was home to over 20% of Utah’s Gentile and apostate populations. The 21 precincts excluded from the third phase of the analysis comprised fully 70% of the territory’s Gentiles and 33% of its apostates. The Gentile minority outside those precincts, however, lived alongside the vast majority—over 80%—of Utah’s Mormon population. They thus potentially played a highly significant role in Utah’s unfolding transformation, connecting Mormon hinterlands to national-scale political, economic and social structures.
In contrast to Meinig’s framework of Mormon directed settlement punctuated by scattered Gentile intrusions, the 1880 census data show that non-Mormon presence in Utah was both extensive and diverse. This complexity does not squarely line up with any single overarching narrative of non-Mormon presence. Although the mining camps and railroad towns, so prominent in previous research on Utah’s historical geography, were clearly evident in the census data, they constituted only a handful of the territory’s precincts, and represented only one facet of a much broader non-Mormon presence in the territory. Additionally, Utah’s large apostate population, distributed even more broadly across Utah’s cities and towns, is a reminder that the cultural transformation of Utah was not a simple binary conflict, but a broadly defined continuum of transforming religious belief, political loyalty, and economic function. The populations of Chinese and Indians recorded in the census data, conversely, place Utah within the context of a wider American West dominated not by religious identity, but by Limerick’s themes of conquest and capitalism. The census data, therefore, have not only offered a far more extensive portrait of the extent of non-Mormon presence in Utah than was previously possible, but the multiple patterns they reveal in the territory’s population suggest possibilities for reconciling the disparate scales that have been used to analyze Utah’s historical geography.

The remainder of this thesis applies this expanded understanding of Utah’s settlement system to support detailed investigations of specific places within Utah. This will require a shift in both sources and methodology from the large-scale census analysis presented above. In contrast to that analysis, which probed patterns in a deliberately simplified dataset at the territorial scale, a series of case studies will involve more
open-ended local investigations of places evoking several facets of Utah’s transforming settlement system. This investigation will use additional sources, including Sanborn fire insurance maps and business directories, to explore settlements’ urban morphology, land use, and economic life. Within these contexts, close reading of the census schedules themselves will reveal details of the economic and social presence of Mormons and non-Mormons within each place. By reconstructing the details of Mormon and non-Mormon presence in a variety of Utah places, these case studies will trace the local-scale expression of the patterns uncovered in the geovisual analysis, highlighting the roles of individuals within transforming places, and of communities within a transforming Utah settlement system. The following chapter will begin this exploration by considering the political, economic, and religious hub of that system—the territorial capital city of Salt Lake.
Chapter 3

Salt Lake City: The Metropolitan Forge

3.1 Salt Lake City as Mormon-Gentile Meeting-Point

Geovisual analysis of the relationships between population and religious distribution in Utah revealed multiple trends, but the prominence and diversity of Salt Lake City was abundantly clear. The city’s population—20,778 by 1880—was much larger than any of Utah’s other settlements. In addition to its size, Salt Lake City housed the largest concentrations of Gentiles and apostates in the territory. Though Mormons held a 75% majority, Salt Lake’s percentages of non-Mormons were nonetheless far greater than those of most Mormon towns. The city further included a small but significant population of Chinese. This diversity both reflected and reinforced Salt Lake’s roles as Utah’s political capital, its economic and cultural center, and the headquarters of Mormon religious leadership. This chapter explores those overlapping roles, tracing the complex patterns of Mormon and non-Mormon presence in the economic, political, and social life of the city, and their expression in city’s built environment and spatial structure. In doing so, it highlights Salt Lake City’s role in connecting Utah’s Mormons and Gentiles to larger-scale political and commercial influences. The selective intermingling of Salt Lake’s two communities, coupled with its position at the top of Utah’s settlement hierarchy, parallels the city’s pivotal role in creating and spreading the new political, economic, and social orders described by Yorgason.
Salt Lake had from its founding been Utah’s primate city—the territory’s most populous settlement and its center of religious, economic and political power. The city owed its prominence to its role in the initial Mormon organization and settlement of Utah. Not only was Salt Lake the first settlement established by the Mormon pioneers, but it was explicitly established as the center of Utah’s Mormon organization, the site of its holiest shrine, and the focal point through which all Mormon emigration was channeled and colonization directed. In conjunction with this religious focus, Salt Lake became the hub of more secular pursuits. After 1856, the city was the territorial capital and its location at the end of the emigrant trail established it as the predominant commercial connection between the Mormon settlements and the eastern states. Throughout Utah’s early decades, however, even these political and economic roles were closely linked to Salt Lake’s role as a Mormon center.

By the 1880s, in contrast, Salt Lake City was not only a Mormon capital, but the hub of Gentile activity in Utah Territory. As the territorial capital, it was the seat of the federal officials who challenged Mormon leaders for control of the territory. Soldiers at Fort Douglas, which overlooked the city from the eastern slopes of the Salt Lake Valley, backed claims of federal authority with the threat of force. More importantly, Salt Lake’s commercial role incorporated many Gentile merchants, whose activities not only reached well into Utah’s hinterland, but connected the territory to an emerging national economic network. Although the transcontinental railroad had bypassed Salt Lake in

1. The 1851 organization of Utah Territory had instead designated Fillmore, a newly established town in central Utah, as the territorial capital. Although Fillmore lay near the center of the original area of the territory, its remote location made it unsuitable for government. Only one full legislative session was held in the town, while Salt Lake City’s large population and eastern connections made it the territory’s de facto administrative center. See Everett L. Cooley, “Utah’s Capitols,” Utah Historical Quarterly 27, no. 3 (1959): 259–274.
1869 in favor of a route north of the Great Salt Lake, the Mormon-built Utah Central Railroad connected the city to the Union Pacific and Central Pacific at Ogden (Figure 3.1). Despite the hopes of anti-Mormons, however, neither Ogden nor the speculative Gentile city of Corinne effectively challenged Salt Lake’s commercial prominence. Salt Lake became the main wholesale center of the territory, distributing imported merchandise to smaller settlements. Moreover, the city’s central location among the mining districts of northern Utah made it a natural center of finance and investment in the Intermountain West (see Figure 1.4 on Page 26).

This Gentile-dominated commerce, however, was not ignored by the Mormon leadership. Faced with the end of Utah’s isolation, Mormon authorities responded with measures intended to preserve Mormon economic autonomy and church control. These measures, once again, hinged on Salt Lake City. The Utah Central Railroad, along with other Mormon-organized railroads to Northern and Southern Utah, linked Utah’s Mormon settlements to the outside world, but ensured that these links were mediated through Salt Lake. Additionally, Mormon leaders decreed a boycott of Gentile merchants, instead establishing Zion’s Cooperative Mercantile Institution (commonly known as Z.C.M.I.) to centralize Mormon commerce in Mormon hands. From a central department store and warehouse in Salt Lake City, the Z.C.M.I. both sold imported goods to local Mormon retail cooperatives and facilitated the trade of agricultural produce and indigenous manufactures between Utah settlements. To promote Mormon economic autonomy, the Z.C.M.I. further promoted Utah-based manufacturing, including several factories in Salt Lake City. Finally, the Mormon tithing system, centered on the Bishop’s
Fig. 3.1. Salt Lake City lay off the route of the Transcontinental Railroad, but connecting railroads maintained its commercial prominence. In this map, Union Pacific controlled lines, including the Utah Central and Utah Southern, are highlighted, while the Central Pacific, running west from Ogden, is not. (“Map Showing the Union Pacific Railway and Connecting Railroads,” 1882, Library of Congress.)
Storehouse in Salt Lake, further channeled much of the territory’s wealth to the city, where Mormon leaders directed its expenditure and distribution.

Salt Lake City thus acted as a hub of Utah’s Mormon and Gentile economic systems, making it the greatest concentration of commercial activity in Utah Territory. The manufacturing schedules of the 1880 census record 110 manufacturing establishments in Salt Lake County, more than three times as many as any other county in the territory. These industries, ranging from saw and flour mills to brickyards, breweries, foundries, and woolen mills, were also far more diverse than those of any other Utah county. Salt Lake also housed the vast majority of Utah’s higher-order business functions, with concentrations of clerks, bookkeepers, and attorneys far disproportionate to the city’s population. Although these commercial communities were frequently divided along religious lines, their very size and complexity facilitated commercial interaction between Mormons and non-Mormons. Moreover, the city’s role as a wholesale and financial center extended the impact of these interactions into many smaller and less diverse settlements in Utah’s hinterland.

Similar processes took place in the cultural and political spheres. In addition to Salt Lake’s role in Mormonism, the city served as a center for other religious denominations in Utah, including Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Jews. Salt Lake’s churches not only served local churchgoers, but supported and directed congregations and missionary efforts elsewhere in the territory. These religious bodies also often organized schools and educational institutions, again often located in the capital city. Meanwhile,

Salt Lake’s role as political capital made it the epicenter of Mormon/Gentile political conflict, pitting a Mormon territorial legislature against Gentile executive officers. Through the territorial government, these conflicts and their resolutions were brought to bear on the territorial hinterland, most notably through the federal prosecutions of Mormon polygamy.

Utah’s first city was a place of overlapping roles and contested identities. In an abstract sense, the city’s Mormons and Gentiles shared a common urban space, yet distinct city quarters differentially reflected each group’s presence. Among the city’s twenty-one wards, there were great disparities in census totals of population and religious composition (Figure 3.2). Although each ward had a Mormon majority, it is notable that these majorities were very small in the city’s central wards. In contrast, wards at the city’s periphery were often heavily Mormon, with Mormon majorities at times exceeding 90%. Mirroring these religious disparities, ward populations were considerably larger near the city’s center. Just south of Temple Square, the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Wards each housed over 1,500 individuals within their nine-block areas. More peripheral wards were often much larger in area, but were far more sparsely inhabited. As an example, the Second Ward in southeastern Salt Lake housed only 272 people, of whom nine-tenths were Mormon. Within the more populous and diverse central city, moreover, the presences of Mormons and Gentiles took complex spatial form. Only two blocks from the Mormon Temple and bishop’s storehouse, saloons and cigar stores punctuated blocks of Gentile-owned department stores and hotels. Back-alley brothels sated other desires. Protestant and Catholic churches, along with the city’s synagogue, challenged the hegemony (if not the centrality) of Salt Lake’s Temple Block and ward meetinghouses.
This urban landscape, however, was not entirely divided along religious lines: in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Wards, Mormon and non-Mormon residential populations lived alongside one another in roughly equal proportions.

Salt Lake City was not only the largest concentration of non-Mormons in Utah, but a place in which that non-Mormon presence was spatially expressed. Salt Lake City’s buildings, streets, and neighborhoods both marked the city’s distinct Mormon and non-Mormon spheres and situated and mediated the interactions between the two communities. This chapter uses three analytical avenues to trace the geographies of Mormons and Gentiles in Salt Lake City in depth. First, an analysis of Salt Lake’s urban morphology introduces the city’s layout and traces the transformation of the city from a Mormon utopia into a functionally differentiated regional capital. Using Sanborn fire insurance maps, it is possible to delineate areas of commercial, residential, and institutional land use within Salt Lake City, and to probe the urban texture of each of these districts. Within these districts, the Sanborn maps outline the spaces in which the city’s commercial and social life took place, but several business directories published for Salt Lake during the 1880s allow Salt Lake’s commercial diversity and religious geography to be traced in closer detail. The spatial distribution of the businesses listed in these directories highlights the concentration of business activity along three blocks of Salt Lake’s Main Street, but the analysis also notes the presence of business activity elsewhere in the city. More significantly, by comparing directories addressed to Mormon and non-Mormon audiences, it is possible to contrast the business activities pursued by the two groups, and to explore the concentration of Mormon and Gentile businesses in different parts of the city. The third section of the analysis considers residential occupancy in one of Salt
Fig. 3.2. Boundaries and religious compositions of Salt Lake City’s 21 wards, as recorded in the 1880 Census.

Salt Lake City Ward Boundaries
With 1880
Ward Population and Religious Composition
Lake City’s most diverse wards. Block-by-block investigation of the census schedules for Salt Lake’s Thirteenth Ward highlights the intermixed occupancy of Mormons and Gentiles, as well as tracing more subtle patterns of ancestry, class, and gender within the ward’s population. Through these three approaches, the chapter highlights the Salt Lake’s complex and variegated population, economy, and built environment.

3.2 A Townscape in Transition

3.2.1 Building the City of Zion

On 28 July 1847, only four days after Brigham Young’s arrival into the Salt Lake Valley, the initial company of Mormon Pioneers began planning their new Zion. The initial point of their survey was telling: near the forks of what would be called City Creek, Young designated a forty-acre site for the Salt Lake Temple. Although that site was quickly reduced to a ten-acre block, it formed the nucleus of what would become Great Salt Lake City.

Loosely following Joseph Smith’s unrealized 1833 plan for the City of Zion in Independence, Missouri, pioneer surveyors laid out ranks of ten-acre square blocks and 132-foot wide streets. Within five years, several additional surveys had expanded the city to nearly five square miles—twice the area of San Francisco in 1851. South of the city proper stretched five miles of farm plots, where creeks descending from the Wasatch Mountains were diverted into cooperatively managed irrigation canals. Brigham Young and his fellow Mormon officials had made no small plans for the new Zion. Salt Lake City was not only a refuge in the western wilderness, but a full realization of the call to

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gather the faithful in a holy community. Although Mormon settlement would establish hundreds of towns and cities in the Mountain West, Salt Lake was from the beginning the focus of the Mormon project. The city’s ambitious plan proclaimed its anointed destiny. Salt Lake City would house a great Mormon multitude, and would direct the mingled political, economic, and religious affairs of the Mormon commonwealth. Through the faith and industry of its settlers, the city in the valley would become a “city on a hill”—both an agricultural oasis and a commercial center, presided over by a living Mormon prophet and a holy Temple.

The site Brigham Young had chosen for his city offered access to natural resources, and was ideally located at the intersection of transportation corridors. The Salt Lake Valley was one of the best-watered of the “Wasatch Oasis,” where numerous year-round streams could be easily diverted for irrigation. Mountain canyons provided access to timber resources, while the valley’s west side provide rich grazing land. The passes crossing the Wasatch Mountains to the east of Salt Lake City involved arduous climbs, but proved more passable for wagons than the narrow canyons of the Weber and Provo Rivers. Salt Lake, moreover, was centrally located along the Wasatch Front, with ready access to arable valleys to the north and south. Beyond these immediate environs, linked valleys and basins formed natural migration corridors into southern Utah. Situated at

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4. Young’s pioneer wagon train followed a rough road constructed by the ill-fated Donner-Reed party in 1846. This road climbed over two mountain passes before descending Emigration Canyon, but bypassed the “Devils Gate” narrows of the Weber River. To simplify this crossing, Mormon apostle Parley Pratt in 1850 built a toll road through Parley’s Canyon. This route—followed by today’s Interstate 80—had by 1860 become the preferred route over the Wasatch. The Union Pacific Railroad, restricted to low grades, instead blasted a route through Weber Canyon to Ogden.
the point where the overland trail emerged from the mountains to intersect the north-south axis of early Mormon settlement, Salt Lake City developed not only as a center of local and regional trade, but as Utah’s connection to the distant eastern states. This advantageous location, coupled with the relative abundance of local resources, made Salt Lake a logical site for both initial pioneer settlement and the development of an expansive city.

Salt Lake’s initial survey (Figure 3.3) contained many of the characteristic morphological elements that would be repeated in Mormon town plans throughout the Mountain West. This Mormon plan mixed Utopian idealism with frontier practicality. The 132-foot wide streets and twenty-foot tree-lined sidewalks—three times as wide as the streets of many towns in the eastern U.S.—gave the city an open, spacious feel, but also allowed teams of oxen to turn without backing. Irrigation ditches lined each street, creating greenery in the desert while providing household water. The large blocks, each subdivided into eight 1.25-acre lots, allowed residents to cultivate gardens and orchards within the city. This openness was further enhanced by the uniquely Mormon scheme of dividing blocks such that no two houses would face one another—an arrangement thought to promote public health. Salt Lake’s open plan, coupled with the overall industry of its Mormon residents, were favorably commented on by Gentile travel writers, even as they disdained Mormon polygamy. As Englishman Phil Robinson noted in 1883, Salt Lake’s “quaint disregard of that ‘fine appearance’ which makes your ‘live’ towns so commonplace; its extravagance in streets condoned by ample shade-trees; its sluices

gurgling along by the side-walks; its astonishing quiet; the simple, neighbourly life of the citizens—all these, and much more combine to invest Salt Lake City with the mystery that is in itself a charm.^{6} Although Robinson’s praise was somewhat more effusive than that of many Gentile sojourners^{7} his framing is revealing. Salt Lake City, and other Mormon settlements patterned after it, stood in contrast to the crowded Eastern cities and the speculative “Hell on Wheels” towns of the western railroads, blending agrarianism and urban living in a unique city plan.

Other elements of the city’s plan went beyond this synthesis of town and country, proclaiming Salt Lake as a distinctly Mormon city. At the center of the city’s street grid, in a location occupied in other American cities by a courthouse or a town square, stood the temple block. All streets in the city were named according to their relation to this sacralized urban space. Immediately bounding Temple Square were North, South, East and West Temple Streets. Further outward, streets were numbered based on their distance from the temple: the first east-west street south of South Temple was First South, followed by Second South, and so on^{8} Although urban lots were allocated by lottery to settlers, the lots immediately facing Temple Square were reserved for Brigham Young and his Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Brigham Young’s allocation, located immediately to the east of Temple Square, effectively functioned as the Mormon headquarters, housing not only Young’s home and office, but also the church’s Bishop’s Storehouse and tithing

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7. See Mitchell, “Gentile Impressions of Salt Lake City.”
8. Street numbering on the north and west sides of Salt Lake City was revised in 1970, in order to match street numbers to addresses. The north-south street immediately west of West Temple, for instance, was known as First West in the pioneer plan, but is today Second West. For consistency with archival maps, this analysis uses the pre-1970 street names.
Fig. 3.3. 1860 Compilation of the four initial pioneer plats of Salt Lake City. (Richard Burton, *The City of the Saints*, pg. 214.)
yard. Elsewhere in the city, “public” blocks were used as campsites for incoming wagon trains and staging areas for those called to new settlements.

To facilitate the sacred and secular administration of Salt Lake, the city was divided into ecclesiastical wards. These wards—each corresponding to a Mormon congregation—formed the basic unit of Mormon social organization. The bishop of each ward not only led religious services, but collected tithing, mediated community disputes, and coordinated the construction and maintenance of irrigation canals and public works. Initially, nineteen such wards were organized. The sizes of these wards varied widely. Wards at the city center comprised nine blocks, while the Nineteenth Ward, in the city’s sparsely settled northwest corner, grew to include over one hundred blocks. With the subsequent platting of the “Avenues” district on Salt Lake’s north bench, two additional wards were organized in 1850 and 1877. Long after civil government had replaced ecclesiastical direction, these twenty-one wards were used by Mormons and Gentiles alike to identify particular Salt Lake neighborhoods. Indeed, the 1880 census divided Salt Lake City in terms of these ecclesiastical wards, allowing the calculation of the statistics seen in Figure 3.2. Moreover, they formed the basis for Salt Lake’s “public” school system, with each ward’s school adjacent to—or within—its Mormon church building.

Most significantly, church leaders initially forbade land speculation in the city of Zion. Each emigrant family was granted a “stewardship” over a city lot and a farm plot, assigned by lottery. Land was neither bought nor sold, but a $1.50 fee covered the costs.

of surveying and recording title. Subdivision of these lots, moreover, was forbidden. As Brigham Young preached,

No man will be suffered to cut up his lot and sell a part to speculate out of his brethren. Each man must keep his lot whole, for the Lord has given it to him without price. . . . Every man should have his land measured off to him for city and farming purposes, what he could till. He might till as he pleased, but he should be industrious and take care of it.  

Thus, in Salt Lake City’s early years, the Mormon capital was essentially a farm village writ large on the Utah landscape. The city’s initial planning and subsequent administration suited the pioneers’ goals of agricultural self-sufficiency, but no provision was made for the development of industry or commerce. Indeed, Mormon leaders initially envisioned a society wholly engaged in farming, with mechanics and artisans assigned five-acre farm plots while farmers worked ten- or twenty-acre allotments. Tradesmen and artisans did any necessary industrial work, but “there were no regular stores or workshops except forges.” Instead, most early manufacturing and retail business was conducted in homes or sheds. As Mormon immigration swelled Utah’s population, church initiatives for economic self-sufficiency brought larger-scale industry to Salt Lake, including the construction of a paper factory, leather works, woolen mill, and sugar factory. Although several of these factories were located on church farms outside the central city, Ricks’ mention of “a large machine and work shop on the Temple Square turning out castings” is a revealing indication of the Mormon plan’s failure to

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anticipate the needs of secondary and tertiary economic sectors. Within a decade of Salt Lake’s initial planning, this arrangement had proved unworkable. Church leaders’ dictates against subdivision and land sale were discarded, and retail moved from the house to the storefront. By 1854, the city of farmers boasted twenty-two shops, clustered around East Temple Street.\(^{16}\) As Salt Lake’s population grew, its plan was modified to support the city’s functional roles as a center of church administration, government, commerce, and industry.

### 3.2.2 Functional Differentiation and Urban Form

Three decades after Salt Lake City’s founding, the Utopian uniformity of the city’s original plan had given way to a functionally differentiated urban structure. Each of the city’s functions was concentrated in particular parts of the city. These districts, moreover, developed distinctive built environments, reshaping the city’s blocks, lots, and buildings to better suit the activities taking place within. An investigation of these functional clusters, and the built environments that both supported and were created by them, provides a geographic framework for understanding the spatial and social presences of Mormons and non-Mormons within Utah’s capital. This analysis draws primarily on two sets of Sanborn fire insurance maps for the city, prepared in 1884 and 1889. The former depicts sixteen blocks, centered around the city’s central business district. In contrast, the 1889 set provides far more comprehensive coverage of the city, including the railyards and warehouse districts emerging on the city’s west side, many residential blocks east of downtown, and insets depicting factories at some distance from the city core. Figure 3.4

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\(^{16}\) Ricks, *Early Mormon Settlement*, 25.
adapted from the index map of the 1889 Sanborn maps, provides a useful comparison with the original plat illustrated above. A close reading of the Sanborn maps for Salt Lake highlights the increasing functional differentiation of the city’s urban plan and built environment, and the Mormon and Gentile spaces that had developed within the city’s core.

Although Salt Lake’s emergence as a commercial center transformed many aspects of the city’s urban morphology, several aspects of the Mormon plan remained unchanged. The wide streets of the pioneer plat provided easy transportation for a bustling downtown, while the Mormon square remained the city’s conceptual center and the reference point for street names and addresses. (The central role of the Temple Block was confirmed by the federal government in 1855, when its southeastern corner was selected as the point of origin for the Salt Lake Base and Meridian of the Public Land Survey System.) The city’s territorial expansion had been minimal. In contrast to many American towns of the period, in which a spate of extensions and additions quickly joined a modest original plat, the expansive Mormon plan for Salt Lake had anticipated decades of growth. Those extensions that did take place were concentrated on the benchlands to the north and east of the city core. These areas, poorly suited to irrigation and agriculture, had been passed by in the initial Mormon plan, but they provided suitable housing for those not engaged in agriculture. It is notable that these areas represented the first departure from the large blocks of the original survey. The “Avenues” district, originally surveyed as Plot D in 1857, featured narrower streets and
Fig. 3.4. Overview map of Salt Lake City in the 1880s, adapted from the index to the 1889 Sanborn fire insurance maps of the city. The marked features will be explored in further detail in the remainder of the chapter.
blocks of only 2.5 acres. By the 1870s, Arsenal Hill, immediately north of the Temple Block, had also been surveyed as a residential area. On this steep hill, however, a grid layout was impossible, and diagonal streets formed terraces on the hillsides. Despite these expansions, the vast majority of Salt Lake’s homes, and nearly all of its factories and businesses, remained within the boundaries of the original city survey.

The structure of lots within the blocks of the original city survey posed problems for increasingly dense use of Salt Lake City’s land. The original 1.25-acre lots were well suited to an open, semi-agricultural city, but they were too large to be used efficiently for individual businesses or compact homesites. These lots offered 165-foot frontages, in contrast to the 50, 30, or 25 foot frontages common in other cities. The alternating orientation of the lots on adjacent city blocks, however, precluded uniform subdivision of these lots. In addition to the 165-foot main frontages, corner lots offered full 330-foot frontages on the side streets, allowing them to be extensively subdivided while preserving street access. Non-corner lots, in contrast, had far more limited access to the street relative to their total area. With no easy street access, the interior portions of these lots developed much more slowly, and were often left vacant. A residential block on the city’s east side (Figure 3.5) provides an exceptionally clear example of this characteristic pattern. All street frontages were subdivided into modest lots for detached homes, but the interior of the block remained unused. In denser areas of the city, however, these block interiors—one quarter of the land area of each block—were not left idle. A handful of large manufacturing concerns, along with the Z.C.M.I. store, were able to make use

Fig. 3.5. Block 47, a residential block on Salt Lake’s East Side, shows the empty lot interiors that often resulted from subdividing the large lots of the Mormon plan. (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Salt Lake City, 1889, sheet 37).
of the full depth of non-corner lots. More frequently, driveways and narrow passages provided access to homes and workshops in the lot interiors. In the central city, these passages at times functioned as *de facto* alleyways, providing access to numerous small, tightly packed buildings. More rarely, landowners explicitly replatted their properties, creating new streets in the interiors of blocks. Such replatting, however, represented a form of real estate investment beyond simple subdivision. As such, it was largely confined to a handful of blocks adjacent to the city’s largest concentration of Gentile business activity.

A first functional cluster in the urban structure of Salt Lake City was centered on the temple site, the conceptual and spiritual heart of Salt Lake City and, indeed, of Utah. Although ground was broken on the temple in 1853 numerous construction delays left the building unfinished through the 1880s. Even so, the 160-foot walls of the incomplete temple towered over the two- and three-story buildings of surrounding blocks, forming a physical reminder of the continuing Mormon influence on Salt Lake City. On the western half of the temple block, the 10,000-seat Tabernacle, and adjacent Assembly Hall provided space for weekly church services and biannual church conferences. On the block’s northwest corner, a nondescript two-story building allowed Mormons to receive sacred ordinances while the temple remained under construction. Immediately to the east of the Temple Block proper, a second block formed the seat of Mormon economic power and administration. This block, formerly Brigham Young’s estate, was dominated by the church tithing yard, where the Bishop’s Storehouse received and distributed the in-kind payments of the faithful. Also on the block were the offices and print shop of the *Deseret News*, the official church newspaper. Finally, the block’s southwest corner
contained the Lion and Beehive Houses, built as the Young’s office and the residence of his polygamous family, but subsequently used for the offices of church administrators.

A short distance to the south of Temple Square and the tithing yard lay Salt Lake’s business district (Figure 3.6). Curiously, the lots along South Temple Street immediately opposite the church center remained mostly open, occupied by a handful of dwellings on spacious lots. Business activity instead formed a new cluster along what had been East Temple Street. This street had been occupied by a concentration of shops as early as the 1850s; by the 1880s, the renamed Main Street boasted three blocks of two and three story commercial buildings, interrupted only occasionally by single story false front structures. Figure 3.7 depicting the west side of Main Street in the center of the three-block business district, illustrates these closely-packed buildings. Business activity spilled over from Main Street to cross streets at First and Second South. These blocks, too, were continuously lined with structures, albeit more modest ones: one and two story elevations prevailed, and occasional dwellings and rowhouses broke the dominance of business.

Within these blocks, the Sanborn maps record a wide variety of business functions, most of which were common to other Western cities. Numerous shops offered groceries, meats, clothing, dry goods, and other commodities, while several of the larger establishments also served the wholesale trade. In addition to this mercantile sector, many firms supported the underlying needs of commerce: the upper floors of retail storefronts housed attorneys’ and surveyors’ offices. Banks and railroad and telegraph offices punctuated the retail blocks. Service industries formed a third component of this retail district, with restaurants, saloons, and hotels serving not only shoppers and local
Fig. 3.6. Looking south from Temple Square, this c. 1876 photograph shows much of Salt Lake’s three-block Main Street business district. The Z.C.M.I. store is out of the frame to the left, but the United Order Tailors (left) mark the Mormon dominance of the district’s north end. (Utah Series, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.)
Fig. 3.7. Continuous retail buildings fill the Main Street side of Salt Lake City’s Block 69, while commercial activity spills over into lower and more sporadic structures along First and Second South Streets. In contrast, the block’s western frontage remains largely residential, while a maze of alleys leads to tenements and workshops in the block’s interior. (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Salt Lake City, 1884, sheet 9.)
businessmen, but commercial travelers. Many of these businesses were concentrated in particular areas of the business district: the northernmost of the three blocks housed many milliners and tailors, while the central block offered a more general array of dry goods and agricultural implements. The southernmost portion of the three-block district contained four of the city’s hotels. The side streets, in contrast, housed less prestigious establishments, including grocers, butchers, livery stables, and saddlemakers.

More intriguing, however, was a separation between Mormon and Gentile businesses. At the northern end of Main Street, closest to the Mormon administrative centers, the three story warehouse of the Z.C.M.I was Salt Lake’s largest commercial building. A block to the south were several of Salt Lake’s most prominent non-Mormon establishments, including Walker Brothers’ general merchandise and bank, Barratt Brothers’ furniture, and the Jewish-owned Auerbach’s and Kahn’s. Smaller businesses further marked this division: the southern two blocks of Main Street contained thirteen saloons, two wholesale liquor dealers, and four cigar stores, while the northernmost of the three blocks contained none of either. Railroad offices were also divided: the office of the Mormon-built Utah Central Railroad stood at the northeast corner of Main Street and First South, while the Union Pacific and Denver and Rio Grande offices faced each other at the corner of Main Street and Second South. Sharing the four-story Wasatch Building (Figure 3.8) with the U.P. office, a collection of federal offices further marked the concentration of non-Mormon activity at the district’s southern end. Salt Lake’s

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19. Mormon doctrines against the use of alcohol and tobacco were originally proclaimed in Joseph Smith’s 1833 “Word of Wisdom” (Doctrine and Covenants 89). It is unclear at what point this doctrine, originally a health advisory, was interpreted as an absolute prohibition. Robinson’s 1883 travelogue notes that only rarely did Mormons openly consume alcohol. Robinson, Sinners and Saints, 188–190.
post office occupied a double storefront in the building’s Main Street frontage, while a single-story annex behind the building housed Utah’s federal courtroom. In contrast to most western towns, these institutions were not located in any dedicated government building, but were sited amid some of the most prominent non-Mormon businesses in Salt Lake.

Fig. 3.8. The four-story Wasatch Building, located at the southeast corner of Main Street and Second South, housed the offices of federal officials and Gentile businessmen and attorneys. (Charles R. Savage Photograph Collection, Brigham Young University Libraries.)

Dense commercial land use quickly petered out away from Main Street. The back sides and interiors of the business district blocks, coupled with the blocks immediately to the east and west, were instead occupied by a complex mix of housing, small stores, and industrial workshops and yards. Religious and cultural institutions, including the Salt
Lake Theatre and Walker Opera House, added further variety. Taken together, these intermingled land uses characterized a “transition zone” extending from the business district to First West and Second East Streets. The interiors of the blocks adjoining Main Street were the most densely packed section of the transition zone. In Figure 3.7 for instance, the Main Street frontages of Walker’s and Auerbach’s hid a maze of tightly packed dwellings and factories accessible only through narrow and ill-defined alleyways. The interior of this block housed several prominent industrial establishments, including Salt Lake’s Electric Light Works and a Z.C.M.I.-owned shoe factory, but far smaller structures made up much of the block’s interior. Although these structures were at most two stories high, the close surroundings and complicated access (Figure 3.9) marked a sharp contrast to both the spacious original plan for Salt Lake and the bustling commercial avenue less than a block to the east.

On the other side of Main Street, the block depicted in Figure 3.10 was even more densely occupied. Instead of the haphazard sprawl of buildings amid informal passages, however, Block 70 had been extensively replatted, with several new streets cut through its interior. The names and dimensions of these streets sharply contrasted Salt Lake’s Mormon plan, suggesting Gentile involvement in the replatting of the block. Commercial Street promised an eastward expansion of the Main Street business district, while Oak and Plum Streets eschewed the distinctively Mormon street numbering system for more commonplace American names. In contrast to the spacious streets of the Mormon plan, these new arteries reflected the realities of private land speculation. Commercial Street was a modest fifty feet wide, but the 23-foot Plum Street was effectively an alley. Lining these close streets, cramped one and two story buildings housed not only tradesmen’s
Fig. 3.9. Figure ground of two of the densest blocks of the transition zone.
Fig. 3.10. East of the Gentile stores of south Main Street, the narrow streets and alleys of Block 70 housed tradesmen’s workshops, brothels, and the homes of Chinese laborers. (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Salt Lake City, 1884, sheet 8.)
workshops and tenement dwellings, but the brothels of one of Salt Lake’s first red-light
districts. These back alleys, also home to much of Salt Lake’s Chinese community,
formed a seedy counterpart to Temple Square and the Gentile businesses of south Main
Street. As the city developed, this slum district expanded to other blocks in the transition
zone, where narrow alleys and streets pierced hidden block interiors. The tenements
and "cribs" of Victoria Lane, one block south of Commercial Street, were a center of
prostitution in the early 1890s, while the residential Franklin Avenue became an early
ghetto for Salt Lake’s African-American and Japanese populations.

The backalley slums near Commercial Street comprised only a small part of the
transition zone. More typical was Block 71, on the opposite side of First East, where one
of Salt Lake’s most religiously diverse neighborhoods lived amid a mixture of industrial,
residential, and institutional land uses (Figure 3.11). The western frontage of Block 71
was dominated by several wagonmakers, which found ample working space in the block’s
interior, but residences filled the more open Second East side of the block. These varied
widely in size and grandeur: most of First East was occupied by modest single-story
homes, but at the block’s northeast corner stood a palatial home capped by a three-
story tower, and set well back on an undivided pioneer lot. (Figure 3.12). This was
the home of Ferarorz Little, a polygamous Mormon merchant and industrialist who
served three terms as Salt Lake City’s mayor. The block also housed civic and religious
structures. At the corner of First East and First South, Salt Lake’s sandstone City

(Champaign-Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 45–47.
Fig. 3.11. Salt Lake's Block 71 was occupied by a diverse mixture of residential, commercial, and industrial land uses. (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Salt Lake City, 1884, sheet 7.)
Fig. 3.12. Feramorz Little’s prominent home stands at the center of this c. 1877 photograph, which looks southeast over much of Salt Lake’s transition zone. Other prominent buildings include the domed city hall at right and the steepled Presbyterian church in the near background. Across the street from the city hall sits St. Mark’s Episcopal School. (C.R. Savage Collection, Brigham Young University Libraries.)
Hall was not only the center of municipal government, but the meeting place of the Mormon-dominated territorial legislature. Behind it stood the city jail, fire hall, and a “city lodging for tramps.” The block’s southern side, in contrast, housed the Mormon meeting house for Salt Lake’s Thirteenth Ward, along with an adjacent “public” ward schoolhouse. The institutions of the transition zone were far from a Mormon preserve, however: just across First South Street stood St. Mary Magdalene’s Catholic Church and the Episcopal St. James’ School.

Although the transitional zone east of Main Street soon gave way to blocks of relatively continuous housing, the west side of Salt Lake City was interrupted by an additional functional cluster. By the late 1880s, a warehouse district had begun to develop around the tracks of the Utah Central and Utah Southern Railroads. These railroad lines, initially run down Third and Fourth West streets, converted several blocks of western Salt Lake into a mass of depots, railyards, and warehouses, and sent numerous spur lines into surrounding blocks. This conversion appears to have taken place largely in the second half of the decade: although the 1889 Sanborn maps record an extensive railroad district, the 1884 maps omit nearly all of the railyards, showing only one block at their eastern edge. This block, however, highlights the emergence of the transportation and industry that placed Salt Lake at the center of Utah’s economic and cultural transformation.

At first glance, it is somewhat odd that the railroads ran their lines and located their stations some three-quarters of a mile from the commercial center of Salt Lake City. Several factors explain this distance. The Wasatch Mountains to the north forced the railways to enter Salt Lake from the northwest, before curving to run south
through the Salt Lake Valley. In much of the West, such situations led to cities laid out perpendicular to diagonal railroads, such as Denver and Reno. Salt Lake, in contrast, had been settled well before the railroad era, forcing the railroad to conform to—or buy out—the established patterns of land division and ownership. The Utah Central and Utah Southern, moreover, were initially constructed under the auspices of the Mormon Church. While mainline western railroads were heavily involved in speculative platting of new towns, the Mormon branch lines instead sought to serve the established towns and cities of Utah. Running railroads down the centers of Third and Fourth West Streets was thus a compromise—by traveling the city’s west side, the diagonal stretch of the railways could be kept north of the city’s densely settled areas, while the street tracks were still relatively close to Salt Lake’s business district. This, however, meant that the railroad district effectively developed separately from the Main Street business district. Not only retailers and offices, but wholesalers and hotels remained downtown, leaving the railroad corridor to be dominated by industrial production and commerce in bulk goods.

The development of the railroad district took place only slowly. Even two decades after the railroad’s arrival in Salt Lake, many of the lots adjacent to the street-running tracks were occupied primarily by separate dwellings on large lots. Near the Utah Central depot at the corner of South Temple and Third West Streets, however, the railroad transformed both the land use and the built environment of the city’s West Side, as seen in Block 79, the one railroad block included in the 1884 Sanborn maps (Figure 3.13). Industrial uses filled the block’s interior: from the railyards to the West, a branch line crossed Third West to supply extensive lumber yards. Two planing mills occupied the
Fig. 3.13. Block 79, west of downtown Salt Lake, is divided between railroad-supplied lumber yards in the block’s center and housing along its north and south sides. Other nearby blocks similarly mixed railyards and warehouses with residential areas. (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Salt Lake City, 1884, sheet 17.)
block’s north side. As on Main Street, the business names recorded on the Sanborn maps hint at the backgrounds of their owners: the Pioneer Planing Mill appealed to Mormon heritage, while the Sierra Nevada Lumber Association instead proclaimed the availability of imported resources. A few smaller enterprises along Third West dealt in other sorts of bulk goods, including hay, salt, hides and wool. The remainder of the block was chiefly residential, but retailing was not entirely absent from Block 79. The Mormon-owned 15th Ward Coop occupied a small building on First South, while the block’s southwest corner sported a feed store and meat market. The northeast corner of the block, meanwhile, housed two saloons, presumably catering to workers and passengers from the Utah Central’s passenger depot, located across the intersection of South Temple and Third West. Despite the proximity of Salt Lake’s transportation gateway, this area would offer remarkably few conveniences to the traveler in coming years. Although the 1889 Sanborn Map of Block 79 shows the Railway Exchange Hotel at corner of Third West and South Temple, it was a far smaller establishment than the three and four story lodgings along Main Street. Moreover, it was the only hotel in the railroad district. The 1889 maps show numerous coal yards, foundries, and machine shops in surrounding blocks, but it is clear that the railroad district did not challenge the accumulations of retailers, offices, and services along Main Street.

These functionally differentiated components of central Salt Lake were a relatively small proportion of the city’s total area. The remainder of the city’s large area, was primarily occupied by residential districts. Little of this area is depicted in the Sanborn maps, but the ward population totals suggest a general decline in residential density toward the city’s periphery. Indeed, Mormon Church Historian Andrew Jenson noted in
an 1886 ecclesiastical almanac that numerous blocks at the city’s northern and southern edges were used primarily as farmland. More frequently, however, peripheral blocks appear to have been less-dense versions of the residential block illustrated in Figure 3.5. Housing dominated the built environment, but the large lots provided considerable space for outbuildings and agriculture. Other land uses, however, were not unknown: each ward had its Mormon Church and district school, and most wards had local cooperative general stores. The city’s periphery also housed several isolated industrial enterprises, including a lumber yard and pottery works south of downtown, tanneries and soap factories north of the city, several breweries along the Wasatch foothills, and flour mills south of Salt Lake. Several of these industries are depicted as insets in the 1889 Sanborn maps, but nearly all are surrounded by cropland or vacant space, with only sporadic dwellings.

The Sanborn fire insurance maps for Salt Lake City illustrate the spatial expression of the multiple roles the city played. This expression chiefly took place through several functional concentrations, in which particular land uses clustered in specific parts of the city (Figure 3.14). At Main Street’s north end, Temple Square and the tithing office block formed a continuing center of church power and influence. Southward along Main Street, however, a bustling business district challenged the centrality—if not the significance—of Salt Lake’s role as Mormon Zion. This business district, however, was hardly uniform, but marked by concentrations of different business types and an overall divide between Mormon and Gentile activity. Behind the southern blocks of Main Street, land speculation and subdivision had created alleys, which housed not only workshops

23. Jenson, The Historical Record, 312, 328. Jenson specifically notes that the southern reaches of the Fourth and Fifth Wards, and the Nineteenth Ward north of Seventh North Street were largely unoccupied.
Fig. 3.14. Functional clusters in Salt Lake City.
and tenements, but also Salt Lake’s Chinatown and red light districts. Further from Main Street, the transition zone blended not only residential, commercial, and industrial land uses, but also the religious, educational, and cultural institutions of Mormons and non-Mormons alike. Finally, although this business district and transition zone occupied a relatively small portion of Salt Lake’s area, the ward-level population distribution shown in Figure 3.2 shows that it disproportionately concentrated the city’s non-Mormon population.

This characterization is useful in several ways. Most fundamentally, it has highlighted the many activities—business, industry, religion, and government—taking place within Utah’s capital, and the spatial organization of those activities in an ever-changing city. In doing so, it has suggested differential spheres of Mormon and non-Mormon presence and activity in Salt Lake. In a few cases—such as the Mormon and non-Mormon churches—the Sanborn maps have clearly recorded the presence of religion in the urban landscape. More generally, however, this analysis complements the more abstract ward-level statistics presented at the beginning of this chapter. In each of Salt Lake’s wards, patterns of land use and economic activity and corresponding presences or absences of non-Mormons suggest the differential activities of each group. Although the fact that non-Mormons tended to live in close proximity to Salt Lake’s business district is not entirely surprising, it is nonetheless a useful confirmation of the oft-suggested linkage between Utah’s non-Mormons and commerce. Drawing on the functional differentiations identified in the built environment of Salt Lake City, the remainder of this chapter will use business directories and the census records to investigate in detail the patterns of religious separation and intermixing suggested by the Sanborn maps.
3.3 Economic Activity in Salt Lake: Parallel Worlds

Although the Sanborn maps record the development of Salt Lake’s built environment in rich detail, they provide a far less complete record of the commercial and residential occupancy within those buildings. The distribution of saloons and prominent businesses suggests a Mormon/non-Mormon divide in Salt Lake’s business district, for instance, but the Sanborn maps do not record the ownership or clientele of individual stores. Similarly, while residential areas surrounded downtown Salt Lake, the religions of their inhabitants is unknown. The remainder of the chapter therefore turns to two new sources to explore and evaluate the commercial, institutional, and residential presences of Mormons and non-Mormons in and around the city center. First, business directories clarify the presence, character, and evolution of parallel Mormon and non-Mormon commercial spheres in Salt Lake City. Subsequently, a microanalysis of the census records for Salt Lake’s Thirteenth Ward—one of the city’s most populous and most diverse regions—probes block-level concentrations of Mormon and non-Mormon residential populations, tracing possible linkages between those clusters and the surrounding city structure.

This analysis will consider two business directories for Salt Lake, each reflecting the needs of a particular audience. First, the 1880-1881 *Pacific Coast Directory* was an omnibus directory for the Western U.S. which included a substantial section on Utah. As the first directory published for Salt Lake following the 1880 census, it provides a useful baseline for the number, diversity, and distribution of Salt Lake’s businesses. More importantly, it illustrates Salt Lake City’s commercial world as seen by business...
interests outside Utah. In contrast, the 1886 *Pocket Directory of the Business Houses of the Latter-Day Saints*\(^{25}\) addressed an explicitly local audience, primarily recording the retail establishments deemed acceptable to the Mormon faithful. Comparing the firms listed in the two directories and their locations not only enables evaluation of the apparent concentrations of Mormons and non-Mormons on Salt Lake’s Main Street, but also probes the overall presences of each group within the city’s business community.

The *Pacific Coast Directory* was published by L. M. McKenney and Company, a San Francisco publishing house. The directory’s coverage, however, extended far beyond that city. In addition to California and the Pacific Northwest, the thousand-page directory extended its coverage inland to Montana, Utah, and Arizona, and even spanned national borders to cover the province of British Columbia. Although the directory’s editors offered only minimal introductory remarks,\(^{26}\) the directory’s initial pages clearly suggested its intended audience. Preceding the title page or contents, fully thirty pages of full-page advertisements touted railway schedules, ferry fares, and the routes of trans-Pacific steamship lines. Although San Francisco figured prominently in these advertised transport connections, the focus was not strictly on that city. Instead, these advertisements highlight the emergence of large-scale economic networks that linked the resources of the American West to outside markets and capital. Further advertisements reveal other nodes in these networks, notably Portland, Sacramento, and Carson City. Surprisingly, the directory proper opened with coverage of Utah Territory, but advertisements for jewelers, druggists, and business colleges in cities

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26. The work’s dedication to “our patrons in particular and the people of the Coast in general” is a noteworthy indication of its regional focus. *Pacific Coast Directory*, 3.
further to the west fill the margins of each page. Although the directory contained a fairly comprehensive listing of Utah settlements and the businesses therein, this directory was therefore only incidentally intended for local reference use. Instead, it sought to provide a unified listing of businesses throughout the West, connecting small-town retailers to distant wholesalers and metropolitan entrepreneurs to hinterland firms.

The *Pacific Coast Directory* catalogued Utah’s businesses in the context of regional, transcontinental, and—to some degree—global commerce. Such a perspective did not imply anti-Mormon bias. Indeed, the paragraphs introducing the listings for Salt Lake City are broadly complimentary to the city’s Mormon settlement: “Of course, that peculiar class of persons known as Mormons predominate, and it is but due to them to state that the city’s beauty and growth is traceable only to their presence.”

Throughout its Utah section, the directory offers business listings for 156 towns—many with majority Mormon populations. Furthermore, the listings for Salt Lake include many of the city’s prominent Mormon-owned businesses, including the Z.C.M.I. Store, the Thirteenth Ward Cooperative, and the United Order Merchant Tailors.

The 586 entries for the Salt Lake City section of the *Pacific Coast Directory* offer only limited spatial resolution. Unlike any other settlement in the directory’s Utah listings, entries for Salt Lake included street addresses. Full addresses, however, were provided for only two streets: Main Street and First South. Further from the center of the business district, entries listed streets, but no building numbers. Moreover, it appears that in 1880, the system of street numbering in Salt Lake City was still in its infancy. Although the numbers along Main Street are recognizable, it is unclear

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whether First South addresses denote points east or west of Main. (In contrast, the 1884 Sanborn maps, as well as contemporary city directories, give addresses nearly identical to those used today.) Nonetheless, it is possible and useful to sort the entries at the street level, and at the block level in the case of Main Street. Even at this limited resolution, comparison of the businesses listed for each street or block traces the spatial differentiation of Salt Lake’s business district in greater detail than the Sanborn maps allowed.

A cartogram tracing this block and street level distribution of business listings (Figure 3.15) provides further evidence for the business district identified previously. The vast majority of businesses were listed along Main Street, First South, and Second South—only 14% of the entries were not along these three streets. Although the distribution of businesses along the full length of First and Second South Streets is unknown, it is reasonable to assume that businesses were most heavily concentrated within one block of Main Street. Businesses were likewise more concentrated along Main Street than on the side streets: 201 businesses were listed along the street’s three blocks, in contrast to 106 entries on First South and 81 on Second South. The density of listings varied across the three blocks of Main Street—the central of the three blocks was by far the densest, while the southernmost was more sparsely occupied. The lack of density at the district’s south end is particularly noteworthy, since the Sanborn maps published four years later showed numerous commercial buildings along that block. If these two data sources are accurate, this suggests that Salt Lake’s business district expanded rapidly to the south in the early 1880s. Not all businesses, however, were confined to the immediate surroundings of Main Street. Nearly thirty businesses lined
Fig. 3.15. The nine business streets of downtown Salt Lake City, 1880, as recorded in the *Pacific Coast Directory*. Line width is proportional to the number of listings on a one-block length of each street.
the one-block length of Commercial Street, while smaller numbers were recorded for First East, West Temple and South Temple. Seven listings on Second West were likely the beginnings of Salt Lake City’s railroad district. Nonetheless, the spatial extent of the dominant central business district was clear.

Within the central business district, the Pacific Coast Directory allows a close exploration of building occupancy. To a certain extent, this occupancy follows the same basic pattern noted in the Sanborn maps: Main Street was predominantly occupied by department stores and hotels, while First and Second South housed grocers, meat markets, and clothing stores, as well as a concentration of harness and saddle makers along Second South. Curiously, the saloons that previously suggested non-Mormon presence are only occasionally listed in the directory, presumably because they saw little need to advertise. More significantly, the directory listings allow an exploration of the office and commercial worlds that filled the upper stories of the district’s buildings. Here the disparity between the north and south ends of Main Street is even more pronounced: attorneys, agents, brokers, and banks concentrated at the street’s southern end, but were far fewer closer to Temple Square. Indeed, the central and southern blocks of Main housed ten and fifteen attorneys, respectively, while Second South housed nine. In contrast, only one lawyer was listed on the northernmost block of Main Street. Financial institutions showed a similar, if less pronounced pattern: although the northern end of the business district housed two banks (including the Mormon-owned Zion’s Bank), the block immediately south boasted six. In contrast, the northern block of Main Street had five listed physicians, and several druggists—more than any other block downtown. Moreover, the offices of several Mormon firms were listed on that block, including the
Salt Lake Herald and Salt Lake Times newspapers and agents representing the Utah Woolen Mills in Provo.

In addition to the pronounced concentration of attorneys and banks at the southern end of Salt Lake’s business district, the directory listings indicate a cluster of mining-related enterprises in the same area. Numerous assayers, mine surveyors, and engineers were listed along the central block of Main Street. Additional offices housed the main offices of mining companies, including the Ontario Silver Mining Company on First South, the Bamberger Mining Company on the central block of Main Street, and the Imperial, Flagstaff, and Utah Consolidated on Second South. Although these companies operated mines in Alta, Park City, Tintic, and other Utah mining districts, they maintained their head offices in Salt Lake City. Although one mining office and one assayer were established in the northernmost block of Main Street, it is clear that the center of the Gentile-dominated mining trade—and the multiplier economies that it produced—was concentrated further south.

Two additional concentrations are worth briefly mentioning. The business directory listings confirm the federal presence in the Wasatch Building, listing judges, court clerks, a U.S. Marshal, and the territorial Surveyor General, but also the offices of six attorneys. Additional tenants in the three-story building included a print shop and publisher, a stationery store, and a “conservatory of music.” The Wasatch Block served as a key nodal point in the south end of the business district, linking the power structures of a distant federal government to the Gentile sectors of Salt Lake’s commerce. Additionally, although Commercial Street had markedly fewer businesses listed than the commercial blocks to the east, the Pacific Coast Directory entries suggest greater
respectability than the seedy red-light district characterized by Nichols. Instead, the listed businesses are primarily those of cutlers, tailors, boot-makers, and other tradesmen. Photographers and restaurants further marked the street as a respectable commercial area. In contrast to the patterns suggested by the Sanborn maps, none of the Chinese businesses listed in the directory were in Commercial Street or Plum Alley. Instead, they were located on Main Street and First South. Here, again, is evidence of Salt Lake City’s rapid change during the 1880s—only four years later, Plum Alley would be the center of Salt Lake’s Chinatown, and by the next decade, Commercial Street would be a slum.

Altogether, this analysis has highlighted the concentration of financial, legal and mining businesses in the south end of Salt Lake’s business district, further confirming the apparent religious divide in the community. One troubling doubt remains, however. Since the Pacific Coast Directory was primarily directed at a Gentile audience, it would not be unreasonable for it to disproportionately emphasize the Gentile businesses of Salt Lake. This appears not to have been the case. An analysis and mapping (Figure 3.16) of the thirty-one businesses that purchased multi-line advertisements in the directory indicates that fifteen were Mormon-owned, while ten were owned by Gentiles or apostates. Some of Salt Lake’s Mormon merchants, clearly, had enough contact with outsiders to see such advertisements as worthwhile investments. The spatial and religious distribution of these firms, however, confirms the overall separation of Mormon and Gentile commerce. Along the southern blocks of Main Street were numerous bankers, assayers, and mining engineers, along with more general retailers. All were non-Mormon. In contrast, the remainder of the advertisers were far less centered in the mining industry, and included
Fig. 3.16. The thirty-one businesses that purchased multi-line advertisements in the *Pacific Coast Directory.*
several prominent Mormon firms. The Gentile dominance of Salt Lake's mining and financial sectors, therefore, appears to have been not a fluke of selective recording, but a solid presence in the city's commercial life.

Analysis of Salt Lake City's economic life is strengthened by consideration of a second directory. The *Pocket Directory of the Business Houses of the Latter-Day Saints*, published by Mormon music teacher H. J. Hill in 1886, urged "the working bees in the hive of Deseret" to follow "the counsels of the leaders of the Church . . . in regard to sustaining their friends in business relations." Pledging that "great care has also been taken to obtain and publish only such names as could be recommended for such a purpose,"28 the eighty-page pamphlet recorded 171 Mormon-owned businesses, ranging from the Z.C.M.I. warehouse to ward cooperatives to Main Street fruit stands. In contrast to the *Pacific Coast Directory*, Hill's home-grown compilation was not intended as a reference for outside investment and trade. Instead, its advertisements targeted Mormon consumers who lived in Salt Lake City. By investigating the range and spatial distribution of these businesses, the presence of a Mormon commercial sector can be traced, revealing not only concentrations of Mormon business activity along northern Main Street, but smaller locally oriented retailers throughout the city.

In compiling and publishing his directory, Hill drew on a long tradition of Mormon calls for economic self-sufficiency. Following the completion of the transcontinental railroad, Mormon leaders feared the loss of their autonomy to Gentile merchants. In response, they decreed a boycott of Gentile merchants that would remain in force until 1884. Mormons were directed to instead patronize the Z.C.M.I. and local ward

cooperatives. Profits from these Mormon enterprises would be further invested in the development of Mormon industry in Utah. \[29\] Within Salt Lake City proper, these initiatives took distinctive forms. Although most Salt Lake Mormons were reluctant to embrace the “United Order of Enoch”—an 1874 call for complete economic communitarianism under church direction which was widely heeded in Southern Utah—cooperatives in Salt Lake City were organized on both geographical and trade-based frameworks.\[30\] Arrington notes that many of these cooperatives had faltered well before the church again officially sanctioned private retail enterprise in 1882,\[31\] yet it is notable that many of the firms listed in Hill’s directory evoke this cooperative spirit. Ward stores, generally selling groceries, general merchandise, or meats, are listed for ten of the city’s twenty-one wards. Only four of these listings, however, suggest that their firms remained cooperatively organized in 1886. Additional industrial cooperatives advertised in the directory included the United Order Merchant Tailors and the Co-op Furniture Company. Still other firms touted their direct connections to Mormon leaders, including Zion’s Bank (headed by Mormon church president John Taylor) and the wagon depot of Mormon apostle Heber J. Grant.

In keeping with its consumer audience, Hill’s pamphlet centered on firms serving the day-to-day needs of Salt Lake’s Mormon populstion. Most prominent in the directory were retail shops. One quarter of its listings were grocers and meat markets, while 17% sold hardware and general merchandise. A further 12% were were tailors, milliners, and

\[29\] Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 297–298.
\[31\] Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 313–314.
dealers in fabrics and sewing notions. Other entries advertised construction contractors, doctors, and blacksmiths. No fewer than ten music teachers and instrument sellers were listed—a concentration owing much, no doubt, to Hill’s own business connections. Although the listed businesses were generally removed from the large-scale networks of trade and investment noted earlier, a few entries suggest that the Mormon commercial realm was not restricted to retail and services. The directory lists four attorneys, a bank, a surveyor, and a printer. All of these seven offices were located on the northern block of the Main Street business district, at some distance from their Gentile counterparts.

Complementing the Mormon directory’s focus on consumer-level retail establishments, the businesses it listed were widely distributed through Salt Lake City. Although the firms along Main Street included physicians, dry goods stores, watchmakers, and furniture dealers in addition to the offices noted above, downtown businesses constituted only 56 of the 171 total entries. Another 50 were in the transition zone, but fully 65 of the listed businesses lay outside the city center. These were, in general, fairly evenly distributed to the northwest, south, and east of downtown, as well as in the Avenues district on the city’s north bench. Fairly few businesses, however, were listed in the city’s southwest corner—an absence corresponding to the lower population and more agrarian character of the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Wards. Some types of businesses were more prevalent in the urban periphery, while others were confined to the central business district. The majority of the listed grocers and dry goods merchants were outside the city center, while dealers in general merchandise were evenly divided between Main Street and the remainder of the city. Tailors, dressmakers, and milliners, in contrast, were far more centered in the downtown area. Other types of businesses clustered in specific
locations: all but one of the listed harness shops was located on Second South east of Main Street. Curiously, sixteen years after railroads first reached Salt Lake, little clustering around the railroad depots was evident. Although the directory lists a lumber yard and boilermaker’s shop along South Temple, the fifteen other listed industrial shops and commodity dealers were located away from railroad lines. These included a grist mill immediately north of the temple block, a brickyard on the bench above the Avenues, and lime kilns and tanneries north of the city limits. This spatial distribution of businesses—a sharp contrast to the concentrated business district so evident in the Sanborn maps and Pacific Coast Directory—is a reminder that not only the majority of Salt Lake’s population and spatial area but also much of its commercial activity was Mormon-dominated.

Many Mormon businesses did operate within the Main Street business district. A map of these businesses (Figure 3.17) confirms the north/south division between Mormon and Gentile businesses in Salt Lake. Businesses advertised in Hill’s directory lined the northernmost block of Main Street, and were fairly dense along First South. The central block, however, was a study in contrasts. Although its west side housed numerous Mormon businesses, no establishments on the east side had Mormon credentials. This pattern of concentration and absence, it should be noted, was exactly the opposite of the distribution of Gentile firms noted in Figure 3.16. Further south, the Mormon commercial presence was even more attenuated. Nonetheless, a woodworker and a photographer added a Mormon presence to the southernmost Main Street block, as did a Mormon tailor in the Wasatch Building itself. Similar outliers in Commercial Street, along with
Mormon-Owned Businesses in Central Salt Lake City
Recorded in the 1886 Directory of the Business-Houses of the Latter-Day Saints

Fig. 3.17. Mormon-owned businesses in central Salt Lake City.
one along Franklin Avenue, suggest that although Salt Lake City’s Mormon and Gentile business worlds were divided, this division was not absolute.

By the late 1880s, the politically motivated separation of Mormon and Gentile businesses had begun to decline as the pursuit of profit transcended community boundaries. Arrington notes that the early 1880s saw a boom in retail store construction in response to the Mormon abandonment of cooperative mandates and the boycott of Gentile merchants. Despite the continuing spatial differentiation of the city’s Mormon and non-Mormon business worlds, at least three of the Mormon-owned firms advertised in Hill’s pamphlet had also purchased advertisements in the *Pacific Coast Directory*. These included Dinwoodey’s Furniture, a boilermaker shop a block from the railroad depot, a music store, and the enterprises of Elias Morris, a Mormon stonemason and miller. Further commercial interaction would follow: in 1887, many of the city’s most prominent merchants united to found the Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce. Among these founders were Mormons, Gentiles and apostates, including Mormon apostle Heber J. Grant and Patrick H. Lannan, the publisher of the anti-Mormon *Salt Lake Tribune*. One of the first explicitly non-sectarian organizations in Salt Lake’s civic and commercial life, the Chamber would work in coming decades to promote trade and investment in the city. As such, it marked an important milestone in the economic transformation of Utah Territory, ensuring the continuing commercial dominance of Salt Lake while fundamentally reframing the nature of that commerce.

The very publication of Hill’s *Directory of the Business Houses of the Latter-Day Saints*, however, indicates that religious affiliation remained a powerful force in Salt Lake’s commercial life through the 1880s. The Mormon church-owned *Deseret News* in 1886 praised H.J. Hill’s “commendable enterprise of compiling for publication a pocket memorandum of business houses of Latter-day Saints—such as are worthy of the people’s patronage.”34 The next year, however, Hill’s advertised plans to produce a complete territorial directory, with advertising “extended to tithing payers only,” were never realized—apparently due to lack of demand. Although, as Meinig noted, Mormon and non-Mormon clusters could be distinguished in Salt Lake’s business district as late as the 1930s,35 the founding of the Chamber of Commerce marked the beginnings of a church-sanctioned detente between the two commercial communities.

### 3.4 Granular Integration: Mormon and Gentile Households in Salt Lake’s Thirteenth Ward

Analysis of Salt Lake’s urban morphology and the distributions of its Mormon and non-Mormon businesses highlighted the concentration of business activity along Main Street in a district divided between Mormons and Gentiles. Although this divide faded on the sidestreets adjacent to Main Street, the Mormon Z.C.M.I. store and the Wasatch Building defined two spatially and religiously opposed poles for downtown Salt Lake City. The Sanborn maps for the transition zone, however, suggest that not only land use but occupancy were more intermixed at some distance from the Main Street corridor. This

mixing was particularly evident in the assortment of Mormon and non-Mormon churches, schools, and cultural institutions to the east of Main Street. (It should be noted, however, that this area was not entirely one of integration: Salt Lake’s Chinese population became increasingly confined to Commercial Street and Plum Alley.) In contrast, Salt Lake’s peripheral areas were largely residential, though analysis of Hill’s directory showed that these areas also contained occasional small Mormon-owned shops. Revisiting the overall distribution of Mormons and non-Mormons in Salt Lake City (Figure 3.2), the city’s Gentile population was most heavily concentrated in six central wards, which included all of the business district and transition zone. In contrast, the more peripheral wards had large Mormon majorities to match their Mormon shops. Although these statistics correspond to individuals’ residences rather than their workplaces, the parts of the city where Gentiles most frequently dwelt were in close proximity to the business district. Several questions arise: to what extent were the non-Mormons living in central Salt Lake connected with the business communities identified? Were the residential areas religiously divided, as the business district was? To answer those questions, discussion now turns to a microanalysis of the census schedules for the Thirteenth Ward of Salt Lake City. By reconstructing the route of the census enumerator, the texture of Mormon and non-Mormon residential occupancy is noted through an initial block-level analysis that highlights the overall patterns of population density and religious distribution within the ward. Subsequently, a closer reading of the census schedules will situate individual households within the broader economic and social frameworks previously explored at the city-wide scale.
Several factors make the Thirteenth Ward suitable for detailed investigation. Although it was not the most Gentile ward recorded in the 1880 census of Salt Lake, its 1,850 residents made it the most populous ward in the city. That population, was housed within only nine blocks, making it Salt Lake’s most densely populated ward. The ward’s population—53.8% Mormon, 30.5% Gentile, 11.8% apostate Mormon, and 3.2% Chinese—was extremely diverse, not only within the context of Salt Lake City, but among all the precincts of Utah. Although the neighboring Fourteenth Ward had a slightly larger Gentile population, the Thirteenth had a slightly larger population of apostates and over twice as many Chinese. In addition, the Thirteenth Ward provides an ideal transect of the functional differentiations outlined above. Bounded by Main Street, Third South, Third East, and South Temple, its nine blocks include both Mormon and Gentile-dominated stretches of the business district, the transition zone areas examined in Figures 3.11 and 3.12 as well as a more heavily residential area in its three eastern blocks. Finally, the ward played a central role in the cultural life of the city. In addition to its Mormon meeting house and school, it housed the Mormon Social Hall and Theater, as well as Catholic, Methodist, and Episcopal Churches.

This cultural diversity has drawn deserved attention in the historical literature, most notably in Ronald Walker’s microanalysis of Mormon organization and activity within the ward. Noting the ward’s large Mormon population and proximity to the church headquarters, along with its “early and close experiences with non-Mormons,” Walker described the Thirteenth as “nineteenth century Mormonism on the cutting
Faced with declining attendance, the Thirteenth Ward was one of the first Mormon congregations to organize a Sunday school, a Young Men’s Mutual Improvement Association, and a children’s “Primary” organization—a series of organizations that subsequently became ubiquitous in Mormon culture. As Walker concludes, these were direct responses to the increasing settlement of non-Mormons within the ward—not only did they attempt to ensure Mormon identity and cohesion outside an exclusively Mormon social milieu but, by embracing Victorian ideals, they attempted to redefine Mormonism in terms acceptable to outsiders. Beyond its morphological or demographic significance, therefore, the Thirteenth Ward was a Mormon cultural bellwether, forging the new Mormon views on gender, society, economic organization, and national identity that Yorgason traced. As such, an analysis of the spatial, economic, and social presences of Mormons and non-Mormons within it will provide a platform for exploring the spatial dynamics of those transformations.

Deriving meaningful spatial understanding from a small-scale analysis of the census schedules posed several challenges. The greatest difficulty lay in correlating each household with an approximate geographic location. Although Salt Lake was the most complex enumeration undertaken in the 1880 census for Utah, the enumerators described their subjects’ locations only roughly. William McCurdy, the Gentile court bailiff assigned to the enumeration of the Thirteenth Ward, noted which street each page corresponded to, but did not include precise addresses or cross streets. It was therefore necessary to identify the addresses of individual households using archival city

37. ibid., 153–156.
directories. Although many individuals recorded in the census were unlisted, it was generally possible to match the address of at least one household on each page with the street indicated for its census entry. These identified points traced a rough sequence of McCurdy’s route as he enumerated each household over the course of ten days. Although McCurdy appears to have attempted to enumerate one block per day, his progress was quite variable—he was able to complete some blocks early and move on, while other blocks required more than one full day to record. Because of this, it is impossible to precisely identify the points at which the enumeration turned street corners or moved from one block to the next.

Nonetheless, the addresses identified provide enough indication of the pages corresponding to each block to allow estimation and mapping of the populations of each block in the Thirteenth Ward, together with their religious compositions (Figure 3.18). In general, a clear trend prevailed in the distribution of population in the ward. The three eastern blocks, although primarily occupied by homes, were the ward’s least populous. In contrast, the middle tier of blocks—corresponding to the transition zone—were densely occupied, with each having at least 200 inhabitants. This density continued into two of the three blocks adjoining Main Street, suggesting that much of the business district contained residences as well as storefronts and offices. The State Street frontages of

38. Although business directories for Salt Lake were published frequently, the first available residential directory of the city was published in 1884, as part of Robert W. Sloan, Utah Gazetteer and Directory of Logan, Ogden, Provo, and Salt Lake Cities for 1884 (Salt Lake City: Sloan / Dunbar, 1884). This directory was the primary resource used in identifying individuals’ residential addresses.

39. In addition to the lack of clear delineation of streets and blocks within the manuscript schedules, McCurdy’s enumeration was likely not the purely linear process that the manuscript schedules appear to record. Instead, the enumerator almost certainly retraced his steps on numerous occasions to identify back-lot dwellings and revisit homes whose inhabitants had not been at home. While this uncertainty precludes the precise mapping of most of the Thirteenth Ward’s residents (i.e., those whose addresses could not be identified in the city directories), it does not seriously impair the following analyses.
Fig. 3.18. Religious composition of the nine blocks of Salt Lake’s Thirteenth Ward.
these blocks contained numerous small homes on subdivided lots, as well as occasional rowhouses and tenements. It appears, however, that many of the commercial buildings along First and Second South, as well as the mid-block streets, contained apartments, rather than offices, in their upper stories. It is worth noting one significant exception to the overall trend of denser populations toward the west side of the Thirteenth Ward. Block 75, at the ward’s northwest corner, was located immediately adjacent to Main Street, but it only had an estimated 100 residents. Some of this paucity is likely the result of error in reconstructing the enumerator’s route, but it also reflects the lack of subdivision of the northernmost block of the business district. Indeed, the north side of the block, immediately south of the Bishop’s Storehouse, contained only three dwellings. The commercial buildings along First South were generally only one story tall, leaving little room for housing. Moreover, in contrast to the blocks to the south, the interior of block 75 remained fairly inaccessible, occupied chiefly by the warehouses and outbuildings of the Z.C.M.I. and a large stonecutter’s yard. This exception, however, only underscores a key theme of the previous analysis of Salt Lake’s urban morphology. As the city shed the restraints of its initial plan, lot subdivision and access to block interiors permitted dense commercial and residential occupancy. This subdivision was extensive in the Gentile-dominated blocks of Main Street, but was minimal in the most Mormon part of the business district.

Although the population totals for each block are useful rough estimates, the proportional distributions of religion for each block are less likely to be distorted by errors in reconstructing the enumerator’s path. In contrast to the population counts, there was little overall trend in the distribution of religion; the breakdowns of affiliation
for most blocks roughly paralleled that of the ward as a whole. Seven of the nine blocks had Mormon majorities between fifty and sixty-five percent. Mormons comprised less than half of the population of only two blocks along Main Street. These blocks, however, were notable not so much for their Gentile populations as for their high concentrations of Chinese—the one group of the four that exhibited distinct segregation. The block containing Commercial Street and Plum Alley was 18% Chinese, and was correspondingly only 34% Mormon—the ward’s lowest such percentage. Adjacent blocks to the north and south had smaller, but still significant Chinese populations of 6%. In only one instance, however, were Chinese to be found east of First East. In contrast, Gentile populations were almost as prevalent in the ward’s eastern reaches as they were along Main Street. Only the central and northwest of the nine blocks contained Gentile populations of under thirty percent. Similarly, apostates comprised roughly 10–15% of the population in most blocks. Thus, apart from the distortion induced by the segregated Chinese population, the overall pattern of religious distribution did not vary widely across the breadth of the Thirteenth Ward. Although some variation was present, there was nothing of the extensive Mormon/Gentile separation prevalent among Salt Lake’s businesses.

These proportional distributions, however, offer only a partial sense of the overall pattern of Mormon/non-Mormon segregation or integration within a given block. To analyze the residential texture of the Thirteenth Ward, a finer scale analysis is needed, examining the census schedules line by line and household by household. From a close reading of demographic detail, coupled with some abstraction, it is possible to identify several distinct residential textures across the ward’s blocks, tracing not only the extent to which Mormons and non-Mormons were intermixed, but noting the general character
of occupations, ethnicities, and family structures within each block. Several distinct Mormon and non-Mormon clusters were located primarily on the ward’s west side. More generally, however, a trend of integration prevailed throughout much of the ward. This integration, however, had its limits. Although Mormons and non-Mormons were frequently neighbors, boarding houses and other buildings containing multiple households were almost always single-religion.

The three eastern blocks of the Thirteenth Ward were chiefly residential and occupied by both Mormons and Gentiles. A closer examination of the census schedules, however, reveals a remarkably diverse array of individuals within these blocks. These blocks housed many of the city’s prominent residents, including bankers, merchants, physicians, mining company officials, and other professionals. These included both Mormons and Gentiles; however, certain facets of this professional class tended disproportionately to one group or the other. Among the Mormons in these blocks were three physicians, a banker, and the superintendents of the Z.C.M.I. and Utah Central Railroads. Although the area’s Gentile households included three doctors, two lawyers, and a judge, they were disproportionately involved in mining: in addition to ten miners an assayer and a ”wire worker” are listed. Mining, however, was not exclusively a Gentile pursuit: three apostate and three Mormon households were listed as headed by miners.

The majority of these blocks’ breadwinners, however, pursued less prestigious occupations. Clerks and merchants were well represented among both Mormons and non-Mormons, and were generally intermixed with the professionals. The area also

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40. The census records of individuals’ occupations are frustratingly free-form, primarily noting the industry or trade each individual pursued. Nonetheless, many of these miners were listed as “mining operators,” suggesting that they were managers and investors, rather than mine laborers.
housed a wide range of tradesmen, including four shoemakers as well as blacksmiths, carpenters, plasterers, and soap makers. These were primarily Mormon, although a Gentile carpet maker was also listed. Finally, despite the apparent prestige of this area, a handful of its inhabitants made their livings as laborers, servants, and laundresses. Once again, the holders of these jobs were primarily Mormon, and often were unmarried or widowed women. Thus, although the eastern third of the Thirteenth Ward was primarily residential, it nonetheless was occupied by a religiously and economically diverse population. Moreover, even though it is not possible to precisely map the most intricate patterns of occupancy within these three blocks, it is evident that not only Mormons and Gentiles, but individuals from multiple social classes were intermixed within this district.

Immediately to the west, a far different pattern dominated the population. Although professionals and prominent businessmen were not altogether absent from the central file of blocks in the Thirteenth Ward, they were greatly outnumbered by tradesmen and retailers. Mormons again comprised the majority of these occupations, ranging from railroad agents and Z.C.M.I. clerks to carpenters, plasterers, and other building trades. Reflecting the livery stables and wagon yards noted in the morphological analysis, this stretch of the ward included seven blacksmiths—five of whom were Mormon—as well as a harness maker and a foundryman. These blocks additionally concentrated many of Salt Lake’s working Mormon women, including six dressmakers, a silk weaver and a milliner. Twenty miners inhabited these blocks, but these were again primarily Gentile: eleven of the twenty were Gentiles, in contrast to four Mormons and five apostates. The census, however, gives little indication that these were mine owners or managers.
Instead, it appears that these individuals maintained households within Salt Lake while working seasonally in mountain mining camps. Other Gentile-dominated trades included not only draftsmen and butchers, but four lawyers, a banker, a clergyman, and the editor of the *Salt Lake Tribune*.

The three central blocks of the ward were also marked by greater religious and occupational clustering. Both Mormon and Gentile white-collar workers were primarily concentrated in block 74, the northernmost of the three blocks, leaving the southern pair largely to tradesmen and laborers. In addition, the central range of blocks exhibited a considerably more divided population than did the blocks to the east. In covering the central blocks, McCurdy encountered stretches of five or more consecutive Mormon households on five occasions, while only once encountering a similar stretch of Gentiles. These clusters, moreover, highlighted a more general pattern in the distribution of religion in the ward’s central blocks. Block 71, in the ward’s immediate center, contained no less than three Mormon clusters, entrenching its status as the ward’s most Mormon block. A block to the south, a north-south division prevailed. Second South, along with the north end of Commercial Street, was heavily Mormon, while the southeast corner of Block 56 housed the area’s lone concentration of Gentiles. In contrast, Mormons and non-Mormons were relatively intermixed in the northernmost of the three blocks.

The most pervasive separation, however, was found in the southwestern corner of the ward. Even though nearly half of the residents of Block 57 were Mormon, they were almost entirely concentrated along First East, on the block’s east side, with only occasional Gentile households interrupting the Mormon dominance. In contrast, the remaining sides of the block were almost completely occupied by Gentiles and
apostates. Of the thirty-eight households recorded along Main, Second, and Third South Streets, only six were Mormon. Throughout the block, the range of occupations was markedly similar to the mixture of retailers, tradesmen, and occasional businessmen seen immediately to the east. Within this overall pattern, however, several more distinctive features are worthy of note. Although the western range of blocks in the thirteenth ward were morphologically characterized as commercial areas, the census schedules recorded sizable populations of tradesmen and small retailers even along Main Street. By and large, these reflected many of the same business sectors recorded in the Sanborn maps and city directories, indicating that many of these individuals lived in back rooms or upper stories of their stores and workshops. A similar, if less pervasive pattern can be seen in a collection of Gentile professionals at the northeast corner of the block. Within a single building lived a federal judge, court clerk, and U.S. Marshal, along with several mining engineers and bookkeepers, as well as their families. This concentration of Gentiles undoubtedly owed its existence to its proximity to the offices in the Wasatch Building. Even so, it formed a prominent counterpoint to the mixed Mormon and Gentile residential areas at the eastern edge of the Thirteenth Ward. In contrast, although Block 70—containing Commercial Street and Plum Alley—was similarly occupied by retailers and tradesmen, it was far more religiously integrated than its neighbor to the south. Mormon households were in a distinct minority, but were found fairly regularly both along the block’s outer frontages and in its interior. Even in Commercial Street, the census schedules listed a handful of Mormon tailors, grocers, and shoemakers, interspersed with Gentiles.
Other census listings, however, suggest that this section of the city was indeed home to more marginalized populations. Throughout the west side of the Thirteenth Ward, the schedules listed small clusters of Chinese, employed as laundrymen, cigar rollers, and occasionally merchants. These clusters, notably, were almost entirely made up of unmarried men—a legacy of the Chinese population’s history as contracted railroad workers that would be further solidified by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Thus, although the lodgings of the Chinese were enumerated as households in the census, the term denoted a vastly different living arrangement than it did for most of Salt Lake’s inhabitants. Furthermore, much of the ward’s Chinese community was not enumerated in the course of McCurdy’s overall street-by-street progression, but instead was reserved until the final pages of his schedules. Although this further suggests the development of a segregated Chinatown district—potentially in the back alleys off Commercial Street—the census schedules unfortunately give only the most general indication of the residential geography of this community. These final pages, however, were not exclusively reserved for Chinese, but appear to have been a catch-all for dwellings McCurdy missed and houses in block interiors. Thus, interspersed with the Chinese quarters were Gentile cooks and laborers, a Mormon railroad worker, and even a deputy U.S. Marshal. One record, however, deserves special attention: Kate Flint, although listed as occupied in “housekeeping and boarding” was in truth one of Salt Lake’s most well-established brothel madams. Two female boarders living with her were almost certainly prostitutes. Not surprisingly, all three were Gentiles. As Nichols notes, this euphemistic enumeration was commonly employed in censuses of the late nineteenth century—a practice that confounds current researchers, since similar areas housed numerous legitimate boarding
houses[^1] Even though the extent of prostitution activity in the remainder of the Commercial Street area is unclear, both Flint’s house and the concentration of Chinese laborers highlight the gradual emergence of Salt Lake’s earliest slum amid the Gentiles—and Mormons—of Commercial Street.

Thus far, this analysis has focused on the most prominent clusters of Mormons and non-Mormons within the residential fabric of the Thirteenth Ward. Identifiable concentrations were frequently located close to the concentrations of Mormon and non-Mormon business activity revealed by previous investigations. Those linkages yield useful insights into the spaces in which Salt Lake’s Mormons and non-Mormons interacted, but they somewhat overshadow an important conclusion from the residential analysis. Although some clustering was evident, the overall trend in the Thirteenth Ward was one of Mormon/non-Mormon mixing. Not only were Mormons and Gentiles mixed in roughly the same proportions in the majority of the ward’s blocks, but Mormons and non-Mormons lived alongside one another at much smaller scales. Even in the areas identified as disproportionately Mormon or Gentile, some presence of the opposing religion could be seen. Not one page of the census schedules—nor any block of the ward—was exclusively occupied by one of the two groups. Only among the Chinese was there evidence of restriction to a particular quarter of the city, and even that had not fully solidified in the 1880s.

[^1]: Nichols, *Prostitution, Polygamy, and Power*, 189. One notable exception to this rule is found in the neighboring Fourteenth Ward, where one page explicitly listed sixteen prostitutes. Although the correspondence between pages and geographic locations for that ward has not been established, it appears that these women were located in the interior of the block immediately across Main Street from that which contained Commercial Street.
This shared space, however, had its limits. Although Mormons and Gentiles were neighbors, rarely did the two groups mix under a single roof. Within the ward, the census schedules listed some 41 instances where two or more households shared one building. Of these, only seven cases mixed Mormons and Gentiles, although apostates shared lodgings with both groups. When Mormons and Gentiles did mix, moreover, they did so in small groups, frequently involving only two households. In contrast, all five of the boarding houses identified in the Thirteenth Ward were occupied by lodgers of only one religion. Three of these boarding houses, however, were Mormon-owned, yet served a Gentile clientele. All three were located in the central and eastern blocks of the ward. In contrast, an all-Mormon boarding house was located near the intersection of First South and Commercial Street, while the all-Gentile St. James Hotel occupied Main Street near Third South.

Two additional examples further characterize the extent and nature of Mormon/Gentile domestic interaction. First, eleven households within the ward reflected marriages between individuals of different religious groups. This was not the transcendence of religious lines that it might seem: in all but one case, these marriages did not join a Mormon with a Gentile, but a Gentile with an apostate Mormon. These unions also showed a prominent gender disparity: in nearly all cases, Gentile men married apostate women, with their children listed as Gentiles. It is unclear whether these women had left the church prior to their marriages or whether marrying outside Mormonism was itself considered an act of apostasy. Nonetheless, these marriages suggest that enough interaction took place between the two groups to allow courtship, if only infrequently. In contrast, the household religious divide was somewhat more commonly bridged through
the employment of domestic servants. The wealthy residents and boarding-house keepers of the Thirteenth Ward employed sixty-four servants. These individuals, almost all women, lived within the households of their employers, and presumably spent much of their time in close contact with their employers’ families. Many Gentile families employed Mormon servants: twenty-three Mormon servants were employed by Gentiles and apostates, in contrast to only nine Gentile servants. Mormons, on the other hand, tended to employ their own. Servant-employing households, moreover, were fairly well distributed across the ward—they occupied not only the wealthier residential areas east of Second East, but also the more mixed areas to the west. Here, again, is evidence of considerable contact between certain Mormons and non-Mormons.

Although the specific details of this day-to-day Mormon/non-Mormon interaction remain unclear, a reading of the census schedules has nonetheless outlined the overall spatial field in which the two groups met. Most surprisingly, the area identified as Salt Lake’s business district was itself highly residential, particularly on the side streets and in the southernmost block of Main Street. Residential patterns in these blocks somewhat echoed the north-south divide between Mormons and Gentiles—the two southern blocks along Main Street were heavily Gentile and Chinese, while the Mormon north end of the business district was only minimally used for housing. The business district, however, was the part of the ward where residential division between Mormons and Gentiles was most notable. Elsewhere, the two groups lived alongside one another, although some clusters of Mormon and Gentile concentration were evident. The character of the ward’s blocks varied considerably—including slums, middle-class housing, and the spacious dwellings of the Mormon and Gentile elite—but in each case Mormons and Gentiles, as well as
apostates, lived in relative proximity. This, however, was a granular integration, only rarely extending to the scale of individual dwellings or households. When such close contact did occur, it took place within specific social and occupational channels. Most prominent among these was the Gentile employment of Mormon domestic servants, though in a few cases individuals married across religious lines, possibly abandoning their own affiliation in the process. Although the existence of these channels hints at the possibility of more casual interactions between individual Mormons and non-Mormons, these interactions are ephemeral and poorly documented. One thing, however, is clear: if such interactions existed, they took place in a complex framework of community division despite spatial proximity. Although the Thirteenth Ward’s Mormons and non-Mormons were closely intermixed, their businesses and social institutions both expressed the distinction between the two communities and gave that division spatial form.

Although the Thirteenth Ward was an atypically diverse part of Salt Lake City, its residential patterns highlight Salt Lake’s place at the vanguard of Utah’s transformation. During the 1880s, as formal restrictions on contact between Mormons and Gentiles withered, the heart of Salt Lake City became a metropolitan forge, enabling not only such intercommunity commercial and civic institutions as the Chamber of Commerce, but also more casual (and, at times, intimate) blending of the two groups’ social spheres. By the late 1880s, therefore, central Salt Lake indeed exhibited the beginnings of the mutual recognition, coexistence, and commerce central to Yorgason’s arguments. Particularly after Mormon president Wilford Woodruff’s 1890 renunciation of polygamy, and the corresponding end of federal raids and transition to Utah statehood, this coexistence would become a dominant theme in Salt Lake’s urban life. This transformation of the
character and tone of Mormon/non-Mormon interactions in Salt Lake City, however, did not take place in a vacuum. Instead, it was both facilitated and diffused by the city’s roles as an economic and cultural center. The operations of the Z.C.M.I. and Gentile merchants linked Salt Lake to farm villages and mining camps throughout Utah territory. Salt Lake formed the territory’s financial center, directing both the collection and expenditure of tithing and the investment of outside capital. Not only the Mormons, but a host of other religious denominations, directed their activities in Utah from centers in Salt Lake. Through these links, the actions and attitudes of Salt Lake’s residents engaged Mormons and non-Mormons throughout Utah Territory. To trace these links across the breadth of Utah, this thesis next turns to an exploration of Mormon and non-Morman presence in a selection of the territory’s smaller settlements.
Chapter 4

Mormons and Non-Mormons in Utah’s Hinterland

4.1 A Continuum of Occupancy

Eighty-five percent of Utahns lived outside Salt Lake City, and 77% lived outside of Salt Lake County. Within the remainder of the territory, Mormons and non-Mormons inhabited a diverse array of settlements, including the regional cities of Ogden, Logan, and Provo, nearly two hundred agricultural settlements extending through the territory’s mountain valleys, along with scattered mining and railroad towns. Nineteen precincts had non-Mormon majorities, while Mormons were predominant in the remainder. These majorities, however, do not imply exclusive Mormon or non-Mormon dominion of their corresponding precincts. Two thirds of the precincts explored in the third phase of the geovisual analysis in Chapter 2 had significant populations of apostates and Gentiles, and only Fort Douglas lacked Mormon inhabitants. Although Meinig described the mining and railroad towns as “Gentile intrusions” into a Mormon domain, the precincts of Utah’s hinterland might be more accurately characterized as a continuum of occupancy: in mining towns and farm villages, Mormons and non-Mormons were local minorities, inhabiting spaces and participating in economies in which the other group was predominant.

This chapter explores the presence of religious minorities—whether Mormon or non-Mormon—in Utah’s hinterland during the 1880s. Two case studies draw on opposite
ends of the Mormon/non-Mormon continuum, highlighting the presences of apostates and Gentiles in Mormon agricultural villages and of Mormons within mining towns. The chapter will first explore several settlements within Sanpete County, a well-established region of Mormon agricultural settlement in Central Utah. Sanpete County’s towns, including Manti, Ephraim, and Mount Pleasant, boasted large populations and fairly diverse economies, but a lack of railroad connections and nearby mineral resources reduced Gentile interest in the county. In contrast, Park City was one of Utah’s most prosperous mining districts. Although settled only in 1873, Park City had by 1880 become a populous and well-established mining town, with extensive capital investment providing employment for hundreds of miners and millers, along with a wide range of tradesmen and retailers.

Understanding the presences of minorities within these case studies requires a more general awareness of the histories and economic functions of the two settlements, and of the spaces shared by their Mormon and non-Mormon inhabitants. Such background understanding, unfortunately, is somewhat more elusive than it was in Salt Lake City. While Salt Lake was recorded in great detail in Sanborn maps and city directories, most smaller towns in Utah offer a much sparser archival record. Sanborn maps are available only for a few larger towns, and even then were generally produced in the late 1880s or early 1890s. Statewide directories provide listings for most communities, but generally list only a handful of business owners and tradesmen within each community. Most significantly, neither the directories nor the census schedules provide individuals’ street addresses. In Salt Lake City, address data allowed the directories and census schedules to be matched to the built environments recorded in the Sanborn maps,
providing a useful window into the geographies of Mormon and non-Mormon business and residential occupancy. In the absence of address data, such a detailed appreciation of Mormon and non-Mormon spaces is impossible elsewhere in the territory.

Even so, the Sanborn maps, business directories, and census records provide background for the two case studies. Urban morphologies, as recorded in the Sanborn maps, and the ranges of occupations listed in the directories and census schedules help establish the spatial, social, and economic textures of settlement within each place. As in the case of Salt Lake City, it is then possible to probe the occupations of each religious group and the community institutions built by each. The census schedules clearly record the overall concentration of minority and majority groups, revealing whether Mormons and non-Mormons lived alongside or apart from one another in these smaller communities.

### 4.2 Sanpete County: Utah’s Mormon Heartland

Sanpete County, located roughly a hundred miles south of Salt Lake, offer a useful window into the more limited presence of non-Mormons in the agricultural valleys that comprised much of Utah’s settled area. With 11,538 inhabitants, it was Utah’s fifth most populous county in 1880. Its settlements, however, were far removed from the transportation connections and mercantile centrality that characterized urban Salt Lake City. While numerous mining districts ringed Salt Lake, and scattered mining camps dotted Utah’s western fringe, no such mineral richness was found in the mountains and plateaus above the San Pitch River. Similarly, although the Sanpete Valley lay at the northern end of a chain of valleys in what Meinig labeled the ‘second tier’ of Mormon
settlement, its commerce was primarily local. Wholesaling activity, whether Mormon or Gentile, was left to Salt Lake City and, to a lesser degree, Provo. Railroad connections to the valley had lagged; although the Mormon-built Utah Central and Utah Southern Railroads had provided Salt Lake City with rail access in 1870, and had reached Provo by 1873,\(^1\) rails only reached Manti in 1890.\(^2\) Sanpete County’s towns thus remained heavily Mormon and predominantly agricultural.

At the same time, Sanpete County was not a peripheral frontier region. Three of its settlements, Mount Pleasant, Manti, and Ephraim, were, respectively, the eighth, eleventh, and fifteenth most populous precincts recorded in the 1880 census of Utah Territory. Within those settlements, a rich array of tradesmen and retailers conducted business, and grist and saw mills processed the valley’s agricultural produce and natural resources. The Mormon Temple under construction at Manti was one of four originally envisioned by Brigham Young, making the area a focal point of Mormon religious geography in Utah. The county’s population mirrored this status—Sanpete County was the sixth-most Mormon in the territory, with 91.6% of its inhabitants recorded as Mormon in the 1880 census. Alongside this majority, however, lived apostates and Gentiles, comprising, respectively, 5.2% and 2.5% of the county population. Native Americans were additionally represented in the county, chiefly at the Indianola Indian farm at the valley’s north end, but occasionally in individual settlements. Despite these footholds of diversity, the economics, culture, and the landscapes of Sanpete’s settlements

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reflected county’s legacy of Mormon settlement. In the iconic view of Manti in Figure 4.1, the Temple is the most overtly religious element of the landscape, but irrigation ditches, small fields, and clustered village settlement all bear testimony to a legacy of Mormon cohesiveness and organization. Manti, moreover, was only one of a series of Mormon farm villages established in Sanpete County over some thirty years.

Fig. 4.1. Manti in 1887, with the temple in the background. (Utah State Historical Society).
4.2.1 Mormon Settlement Hierarchies

Mormon settlement in the San Pitch Valley began as early as 1849, when a company of 224 settlers were called to establish Manti. The valley, however, was heavily used by Ute Indians, and the 1853–54 Walker War restricted the initial expansion of Mormon settlement. Manti remained a fort through much of the 1850s, and sites further north in the valley were repeatedly settled and abandoned. Ephraim was established in 1855, but other towns in the valley were only permanently established at the end of the decade, when a number of Scandinavian Mormons were directed to settle the valley. Once Indian hostilities had ceased, Mormon colonization established settlements at regular intervals through the valley, including Mount Pleasant in 1858, Spring City, Moroni, and Fountain Green in 1859, and Fairview in 1860. Subsequent settlements were smaller and more peripheral, but church direction was not entirely diminished. When coal beds were discovered at the eastern edge of the valley in 1862, a group of fifteen converts from Welsh mining regions was specifically directed to settle the town of Wales. Later settlement was more sporadic, planting smaller communities in poorly-watered peripheral areas, but Bennion and Peterson identify thirteen settlements established between 1870 and 1890. These include Mayfield, Sterling, Chester, and Indianola, but the remainder are not noted in the 1880 census.

Due, in part, to this history of interrupted settlement, Sanpete County’s settlements developed differently than those in many other Utah counties. In contrast to

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most regions settled under Mormon colonization, where both the seat of a county and the headquarters of a corresponding Mormon stake were located in the county’s largest settlement, these functions were divided in Sanpete County among the towns of Manti, Ephraim, and Mount Pleasant, all of which were of roughly equal size. As Bennion noted, in Sanpete County, “the temple city and county seat of Manti had to compete with the stake headquarters and eventual college town of Ephraim. In addition, Mount Pleasant served as a stronghold for Gentiles and LDS dissidents, and the smaller town of Spring City became the home of the presiding apostle in the Sanpete Region.”

Mount Pleasant, Manti, and Ephraim were only the top level of the system of settlements in Sanpete County (Figure 4.2). Along the eastern slope of the San Pitch Valley, creeks draining from the Wasatch Plateau enabled extensive irrigation and productive agriculture, concentrating much of Sanpete County’s population. At the mouth of each creek, irrigated fields surrounded Mormon agricultural villages. Mount Pleasant, Ephraim, and Manti were the largest of these, but numerous other settlements were established along tributary creeks, tracing a chain of the string of east valley towns from Indianola south to Gunnison. These were not as large as the three largest settlements, but many were nonetheless quite sizable—both Fairview and Spring City neared 1000 inhabitants, and Gunnison had 729. The western reaches of the valley, in contrast, lay in the rain shadow of the San Pitch Mountains, prohibiting extensive irrigation. Settlements at Freedom, Wales, Chester, and Fayette instead relied on the drainage from springs, and all had fewer than five hundred inhabitants. Further to the

8. Peterson and Bennion, Sanpete Scenes, 68.
south, the western valley was not settled at all. Two exceptions to this pattern lay in the valley’s northwest corner, where a tributary drainage led over the Salt Creek Divide to Nephi. Not only was this a natural transportation corridor connecting the Sanpete County settlements to the Wasatch Front, but it provided adequate water for the towns of Fountain Green and Moroni, both of which had over eight hundred inhabitants.

The Salt Creek route was one of the most important links connecting Sanpete County to the Wasatch Front, but it was only one part of a more extensive transportation network linking the Sanpete towns to one another, to adjacent valleys, and to the metropolitan markets of Provo and Salt Lake beyond. Within the valley itself, wagon roads linking the settlements were well-maintained, initially through Mormon tithes of labor and subsequently by the county government. Mountainous terrain proved more challenging, but by the 1880s roads had been cut into the canyons above most towns, providing access both to timber resources and to the emerging settlements east of the Wasatch Plateau in Emery County. In addition to Salt Creek, a divide north of Indianola at the San Pitch Valley’s north end led to Thistle in Spanish Fork Canyon, above Utah Valley. At the valley’s south end, by contrast, the San Pitch joined the Sevier River, linking Gunnison both to the Sevier County towns to the south, and westward to Millard and Juab Counties. The latter connection was particularly significant, as it allowed traffic from the upper Sevier Valley to bypass much of Sanpete County in favor of a more direct connection to the Utah Southern at Levan. This route was also often favored by residents of southern Sanpete county; in 1876 the Mormon bishop of Gunnison petitioned for direct mail service from his town to Nephi via Levan, noting that the westerly route was 31 miles
Fig. 4.2. Mormon settlements in the San Pitch Valley.
shorter. This geographical peculiarity likely further limited the commercial development of the Sanpete towns, contributing to the dominance of Salt Lake and Provo in Utah’s commercial hierarchy. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that when railroads reached central Utah in the late 1880s, they did so by following the more concentrated population in the San Pitch Valley.

Sanpete County’s urban hierarchy was thus defined by both the availability of irrigated agriculture and the transportation connections within and beyond the San Pitch Valley. This hierarchy, however, was not expressed in the religious composition of the county’s towns (Figure 4.3). Within Sanpete’s overall 91.6% Mormon majority, the county’s precincts traced all three patterns suggested in the third dataset geovisualized in Chapter 2. Every precinct but one had a Mormon majority, and only the two least populous settlements in the county were less than 85% Mormon. The Mormon-run Indian farm at Indianola—the one majority non-Mormon precinct in the county—was half Native American, but also had a 10% apostate minority. Nearly one-third of Freedom’s inhabitants, meanwhile, were apostates—the highest such percentage in Utah Territory. Elsewhere, Mormonism was more predominant. Many of the county’s more populous precincts, including Manti, Moroni, Spring City, and Fountain Green, were over 95% Mormon, as were many of the county’s smaller towns. In a few places, however, these Mormon majorities were somewhat diminished: Mount Pleasant and Fairview were only 86% Mormon, while Mormon faithful comprised 87% of Gunnison. In these precincts the composition of the non-Mormon population was variable. Apostates outnumbered Gentiles eleven-to-one at Fairview, but Mount Pleasant’s population was

9. Peterson and Bennion, Sanpete Scenes, 36.
Fig. 4.3. Populations and religious compositions of Sanpete County’s 15 towns.
considerably more balanced, with 6% Gentiles and 8% apostates. Mirroring the trend noted in Chapter 2, apostates were more numerous than Gentiles throughout the county. However, this variation in precincts’ religious composition showed little connection to precinct populations. Mount Pleasant was both the county’s most populous town and one of its most Gentile, while both Ephraim and Manti had larger Mormon majorities and larger apostate minorities. Moroni and Spring City, two of the county’s mid-sized towns, had no Gentiles at all. Although some non-Mormons did settle Sanpete County, they did not simply gravitate to population centers. In the absence of any clear correlation between settlements’ population and religious composition, it will be necessary to explore the settlements of Sanpete County in greater detail.

4.2.2 The Mormon Farm Village Landscape

Even though the urban hierarchy of Sanpete County deviated from the standard Mormon practice, the valley’s towns exemplified Mormon village-oriented settlement. Manti, Ephraim, and Mount Pleasant, along with most of the valley’s smaller towns, were organized according to Mormon grid plans. These plans, while modeled after Joseph Smith’s “Plat for the City of Zion,” exhibited considerable variation in their details.\(^\text{10}\) All, however, were marked by the wide streets, irrigation ditches, large lots, and reserved central religious spaces noted by Francaviglia.\(^\text{11}\) The most defining characteristic of Mormon settlement, however, is highlighted in a map of land division near Ephraim (Figure 4.4). Surrounding the town grid is an extensive system of small agricultural lots, surveyed not according to the national public land survey grid but through indigenous

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10. See Smith, “Beyond the Mormon Village.”
Mormon land allocation practices. This arrangement marked a distinctive element of Mormon settlement: in contrast to the dispersed farmsteads characteristic of the American agricultural frontier, Mormons settled in nucleated villages housing farmers alongside tradesmen and storekeepers—an arrangement which promoted cooperative irrigation, social cohesiveness, and religious solidarity. Each farmer would travel daily from his village home to work the fields, returning with his livestock at the end of the day. Town lots were correspondingly large, providing room for outbuildings and gardens as well as houses. This distinctive settlement pattern characterized each of Sanpete County’s towns, leaving dispersed agricultural settlements all but unknown.

Sanborn fire insurance maps for Manti, although produced in 1892, give some indication of the internal organization and limited commercial development in Sanpete county’s agricultural villages. As in Salt Lake City, a full block devoted to religious use lay at the intersection of the town’s two main streets, here named Main and Union. The Manti Temple was not built on this “public block,” but atop a prominent hill north of the town; nonetheless, this central block housed Manti’s tabernacle and a church school. At the northeast corner of this block, the intersection of Main and Union Streets marked the center of Manti’s small business district. This business district, made up of discontinuous one- and two-story buildings, was understandably much smaller than that of Salt Lake, but it was also considerably more diffuse. At the southeast corner of Main and Union Streets stood a bank and one of the town’s three hotels, but the remaining two corners housed a vacant store and a granary. Businesses were somewhat more concentrated along Main Street in the blocks immediately north and south of Union Street. These included

12. Peterson and Bennion, Sanpete Scenes, 69.
Fig. 4.4. The northern half of Ephraim is surrounded by agricultural outlots in this 1928 map. The plots in black were worked by one farmer. (Lowry Nelson, 1928, reproduced in Nelson, *The Mormon Village*, pg. 141.)
several large general stores, but adjacent buildings housing milliners, two butchers, a barber, and the town’s post office were small one-story affairs. Commercial buildings on surrounding Main Street blocks were interspersed with homes and workshops, creating a spacious and open environment far removed from the crowded retailing of the big city. An undated photograph of the south branch of Manti’s cooperative mercantile (Figure 4.5) clearly indicates this diffuse character. The co-op, located along Main Street between Second and Third South, is a simple building with an ornate false front, bordered on both sides by tidily fenced open space. Immediately to the south, a two-story federal-style home sits amid shade trees and greenery. These scattered businesses continued nearly to Manti’s northern limits. At Fourth North stood the two-story Temple House Hotel, adjacent to Temple Hill north of the town. This location was ideal for visiting worshipers, but it was also the first business encountered by travelers entering Manti from Ephraim, Mount Pleasant, and other towns in northern Sanpete County.

Nearly all commercial activity within the town of Manti took place along the north-south Main Street corridor (Figure 4.6). A few stores and workshops—including the town’s water-driven grist mill—were located on Union Street, but these were all within half a block of Main. Religious and government buildings, as well, were concentrated along Main Street, and were frequently larger and more prominent than all but a few business structures. Most prominent among these, of course, were the Mormon temple and tabernacle, but an additional two-story Mormon meeting house was located south of the town center at Third South. At First North and Main, the Mormon tithing office and yard occupied a full one-acre lot. A block further north stood many of Manti’s government buildings, including a two-story county courthouse and jail, and adjacent
Fig. 4.5. The south branch of Manti’s Mormon cooperative store, located a block and a half south of the tabernacle, was set among homes, shade trees, and tidy fences. Further to the north, businesses were slightly more concentrated, but Manti’s business district remained open and uncrowded. (Special Collections, Brigham Young University Libraries.)
public school, and Manti’s City Hall. Also notable was a one-story Presbyterian church, located on a subdivided lot at the corner of Main Street and Second South. This was one of a series of Protestant missionary churches established in Sanpete County’s larger towns, and was the one sign of Gentile presence within the Mormon village landscape.

Filling the remainder of Manti’s street grid, and to a lesser degree within the Main Street corridor, Manti’s residential townscape was dominated by small homes on large lots. Most were one story in height, though a few had been expanded to one and one-half or two stories. Still more had been expanded horizontally, with added wings frequently doubling the footprint of the original structure. These homes, however, comprised only one element of the village landscape. Just as Mormon settlements clustered farmers in nucleated villages, they incorporated barns, haysheds, granaries, and other agricultural outbuildings into the urban fabric (Figure 4.7). Manti’s 4.5-acre blocks, divided into four lots each, provided each home with ample space for outbuildings, and even subdivided lots frequently included granaries, sheds, and barns, many of which were larger than their respective houses. Not visible on the Sanborn maps were extensive orchards, gardens, and corrals adjacent to nearly every home. These outbuildings, rather than the small cluster of businesses at the center of Manti, reflected the town’s main economic function.

4.2.3 Economic Activity and Place Hierarchy in Central Utah

Although Manti and other towns had developed a modest range of stores and workshops in the 1880s, the extensive presence of barns and agricultural outbuildings in the town’s residential areas underscores the central role of agriculture in Sanpete County’s economy. Compiled statistics on agriculture from the 1880 federal census note
Fig. 4.6. Most businesses in Manti were concentrated along a few central blocks of Main Street. (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Manti, 1892, sheets 2 and 3.)
Fig. 4.7. The range of buildings and land uses present in this Spring City lot could readily be found in Manti, Ephraim, Mount Pleasant, or any of the smaller Mormon villages of Sanpete County. (Peterson and Bennnion, Sanpete Scenes, pg. 27.)
that Sanpete was not only one of Utah’s most agricultural counties, but one of its most agriculturally productive. With 1,015 farms, it had the second largest number of farms in the territory, behind Utah County. The county ranked second in wheat production, and was the territory’s largest producer of oats. This did not necessarily translate into great wealth for the county’s farmers, however. Average farm size in Sanpete County was only 49 acres, the fourth smallest in Utah territory. The three counties with smaller farms were in recently settled frontier areas and in the agriculturally marginal regions of southwest Utah. Nearly a quarter of the farms in Sanpete County were twenty acres or fewer in area. In contrast, only sixteen of the county’s farms were not owner-occupied—a pattern of land tenure common across Utah, reflecting Mormon views on the nature of property. More so than elsewhere in Utah, agriculture in Sanpete County was the province of family farmers working small acreages. The average farm in the county was worth $1057, or $21 per acre—a low value in comparison to northern Utah counties, but more than most parts of central or southern Utah. At $283, produce per farm was in the bottom third of the counties of Utah, but produce per acre was quite high. These numbers, however, are not perfect indicators of the standard of living of the county’s farmers, due to considerable economic differences between northern and southern Utah. Northern Utah contained some of the territory’s most productive agricultural land, but its large non-farm population and comparative ease of transporting and marketing surplus produce gave its farmers easier access to cash. In contrast, subsistence production was more central to the economies of southern and central Utah.

with surpluses marketed and consumed locally. Sanpete County clearly conformed to the latter pattern. Agriculture was widespread across the county’s area, practiced by the vast majority of its population, and fundamental to its economy.

The secondary sector of Sanpete County’s economy was considerably more limited. Even so, the county’s fifteen recorded manufacturing establishments ranked fourth among Utah’s counties.\textsuperscript{14} Sanpete, however, was far removed from the industrial concentration of the capital city. Salt Lake County had 110 recorded establishments, over eight times Sanpete’s total, even though its population was less than three times as large. In contrast to the wide range of consumer goods produced in the capital, industry in Sanpete County was focused on the processing of commodities. The county’s reported industries were limited to nine grist mills and seven saw mills, a pattern duplicated in smaller numbers in many other counties away from the Wasatch Front. Both types of mills had an average capitalization under four thousand dollars—a value among the lowest in the territory. Industrial employment was similarly limited: the county’s grist mills employed, on average, fewer than two people each, while the sawmills employed an average of four. Although Sanpete County was one of Utah’s most populous and agriculturally productive areas, manufacturing activity in the county was limited in its scale and local in its scope.

This agricultural focus and limited manufacturing should not be taken as an indication of limited commercial development in Sanpete County. The 1884 \textit{Utah Gazetteer and Directory}\textsuperscript{15} recorded a much wider range of businesses and trades in the county’s

\begin{footnotesize}
15. Sloan, \textit{Utah Gazetteer and Directory}. This directory was published four years after the \textit{Pacific Coast Directory} used in the previous chapter but it was published in Utah for a Utah-based audience. As such, it offers a much more detailed record of the businesses in Utah’s smaller settlements.
\end{footnotesize}
settlements than the limited retail development on Manti’s Main Street would suggest. The most common businesses recorded reflected the immediate needs of an agricultural population. Among the county’s fifteen settlements were listed eighteen general stores, seventeen mills, and sixteen blacksmiths. Over half of the settlements in the county had at least one business in each of these categories, and many larger towns had two or three. More specialized agricultural needs reflected the economic hierarchies in the county—the eight wagon dealers listed were in only five towns (Manti, Ephraim, Mount Pleasant, Spring City, and Moroni), while stock dealers were found only in Manti and Spring City. It appears that while the three largest settlements in the valley were generally large enough to support multiple businesses in certain categories, more specialized firms served customers from multiple towns. Spring City, located halfway between Ephraim and Mount Pleasant, thus had a large number of businesses relative to its population, while Fairview, isolated at the valley’s north end, had fewer firms. Fountain Green and Moroni served as commercial centers for the east valley. Despite its location at the county’s south end, Manti had a much wider array of trades listed than did Mount Pleasant or Ephraim, likely as a result of its being the county seat.

Mormon co-operative enterprises, in contrast, were ubiquitous throughout Sanpete County. Nineteen institutions were listed, and only three of the county’s smallest villages lacked them. These co-ops, however, followed a different organizational structure than that noted in Salt Lake City. In the capital, the Z.C.M.I. pursued both wholesale and retail business from its Main Street store, while cooperative retail stores in many wards sold limited ranges of goods to local customers. In Sanpete County, by contrast, most communities had a single cooperative general store selling a full range of local
and Z.C.M.I. products. Additionally, many towns had cooperatively organized lumber or grist mills, underscoring both the prominence of primary resources in the county’s economy and the enduring effects of Mormon cooperation and egalitarianism.

Other directory listings, however, reveal more extensive and diverse aspects of Sanpete County’s economy, but reflect the county’s urban hierarchy far less clearly. In addition to blacksmiths, many individuals in the building trades were listed, including six carpenters, five painters, and three masons. These trades were frequently present in smaller settlements, but not in larger towns. Manti, for instance, had two carpenters, but Ephraim and Mount Pleasant had none. Despite its smaller size and relative isolation, Fairview had two carpenters, and Spring City had one. Services were similarly less concentrated in any one central place. Although Manti had three of the county’s five listed physicians (Spring City had the other two), the county’s only drugstore was located in Mount Pleasant. The two listed tailors were in Manti, but the county’s two milliners—both women—were located in Ephraim. Shoemakers, in contrast, were more widespread, located in four of the county’s six largest towns. Ephraim and Manti both had photographers, while the county’s one bookstore was located in Mount Pleasant. In general, however, specialized firms were overwhelmingly located in the county’s three most populous places. In contrast, towns with less than seven hundred inhabitants—half the towns in the county—had few businesses listed at all.

In contrast to the analysis of Salt Lake City’s businesses in the preceding chapter, higher-order businesses functions are almost entirely absent in the directory listings for Sanpete County. Nowhere in the county were banks or attorneys listed in the 1884 directory. Fairview’s listings include a notary public, but this hardly marks the town as
a business hub. Instead, the array of businesses in Sanpete County marked the county’s place in Salt Lake’s commercial hinterland. The county’s farmers and tradesmen paid their tithes and sold their surplus produce to Salt Lake City, and purchased goods made in and imported through the commercial capital, but most of Sanpete’s economy was centered on local production and consumption, with minimal involvement of outside capital. It is difficult to trace in detail the extent of commercial links between Sanpete County’s settlements and the metropolitan capital, however. The roles of Mormon cooperatives in marketing both Utah-produced and imported goods have been discussed, and it is likely that many general stores further sourced their merchandise through Salt Lake; however, it is unclear what commercial records from this period survive. Several businesses in the 1884 directory do hint at the presence of more extensive commercial linkages. Most telling were the county’s three hotels, which likely served freighters and itinerant peddlers, as well as citizens traveling overnight to make purchases or conduct government business. The locations of these hotels highlight the motivations for overnight travel in Sanpete County. Manti, as the county seat, had a hotel, but neither Ephraim nor Mount Pleasant did. Instead, two hotels were located at the south end of the county, in Gunnison and the hamlet of Fayette. These were important way stations on the road from Nephi and the Wasatch Front to the upper Sevier Valley, though much of this traffic bypassed the majority of Sanpete County’s towns. Within the county’s agricultural heart, however, the presence of two sewing machine agents in Manti and Fountain Green marked the extension of national-scale sales and distribution networks into rural Utah.
Although many of the businesses listed in Salt Lake City could be readily identified as non-Mormon, such an approach is far less useful in Sanpete County. Mormon commercial presence is clearly visible through the numerous cooperatives recorded, but neither mining, railroading, nor wholesaling—characteristically Gentile enterprises—were present to any significant degree in Sanpete County. (Mount Pleasant had two saloons and Manti had one. This would not be expected in purely Mormon communities, as Mormon doctrines eschewed alcohol use.) An analysis of the census-recorded religions of the individuals listed in the 1884 business directory provides an initial window into the position of non-Mormons in Sanpete County’s commercial sector. Of the 94 total listings given for Ephraim, Manti, and Mount Pleasant, 73 could be identified in the census data, and thus matched with a religious affiliation. Of these, 65 were Mormon—an 89% majority. Apostates comprised 8.2% of the listings, and Gentiles made up 2.7% of the total. This distribution has a slightly lower Mormon majority than the county’s overall population, but hardly indicates a large non-Mormon presence in the county’s commercial life.

Nonetheless, the range and distribution of the handful of listed non-Mormons suggests that non-Mormons largely operated within Sanpete County’s larger Mormon economy. The religious compositions of the directory listings for the county’s three largest precincts bore little resemblance to the towns’ overall compositions. Mount Pleasant, overall the least Mormon of the three towns, had only two non-Mormons (both apostates) listed in its directory, while Ephraim listed three apostates and a

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16. Nearly all directory listings gave the names of individual businessmen or tradesmen, for which the census data provided religious affiliations. No such names were given in the case of cooperatives, which were assumed to be Mormon-owned.
Gentile. Neither did non-Mormons dominate any particular business sector: although the proprietor of Manti’s one saloon was an apostate Mormon, most other non-Mormons followed vocations very similar to their Mormon neighbors. Among the listings were a confectioner, a storekeeper, and a wheelwright in Ephraim, a shoemaker and a news agent in Mount Pleasant, and a miller in Manti. The accuracy of these distributions, however, is uncertain due to the large number of individuals listed in the directories but not in the census. Over a third of the Mount Pleasant listings were unidentifiable, including those for such indicative professions as saloon keepers and druggists. Additionally, the directories record only a small portion of the population of each town, highlighting retailers and tradesmen. Farmers and laborers—the economic foundation of Sanpete County—are unlisted. In order to trace the full presence of non-Mormons within the county, it will be necessary to examine the census records for the county’s non-Mormons.

Before doing so, however, one further aspect of the directory records deserves comment. The *Utah Gazetteer*, in addition to directory listings, offers a brief narrative description of each of Utah’s settlements, their populations, and the religious and social institutions found within. These descriptions reveal the presence of religion in the social life of Sanpete County. Most clearly, a Mormon ward was noted in each of the county’s communities—a clear reflection the county’s heritage of Mormon settlement, along with its continuing Mormon majorities[17] The three largest towns in the county were each organized into two separate wards. District schools were only noted for the larger settlements, but they appear to have been constructed extensively, with many

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17. Sloan, *Utah Gazetteer and Directory*, 142–145. Descriptions were given for eleven of the fifteen settlements in the county; Fountain Green, Sterling, Freedom, and Indianola were excluded.
communities listing three schools, and Ephraim and Moroni listing four. As in Salt Lake City, these “public” schools were largely operated by Mormons in Mormon church buildings, but schools in Utah’s hinterland generally charged substantial tuitions, and frequently operated only sporadically.

Alongside this Mormon presence, the directory noted numerous mission churches and free schools constructed by eastern Protestants in an attempt to evangelize Utah’s Mormons. In Sanpete County, these were overwhelmingly Presbyterian: the denomination operated both churches and schools in Manti, Ephraim, and Moroni, as well as schools in Spring City and Fairview. Mount Pleasant, with its large non-Mormon minority, was home to both Presbyterian and Methodist missions. Although this evangelism began in the mid-1870s, it appears that many of the Sanpete County missions were only operational in the years following 1880. A few Gentile ministers and schoolteachers appear in the census, but they are far fewer than such an extensive missionary effort would require. Similarly in question is the success of these missions in evangelizing Mormons—it appears that while Mormons took advantage of the free Protestant schools, the missions primarily served Gentiles and apostate Mormons, rather than winning Mormon converts. Most missions were abandoned soon after the Mormon renunciation of polygamy in 1890.

Nonetheless, these marked one of the most visible

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19. The Presbyterian school, founded in 1875, survives as the Wasatch Academy, a private college preparatory boarding school.
aspects of non-Mormon presence in 1880s central Utah, nominally working to proselytize
Mormons, but also acting as nuclei of non-Mormon communities. 22

4.2.4 Patterns of Non-Mormon Presence in Sanpete County

In order to explore the presence of non-Mormons within the economic and social
spheres of Sanpete County in greater detail, it is necessary to turn from the directories
and compiled statistics to a closer investigation of the annotated census schedules. Such
a close reading is outwardly similar to the last section of Chapter 3, but it cannot
be undertaken in the detail that was possible in Salt Lake City. Because neither the
census schedules nor the city directories provide addresses, it is impossible to reconstruct
the local residential geographies of Sanpete County’s towns. Instead, this analysis
explores the Mormon, Gentile, apostate, and Indian populations in the overall settlement
system of Sanpete County, with particular attention to the economic roles played by
the county’s non-Mormons. The census data reveal patterns broadly in line with the
economic hierarchies outlined in the preceding section, but they provide a richer array
of demographic and occupational information than the directories.

This analysis first turns to the county’s religious demographics, noting significant
disparities in age and gender with regard to religion. In addition, the census records
provide a fuller perspective on the range of occupations in the county, highlighting the
extent of agricultural employment as well as the waged and unwaged occupation of the

22. Unfortunately, the literature provides little insight as to the history, attendance, or reception
of the Sanpete County missions, but it is notable that missions elsewhere in Utah served as a focal
point for Mormon-Gentile conflict. Following the passage of the anti-polygamy Edmunds Act in
1884, enraged Mormons in the southern Utah town of Toquerville stoned the town’s Presbyterian
county’s women. Within this expanded occupational record, the marginal notations allow investigation of Mormon and non-Mormon prevalence in particular occupations, and suggesting several aspects of the economic presences of Gentiles and apostates within individual settlements.

As a first step in tracing patterns in the census data, this analysis focused on individuals eighteen years of age and older. This division point is somewhat arbitrary, but it highlights the distributions of religion and occupation among the adult population of Sanpete County. This adult population numbered 5,232 individuals, roughly half of the county’s total—a clear indicator of the county’s high birthrate and rapid population growth. This adult population included 346 apostates, 64 Gentiles, and 47 Indians, a distribution slightly different that of the county as a whole. Although Mormons comprised roughly 91% of both groups, Gentiles were only 1.2% of the adult population—half of their overall percentage. Apostates, in contrast, were more heavily represented. This shift was most dramatic in Mount Pleasant: 113 of the town’s 908 adults—over 12% of the population—were apostates, while only 2% were Gentiles. This disparity, due to the frequent recording of children of apostate Mormons as Gentiles, reveals a generational aspect of Utah’s religious transformation. Although Sanpete County offered few of the economic incentives that drew Gentiles to the mining camps and urban centers, discontent among its Mormon converts nonetheless produced an endogenous Gentile population that came of age between 1880 and 1900. In 1880, however, the adult non-Mormons of Sanpete County were largely apostates, living among and frequently working alongside their former co-religionists. Even the largest of the county’s towns housed fewer than twenty Gentile adults each.
The population of Sanpete County was additionally marked by a significant imbalance between gender and religion. Although the adult population of the county contained 128 more women than men, men exceeded women in every category of non-Mormons. Apostate men outnumbered women by 46, and there were half again as many Gentile men as Gentile women. Correspondingly, women exceeded men among Sanpete County’s Mormons. This disparity suggests several interrelated aspects of gender in the non-Mormon presence in the county. The disproportionate number of Mormons was likely a reflection of Mormon polygamy. It is difficult, however, to fully trace the extent of this practice within the census schedules, as many polygamous men maintained separate households for each of their wives. In contrast, the census frequently recorded marriages between Gentile men and apostate women, and between apostate men and Mormon women in both Sanpete County and in Utah Territory as a whole. It is unclear, however, whether these women left Mormonism in order to marry Gentiles, or married Gentiles after leaving the faith. Nonetheless, far more Gentile men than Gentile women settled in the Mormon agricultural towns of Sanpete County.

Turning from demography to the relationships between religion and occupation, the census records further highlight the prevalence of agriculture in Sanpete County. Of the 2,552 men recorded in Sanpete County, nearly 40% were recorded as farmers. Many other recorded occupations, including the county’s 106 farm laborers and 21 herders, as well as 564 general laborers, further reflected the county’s agrarian economy. These populations were not recorded in territorial business directories, but they comprised over half of Sanpete County’s male workforce. Although this agricultural extent is not surprising, the distribution of religion within this agricultural workforce is particularly
noteworthy. For apostates, Indians, and even Gentiles, farming was the most frequently recorded male occupation, with laborers ranked second. Furthermore, the percentages of apostate men employed as farmers and laborers were only slightly less than those of their Mormon neighbors. Among the county’s apostate men, 34.1% were recorded as farmers and 16% as laborers, while corresponding percentages for Mormons were 40% and 22%, respectively. The valley’s few adult Gentiles tended less toward such labors—only 17% of Gentile men were farmers, and fewer than 10% were laborers—but even these reduced percentages mark a sharp contrast to the occupational patterns seen in Salt Lake City. While the non-Mormon population of the capital was largely employed in commerce and industry, agriculture was the largest employer of Sanpete’s residents, Mormons and non-Mormons alike.

Beyond this agricultural base, non-Mormons were involved in the county’s secondary and tertiary economies. These presences were not clearly spatially concentrated, and only rarely were economic sectors dominated by non-Mormons. Non-Mormons worked as blacksmiths and stone masons, freighters and clerks, with spatial distributions roughly in line with the urban hierarchies discussed above. Each of these occupations, however, was numerically dominated by Mormons. Majority non-Mormon vocations were much less common, but suggest a substantial involvement of non-Mormons in the county’s commerce. Seven of the ten general merchants and storekeepers recorded in the county were apostates, as were five of the thirteen listed retail clerks. Unlike most non-Mormon occupations, these records were concentrated in the county’s larger towns, with Mount Pleasant notable for having both large numbers of merchants and clerks recorded and an exceptionally large proportion of apostates among them (Table 4.1). This pattern,
however, contradicts the preceding directory analysis, which suggested that general stores
were primarily Mormon-owned and more widespread across the county’s settlements. One potential explanation for this contradiction is that employees of Mormon cooperative
stores are all but absent from the census, presumably having been recorded within other
occupational categories. Even though the magnitude and extent of apostate retailing
presence is therefore unclear, it was nonetheless an important niche within the county’s
religious and economic spheres. The county’s apostate retailers were not only linked
to the Salt Lake-centered economic networks of Utah territory, but occupied prominent
places within their individual communities. At the same time, it should be stressed
that these retailers were but a small minority of Sanpete County’s apostates—the vast
majority were instead employed in the Mormon-dominated agriculture and trade sectors.

Among the scattered Gentiles in Sanpete County, a characteristic economic pres-
ence is more difficult to ascertain. Although Gentile involvement in agriculture was
markedly less than that of Mormons or apostates, Gentiles had relatively little involve-
ment in the county’s commerce—a remarkable contrast to the role they played in Salt
Lake City. Instead, the Gentiles of Sanpete County (Figure 4.8) were scattered trades-
men, laborers, and farmers within otherwise Mormon communities. Gentile populations
were largest in Gunnison and Mount Pleasant, and to a lesser degree in Ephraim, but
their occupations in these towns were, in general, not markedly different from those
elsewhere in the county. Two exceptions to this trend are worth noting: Manti, in
spite of its large population, had no Gentile farmers or tradesmen; instead, its Gentile
population comprised an attorney, a Presbyterian minister, a stock merchant, and the
agent of a sewing machine manufacturer. These occupations—the largest concentration
Table 4.1.
Religious composition of selected non-agricultural occupations in Mount Pleasant, Utah.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Mormons</th>
<th>Apostates</th>
<th>Gentiles</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trades</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Butcher</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Painter</td>
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<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stone Mason</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tinker</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Wood Turner</td>
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<tr>
<td>Whip Maker</td>
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<td>Watch Maker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cabinet Maker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brick Mason</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carriage Maker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miller</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Retail</strong></td>
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<td>Book Agent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Merchant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Notary Public</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeeper</td>
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<tr>
<td>Photographer</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Professional</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Attorney</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentist</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
of Gentile commerce in the county—were likely influenced by Manti’s status as county seat. Wales, in contrast, had been settled through Mormon efforts to develop Utah coal mining, and Mormon miners comprised nearly a quarter of its male workforce. By 1880, however, the promise of railroad connections had brought a new Gentile presence to the mining community, including a civil engineer, an accountant, and a storekeeper.

In light of these patterns in the county- and precinct-level aggregate census data, a line-by-line reading of the census schedules helps to distill the overall story of non-Mormon presence within Sanpete County. Mount Pleasant was home to the largest concentration of non-Mormons in the county, with 13.6% of the town’s population listed as non-Mormon. (Of these 5.6% were Gentiles and 7.7% apostates.) The town’s Gentile population, however, was made up almost entirely of the children of apostate Mormons. Mount Pleasant’s adult population contained 113 apostates, but only 18 Gentiles. By and large, apostates were of the same Danish and Swedish ancestry as most of the town’s Mormon population, though both groups included scattered Anglo-Americans. Most apostates were married couples, with men employed as farmers or tradesmen, though in a few cases the census schedules listed apostate widows, and apostate men married to Mormon women. Most apostates were middle-aged adults, and most had children at home, a few of whom had reached the age of majority. Instead of Gentile immigrants, the non-Mormons of Mount Pleasant were endogenous to Mormon colonization. They were converts to Mormonism who had emigrated from their home countries, participated in Mormon colonization, and had subsequently left the faith. Even after leaving Mormonism, however, these apostates remained in their communities—the census schedules list apostates throughout the town of Mount Pleasant, generally living alongside Mormon
Fig. 4.8. Schematic map of the professions of adult male Gentiles in Sanpete County.
neighbors with similar ancestries and occupations. Most of the handful of adult Gentiles recorded in the precinct appear to have come from similar backgrounds with respect to occupation and living arrangements, though significantly more Gentiles were of American or British ancestry.

One exception to the overall trend of apostates living alongside Mormons occurs on two successive pages of the census schedules for Mount Pleasant. In the absence of recorded addresses, it is unclear what precise location these pages indicate, but they can be reasonably assumed to correspond to a contiguous portion of the town. Within these two pages was a concentration of apostates and Gentiles unlike any other in the town. These included several of the Scandinavian farmers and tradesmen found elsewhere in Mount Pleasant. In contrast to those scattered apostate families, however, this cluster was dominated by retailers and professionals. Several apostate brothers, apparently living adjacent to one another, were listed as merchants and retail clerks. These included all three of Mount Pleasant’s recorded merchants, and the majority of its clerks. The cluster further included the town’s only dentist, an unmarried Gentile of Canadian ancestry. In the midst of this non-Mormon economic concentration lived Mount Pleasant’s Presbyterian minister and his wife, as well as the unmarried teacher at the corresponding mission school. Although the precise spatial form corresponding to these listings is unclear, this cluster suggests a distinct spatial concentration of non-Mormon presence, in apparent opposition to Mount Pleasant’s Mormon churches and cooperative mercantiles. These were, however, a small minority of the apostates and Gentiles living in Mount Pleasant—the vast majority lived and worked alongside their Mormon neighbors.
This analysis has concentrated on the male labor force of Sanpete County. The census schedules, however, also recorded occupations for the county’s women, which vary greatly between the different religious groups. Over 80% of the county’s adult women were recorded as “keeping house” (the standard census term for unwaged female labor within the home), and many others were listed with alternate descriptions of unwaged domestic work. The small minority for whom waged labor was recorded, however, reveal a diverse array of occupations. Many of these include traditionally female jobs, including fifteen schoolteachers, eight weavers, seven milliners, and three midwives. Other women, however, worked as telegraph operators, postmistresses, and store clerks, and two were recorded as farmers. This range, however, was almost entirely confined to Mormons. All but a handful of apostate and Gentile women were recorded as keeping house, though two Gentiles in Mount Pleasant and one apostate in Fairview were recorded as schoolteachers—presumably in those towns’ Protestant mission schools. Both Gentiles were single women from the eastern states, while the apostate teacher in Fairview was a widow. In contrast to the Mormon teachers in the valley, all three lived alone.

4.3 Park City: Mormons in a Mining Town

In Sanpete County, as in many other areas of maturing Mormon settlement, there existed a sizable non-Mormon population. In an economy heavily dependent on farming, this population was largely composed of apostate Mormons from the same ethnic and occupational backgrounds as the Mormon neighbors they lived alongside. The other end of Utah’s settlement continuum, however, showed no such homogeneity. In the mining and railroad towns that punctuated Utah’s Mormon valleys, many of the themes
central to Limerick’s New Western History were clearly visible. These themes, muted or absent in Mormon agricultural settlements, included economies centered on external connections and dominated by outside capital, divisions between labor and management, and a spectrum of often contentious ethnic diversity. In contrast to mining and railroad towns elsewhere in the west, these activities in Utah were located within the overall frameworks of Mormon settlement. Salt Lake City, as Chapter 3 made clear, concentrated Gentile economic activity—closely linked to the mines and railroads—in the heart of Mormon Zion. This, however, was only one aspect of Mormon presence in non-Mormon Utah. Mormons had long sold their produce to miners and railroaders, and by the 1880s, Mormons had become well-established minorities in Utah’s Gentile towns. The remainder of this chapter will explore the presence of Mormons within the spatial and economic structures of these non-Mormon towns through a case study of Park City, one of Utah’s largest and most prosperous mining towns.

4.3.1 Park City within Gentile Utah

Several factors motivate the selection of Park City from the nineteen Mormon-minority precincts noted in Chapter 2. These precincts, which included mining and railroad towns, as well as settlements on Utah’s borders, Fort Douglas, and even Indianola in Sanpete County, had a total population of 8,458 in 1880. This was 5.9% of Utah’s total population, but included 39.2% of the territory’s Gentiles, 9.6% of its apostates, and 30.4% of its ethnic minorities. However, mining was clearly predominant: eleven of the nineteen were mining towns, in contrast to four railroad settlements. These mining towns were also far more populous—together, they comprised 83.3% of the nineteen precincts’
population, and the mining towns’ average population was nearly double that of the railroad towns. Mining towns, moreover, were dispersed far more broadly across Utah territory. All four of the railroad towns were located in remote areas of northwestern Utah, where the transcontinental railroad passed north of the Great Salt Lake. In contrast, both northern and southern Utah had mining activity. Although most of Utah’s mining activity was concentrated in the mountains surrounding Salt Lake, the Frisco District in Beaver County and Washington County’s Silver Reef ranked among the most populous mining camps in Utah.

Although Meinig identified both railroads and mines as centers of non-Mormon settlement in Utah, the comparative absence of railroad towns in the nineteen Gentile-majority precincts is striking. The construction of the transcontinental railroad brought the end of Utah’s economic and political isolation, and enabled non-Mormon settlement and the extension of federal authority into the territory, but the geographies of Utah railroading in 1880 largely reflected the territory’s prior Mormon colonization. Most arable land along the Union Pacific and Central Pacific routes was settled by Mormons by the mid-1860s, leaving few areas for new railroad-based settlements to develop. The town of Corinne, founded by Gentile speculators as a junction point for the two railroads, briefly flourished as a center of Gentile commerce. Although Corinne’s proponents envisioned a commercial center to eclipse Salt Lake, the town’s fortunes dwindled as Mormon maneuvering shifted the railroad junction to Ogden, where Mormon-built railroads provided links north and south along the Wasatch Front (see Figure 3.1 on Page
By the 1880s, the Gentile capital city was fading—the 1880 census lists only 378 residents, and the town’s two 1884 Sanborn sheets show most lots unoccupied. Three other railroad towns in northwestern Utah—Promontory, Kelton, and Terrace—were established as maintenance centers on the Central Pacific Railroad, but the arid and isolated region offered few opportunities for commerce or agriculture.

Most of Utah’s railroads did not develop new towns, but operated within existing frameworks of settlement. By the 1880s, however, these settlement frameworks were not exclusively Mormon. Railroad transportation concentrated Gentile commerce in Salt Lake City and Ogden, and allowed silver, lead, and copper ores to be cheaply transported, spurring the development of Utah’s mining industry. By the 1880s, branch rail lines served many of the territory’s mining districts. The majority of these were constructed as extensions of Mormon-built railroads; initial plans for the Utah Southern Railroad included lines to Bingham, Alta, and American Fork, and service to the Frisco mining district was a key motive for extending the line into southern Utah.

Even though Mormon railroads spurred the development of mines in Utah Territory, deeply entrenched attitudes within Mormonism limited Mormon participation in mining. Since the initial occupation of the Salt Lake Valley, Brigham Young and his successors had emphasized agriculture as the foundation of Mormon settlement. Such a vision did not prohibit mining—indeed, missions were organized to mine iron ore near Cedar City, coal in Wales and at Summit County’s Coalville, and lead and zinc at Minersville in Beaver County. Rather, Mormon leaders emphasized the development

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of stable, settled, and coherent communities—a social order in direct conflict with the pursuit of individual wealth that characterized most Western mining camps. Instead, Utah’s gold and silver deposits had been developed under the vocally anti-Mormon leadership of Col. Patrick Connor, the commanding officer of Fort Douglas. Connor encouraged his Californian volunteers to prospect in the mountains surrounding Salt Lake City, resulting in the discovery and organization of most of northern Utah’s mining districts. The *Union Vedette*, published at Fort Douglas, touted the merits of Utah to western miners, and Connor himself speculated extensively in mine development.\(^{26}\) The mines of Utah were thus developed not under Mormon cooperation, but as an extension of the wealth-centered, boom-and-bust mining worlds that had been central to the settlement of California and Nevada. Nonetheless, by the early 1870s Mormon authorities had reached a partial reconciliation with mining: Mormons were authorized to work in the mines, but only after obtaining permission from their local bishops. Moreover, they were encouraged to take their pay in cash, and to apply their earnings to securing federal title to their farms and making agricultural improvements.\(^{27}\)

Located some thirty miles east of Salt Lake City, above a mountain valley used by Mormons as grazing land, Park City echoed many of the trends that shaped the history of Utah mining (Figure 4.9). Mormons under Samuel Snyder had constructed a sawmill in the valley in 1853, but elevation restricted the development of agricultural settlement. Ranches prospered, however, giving rise to a dispersed settlement known as Snyderville. Prospectors discovered silver ore in the canyons above the valley in 1869, but

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Fig. 4.9. Park City was located east of Salt Lake City, in the headwaters of Silver Creek.
mining development was fitful until the 1872 discovery of the Ontario lode, one of Utah’s richest.\(^{28}\) Within two decades, businesses, dwellings, railroads, and mills crowded the narrow canyon of Silver Creek (Figure 4.10). Even in 1880, the seven-year-old city had a population of 1,581, making it Utah’s most populous mining town, and the eighteenth most populous precinct in Utah Territory. Gentiles held a 65% majority, but Mormons were 15.8% of Park City’s population—a minority presence larger than that of all non-Mormons in most of Utah’s agricultural towns. Apostates were a further 10%, while nearly 3% of Park City were Chinese.

Park City’s large population was due to the unparalleled productivity of the Uintah Mining District. During the 1880 census year, ore produced in all Utah mines was assayed at some $6.2 million in value—the vast majority being from deep mining for silver. Of this total, Park City silver contributed $2.1 million, nearly twice the value of the Silver Reef district, or of all of Salt Lake County’s mining districts combined.\(^{29}\) Park City mines produced much finer ore than those elsewhere in the territory: the district’s 16,000-ton production was less than a third of Silver Reef’s.

At the heart of this production was the Ontario Mine, discovered in 1872. The mine had grown quickly; sold to George Hearst of San Francisco for $27,000 in 1873, by 1876 it had incorporated with a capitalization of $10 million—more than any other mine in Utah.\(^{30}\) By the end of the decade, the Ontario had purchased numerous adjacent

\(^{28}\) Hodson, “Non-Mormon Settlements,” 96.


Fig. 4.10. With mines underground, mills and mountains dominate an 1891 photograph looking south into Park City. A Union Pacific Railroad line ends at the foot of Main Street, which ascends steeply to the Ontario mills. The Marsac mill is visible at the far left of the frame, while houses cling to the hillsides at right. (Park City Museum.)
mining claims, and operated two hoisting works, a sawmill, boarding and lodging houses, and a forty-stamp mill. The mine employed 132, including seventy miners, six pumpmen, six firemen, and five Chinese cooks. Mining was not confined to the Ontario: the Empire, also capitalized at $10 million, employed fifty, and numerous smaller mines and mills filled the canyons adjacent to the city. In 1880 a Union Pacific branch line was completed to Park City, along with the construction of the city’s first smelter, and the initial publication of the Park Record newspaper. There is some indication that the census enumerators may have undercounted the city’s population: an 1880 petition for the city’s incorporation cited a (likely exaggerated) population of 3,500. Despite its comparative youth, Park City in 1880 was well established, both as a concentration of capital and as a center of population.

Park City’s demographics, however, clearly reflected its mining-camp roots. Of the 1,581 individuals recorded in the census, 1,074 were over eighteen years of age. Of these adults, over 75% were male. This concentration of unmarried males was not universal across the town’s population; rather, it varied widely by religion. Among Park City’s Gentiles, the percentages of adults and men roughly mirrored the city as a whole, but the city’s Mormon and apostate populations included more women and children. Only 56% of the city’s apostates were over 18, and men only slightly exceeded women. This pattern was less pronounced among Mormons, of whom 65% were men. In contrast, all of Park City’s Chinese were adults, and all but four were men—a result of that group’s background as contracted railroad workers.

4.3.2 Morphologies of Mining and Capital

The shape of settlement in Park City was far removed from the Mormon plans that dominated Utah settlements, and from the Utopian agricultural communities they generated. Park City, laid out in the narrow canyon of Silver Creek, turned its back on the open valley of the Snyderville Basin. Instead, its steep streets clung to the hillsides below the Ontario Mine. Park City was laid out not as a space for a homogeneous community, but as a speculative enterprise. Shortly after the 1872 discovery of the Ontario lode, three newcomers to the settlement purchased the land from the federal government, and surveyed a plat for the city. Before lots could be sold, however, it was necessary to evict numerous squatters, many of whom had been living and prospecting in the Silver Creek area for several years. The resulting town plan (Figure 4.11) anticipated the development of a sizable mining community and the wave of land speculation that would ensue. A regular street grid spread ranks of blocks up the steep canyon sides, where tiny twenty-five by seventy-five foot lots maximized the number of potential land scales. A large area in the center of the plat was left undivided, as a reservation for an ore mill. This plan, however, proved unrealistic. Many of the envisioned streets, located on steep hills, were never opened or graded, and numerous buildings paid little heed to official lot boundaries. Nonetheless, by the time Sanborn maps of the city were produced in 1889, Park City boasted a bustling business district on Main Street, numerous mills, and residential areas clinging to its mountainsides. Just as the urban morphology of Manti underscored that town’s agrarian character and limited commerce, Park City’s

Fig. 4.11. Park City’s plan provided a central reservation for the Marsac mill, but its street grid was unsuited to the town’s topography.
layout highlights the dominance of mines and mills over the city’s commercial districts and workers’ housing.

Park City had no central reference point comparable to the religious reserves of Salt Lake City and Manti. Instead, its layout focused on the fifty-foot wide Main Street, which ran north to south along the canyon bottom, a short distance from Silver Creek. At the foot of the street lay Park City’s railroad depot, connected by ore tramways to adjacent mills and mines in nearby canyons. At the street’s head, the massive Ontario quartz mills loomed over the city. Despite its steep slope, Main Street was lined by the hotels, saloons, and shops of Park City’s business district, which only gave way to dwellings near the street’s upper end. Main Street also divided the city area into residential and industrial sections. West of Main, residential streets lined with one-story dwellings climbed the slopes of Silver Creek Canyon. Across the boarded-over Silver Creek, in contrast, lay the 30-stamp Marsac Mill, which by 1889 had been absorbed into the operations of the Daly Mining Company. Although a few homes perched on the hillsides above the mill, the steep slope between the canyon bottom and Marsac Avenue left them effectively isolated.

Sheets from the 1889 Sanborn maps of Park City provide a closer look at the proximity of industrial, residential, and commercial land uses in Silver Creek Canyon. Figure 4.12 shows the northern end of Main Street, with the rail depot just off the map’s right side. Although the greatest concentration of commercial activity in Park City was located further up Main, the street’s lower reaches contained the City Hall and several mining offices, including that of the adjacent Marsac Mill. The two-story Park City Hotel lay in close proximity to the depot, as did a number of one-story buildings housing
Fig. 4.12. Lower Main Street was dominated by the Marsac Mill, yet numerous businesses clustered around the railroad depot. (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Park City, 1889, sheet 4.)
saloons, grocers, two Chinese laundries, and a feed stable. These businesses, however, were notably less concentrated near the mill, which filled nearly all of the canyon’s eastern slope, spilling firewood piles over the nominal right-of-way of Marsac Avenue. Adjacent to these woodpiles, two “Female Boarding” houses and several shanties suggest a seedier quarter of the city. In contrast, the streets west of Main contained several large homes with bay windows, along with the city’s public school. The steep incline of the canyon side, however, restricted most development above Woodside Avenue.

Further up Main Street, Park City’s business district was more concentrated, yet the overall pattern of commercial, residential, and industrial land use remained consistent. In Figure 4.13 just uphill from the Marsac Mill, nearly continuous one-story commercial buildings lined Main Street, housing a wide variety of retailers in addition to saloons and laundries. Here, however, the most prominent buildings were not hotels, but the Masonic Lodge and Society Hall. The area west of Main Street was again chiefly residential, and like the commercial area was more extensively occupied. Along Park Avenue, a block away from Main, Congregational, Methodist, and Episcopal Churches punctuated blocks of somewhat smaller homes. These three Protestant churches were located in close proximity both to one another and to the heart of the business district. Park City’s Catholic church, in contrast, lay several blocks south of the extent of this map, in a chiefly residential area at the upper end of town. Although the precise occupancy of these residential blocks is again elusive, this suggests a spatial differentiation between Anglo-American and Irish Catholic residential areas. Ethnic

33. No Mormon meeting house is visible in the 1889 Sanborn maps, nor is any congregation recorded in the 1884 Utah Gazetteer.
Fig. 4.13. Midway up Main Street, Park City’s Chinatown lay across Silver Creek from the center of the business district. (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Park City, 1889, sheet 5.)
occupancy was far more explicit on the east side of Silver Creek. Upstream from the millsite, more than a dozen small dwellings formed Park City’s “Chinese Quarters.” This sliver of land, wedged between the creek and a steep hillside, lay less than one block from the heart of the business district, yet it was clearly differentiated from the surrounding urban fabric. An inclined footbridge spanning the creek passed directly over the Chinese homes to access white residential areas at the top of the hill, visibly reinforcing the Chinese position at the bottom of Park City’s social and ethnic order.

Although these maps record the tightly packed land use of central Park City, by the late 1880s mining development had expanded into many surrounding areas. Miners’ housing extended into available level ground both in the valley below and up the forks of Silver Creek. Two miles up Ontario Canyon, the eponymous mine operated three large hoisting and pumping works, each accompanied by the workshops of carpenters and blacksmiths, large timber piles, and workers’ boarding houses. Annotations on the Sanborn maps indicate that all three employed watchmen day and night to guard the machinery. Less extensive works owned by other companies operated in surrounding drainages, including Empire and Thaynes Canyons and Deer Valley. Although the retail business district at Park City’s center was far more developed than its counterparts in similarly sized Mormon towns, it was but an outgrowth of the city’s mining lifeblood.

High in the mountains above the Mormon farming world, Park City’s urban layout was dominated by the prosperity of its mines and mills—one of the largest concentrations of capital investment in Utah. In close proximity to this wealth, however, individual miners lived in small and hastily constructed dwellings, in neighborhoods divided by class and ethnicity. Such divisions, all but unknown in Mormon towns, were hallmarks
of mining towns both elsewhere in Utah and throughout the West. Although towns such as Bingham and Eureka varied in their precise layout, each operated as an extension of its mineral wealth, obtained through labor, processed by industry, and monetized through transportation connections to distant markets. One common feature of Western mining towns, however, was absent from Park City’s layout. Despite the city’s wealth, nowhere in its urban landscape were there opulent dwellings of mine owners and managers. At most, a handful of homes were larger and more architecturally detailed, but even these were only one story in height. Instead, much of Park City’s wealth concentrated in the Salt Lake Valley thirty miles to the west. Utah’s capital had much closer ties to outside financial markets, but was also centrally located among multiple mining districts, making it a far more suitable base for speculators and mine owners. Park City thus formed one of many satellites of the Gentile business district and residential quarters of Salt Lake explored in Chapter 3. Of the eight mine owners explicitly noted in the Utah census, seven lived in the Fifteenth and Eleventh Wards of Salt Lake City.

4.3.3 Park City’s Working Worlds

Because of the dominant role of mining in Park City, listings in business directories are less useful in characterizing the breadth of the city’s economy. While the business directories record the retail and service sectors of Park City’s economy, as well as the city’s churches and social organizations, they give little mention to the mineworkers and tradesmen who made up most of the city’s population. These directories are investigated later in this chapter, but this analysis first concentrates on the more comprehensive range of occupations listed in the census schedules. Through these records, it explores four
categories of employment within Park City, highlighting both the town’s dependence on
mining employment and the multiplier economies that mining produced.

First, the central role of mining suggested by the urban morphology of Park City
is confirmed in the census schedules for the town. The 360 miners recorded in the
census made up over two-fifths of the town’s adult male workforce. A further sixty-
three mill workers were listed, indicating that over half of Park City worked in the
town’s dominant industry. These miners and millers were drawn from a broad cross-
section of Park City’s population, including Mormons and apostates as well as Gentiles,
and individuals from a wide variety of ancestries. Miners’ recorded birthplaces spanned
some twenty states and countries, but the majority were concentrated among a handful of
ethnic backgrounds: 100 Irishmen were the most prominent group employed in mining,
but miners also included fifty New Yorkers, thirty-nine Englishmen, and twenty-two
Canadians. Twelve native Utahns—most of them Mormon—were the most numerous
group from the American West. Mill workers came from similarly diverse backgrounds,
but no ancestry was as dominant as in mining. Unfortunately, the census records give
fairly little indication of any more subtle occupational distinctions within these broad
categories, or of how these distinctions may have corresponded to ethnicity.

Employment differentiation in the mining industry is more clearly visible through
the handful of individuals whose occupations indicate managerial or technical roles within
the mines. This managerial class was numerically far more limited: the census schedules
list only four mine foremen and three mill foremen. Although all were Gentiles, no
clear ethnic concentration is evident, and two of the recorded foremen were Irish. No
superintendents or other officials are noted, though the schedules record one mine owner:
Edward Terry, a Michigan-born Gentile. Nineteen engineers, also all Gentile, may also have played supervisory roles in the mines, though their precise duties are unclear.

A second category, consisting of tradesmen and laborers, was also heavily involved in the mining industry. These individuals were not necessarily all employed in the mines, but their extensive presence in Park City was almost certainly due to mining demand. These included many trades present throughout Utah, but in numbers well in excess of even the largest Mormon towns. Park City, for instance, included forty-two carpenters and eight blacksmiths. Undoubtedly, the city needed houses built and horses shod, but the majority of these individuals likely worked at constructing mine timbers and repairing mining implements. A few more specialized trades, including three machinists, a millwright, and a boilermaker also fell into this category. Several individuals provided non-mineral inputs for the mines and mills: fifteen wood cutters—many of them Mormon—were listed, along with two charcoal burners. An additional eleven teamsters transported these goods through the city’s steep and crowded streets. The most numerous segment of this category, however, were Park City’s 70 undifferentiated laborers, who made up 8.6% of the male workforce. As with the miners, these were drawn from numerous ethnic backgrounds, but nearly one in five laborers was English.

Retail goods and services formed a third category in Park City’s employment. These occupations were similarly far more extensive than those found in even large Mormon towns, and they heavily reflected the demographics and social order of Gentile Park City. The most numerous of these occupations underscored the differences between Park City and Mormon settlements. With no agricultural activity in the town, Park City employed twelve grocers and six butchers. Park City was also well-removed from
Mormon temperance: eighteen saloon keepers and bartenders were recorded, and one Gentile was listed as a gambler. More generally, retailing was far more extensive in Park City than in the self-sufficient and cash-poor Mormon settlements. The town employed ten store clerks, and a wide variety of more specialized retailers, including jewelers, stationers, dealers in men’s' furnishing goods, and even a “polisher of pianos.” Although the majority of retailing in Park City centered around the provision of basic staples, the presence of such luxury goods is striking. These retail sectors, however, were largely non-Mormon. Within the broader distribution of Park City’s retailers, a few occupational clusters deserve further comment. Only a handful of Mormons were employed in Park City’s retail sector. Although the notion of Mormons selling their agricultural produce to mining towns is frequently mentioned in the literature, three-quarters of the city’s grocers were Gentiles. This, presumably, reflected Park City’s relative distance from Mormon farming towns and proximity to Salt Lake wholesale markets—though the produce sourced from those markets was likely grown by valley Mormons. In contrast, two Mormon dairymen and three Mormon ranchers likely sold the products of Snyderville Basin grazing, and all four of the city’s shoemakers were Scandinavian Mormons. Apostates were considerably more prominent among the city’s retailers, working as clerks and retail proprietors. Park City’s only druggist was an apostate, as was the owner of its livery stable, and three of the town’s bartenders had turned away from the Mormon prohibition of alcohol.

The abundance of unmarried men in the mining town created extensive demand for many services otherwise provided in the home. Twenty-seven cooks and sixteen laundry workers were listed in the census. These occupations were central to Park City’s
Chinese community, a group excluded not only from the city’s mines and mills, but from the ranks of its unskilled laborers. Eighteen of the city’s cooks were Chinese, as were all of its laundry workers. Additionally, these service jobs employed a handful of women, including four cooks and three laundresses. In contrast, the census schedules for Park City make no mention of prostitution, another occupation prevalent in Western mining towns. Although prostitutes almost certainly plied their trade in this highly masculine environment, it appears that the census enumerator either did not record them, or euphemistically gave their occupation as “keeping house.” Unfortunately, the absence of address data makes it impossible to determine whether any of these corresponded to the boarding houses noted in Figure 4.12.

Professionals and government officials were the smallest of the four categories but their quantity and religious distribution highlighted the differences between the city and Mormon farming towns. Park City’s three doctors and one dentist marked both the community’s wealth and the occupational hazards of mining, while its four lawyers reflected the dominance of the court system over “bishop’s justice.” Of these, all but a Mormon lawyer were Gentiles. The census further listed three government officials, while even the largest Sanpete County towns had listed none. These, too, reflected the city’s character: a recorder of deeds, based not in the county seat of Coalville (24 miles to the northeast) but in Park City, reflected the complex paperwork and frequent litigation of mining claims, while a constable and a justice of the peace maintained order amid ethnic diversity, economic disparity, and a saloon culture. Once again, all three were Gentiles. No bankers, however, were listed in the Park City census schedules, further suggesting that the investment and finances of the mines were managed in Salt Lake.
The *Utah Gazetteer*, published four years after the census, broadly mirrors the overall economic framework outlined above, but it does offer several insights into Park City’s retail and service sectors, as well as its continuing growth. Of the seventy-nine businesses listed for Park City, only eight were tradesmen. This reinforces the suggestion that most of the blacksmithe, carpenters, and machinists listed in the census worked in the mines. The listed retailers generally agree with the distribution recorded in the census, but a few deviations suggest the rapid pace of the city’s growth. Three coal dealers reflect the completion of the railroad linking Park City to Coalville, and the likely decline of Park City charcoal production. The directory also lists the Park City Bank, presumably recently established, as well as a telephone exchange and the publisher of the *Park Record*. Forty-one of the business owners listed in the directory could not be identified in the census schedules—a clear indication of the highly mobile population of western mining camps. Of the individuals who could be identified, however, the Gentile dominance of the town’s commerce is clear: the directory lists only four Mormons and two apostates. Finally, although seven mining company offices are listed in the directory, the Ontario and Empire Mining Companies, Park City’s two largest, maintained their primary offices in Salt Lake City.

In addition to the business listings, the *Gazetteer’s* description of Park City provides several insights into the development of social and religious institutions in the town. Three churches are listed, including the Congregational Church and a Methodist Mission, but it appears that the Episcopal Church was established later in the decade. The directory record further claims that the Catholic Church of the Assumption had a
membership of 800, though this figure is likely overinflated. Fraternal organizations in Park City included a Masonic Lodge, two Odd Fellows chapters, and a chapter of the Knights of Pythias. Two religious schools, one Catholic and one Congregational, were also listed, though Park City’s public school was only established in 1889. Park City’s overall character, however, remained rooted in the transitory life of the mining camp: the Gazetteer concluded its description of the city by noting that “the uncertain character of a majority of the people, while they do not affect the prosperity of the city—as their places are filled upon departure, if work is good—still prevents that more perfect organization of society which results from the assurance of permanence.”

4.3.4 The Mormon Place in Park City

The above overview has shown the foundational role of capital-intensive mining in Park City, coupled with the retail, service, and trade-based sectors that mining employment enabled. Throughout the city’s economy, however, Gentiles were predominant. All of the managers of Park City’s mines were Gentiles, as were the vast majority of its professionals and government officials. Although Mormon majorities were notable in a few specific occupations, these majorities did not extend to any larger sector of Park City’s economy. Instead, Mormons were one of many ethnic and cultural subgroups in the city. In the absence of an overriding Mormon majority, the diverse peoples elsewhere lumped together as “Gentiles” became clearly visible. Park City was not simply a

34. Sloan, Utah Gazetteer and Directory, 208–211.
35. Ibid., 218–228.
36. Ibid., 150.
world of Mormons and Gentiles, but one of Mormons, apostates, Irish Catholics, Anglo-American Protestants, German and Welsh engineers, and Chinese cooks and laundrymen. Even so, Park City’s Mormon presence distinguished it from mining camps elsewhere in the West. In contrast to the endogenous non-Mormons of Sanpete County, Park City’s Mormon population clearly reflected the city’s interface with the surrounding Mormon settlement system. The remainder of this chapter will explore the dimensions of Mormon and apostate presence in Park City, noting four distinct clusters of relative Mormon concentration that suggest motivations for Mormon settlement in this unaccustomed milieu.

First, roughly a tenth of the city’s miners and mill workers were Mormon—a concentration that mirrors the prominence of mining and milling in Park City’s overall economy. Mormons, however, were proportionally fewer in mines and mills than their sixteen percent of Park City’s total population—a disparity that likely reflected Mormons’ continuing reluctance to work in the mines. Nonetheless, the mines were the largest employer of Park City’s Mormons, employing one-third of the adult male Mormon population. Six additional Mormons were employed in the mills. Once again, it is unfortunate that no finer details of the nature of this employment are noted, as the roles Mormons played within the mines and mills would be of considerable interest. Nonetheless, it appears that numerous Mormons took note of their leaders’ increasing tolerance of Mormon participation in mining.

Skilled trades formed a second concentration of Mormon employment. This was particularly evident in carpentry, where seven of Park City’s forty-two carpenters were Mormon. Carpentry, as the Sanpete County analysis noted, was one of the more widely
practiced Mormon trades. On the other hand, none of Park City’s blacksmiths were Mormon, nor were any of the mechanics or millwrights. However, a more substantial Mormon presence was evident in the building trades: two of the city’s five painters were Mormon, as was one of the six stone masons and the city’s only plasterer. The Mormon presence was even more evident in unskilled labor, where eighteen Mormons made up a quarter of the city’s recorded laborers. Similarly, thirty-five percent of the city’s woodcutters and nearly twenty percent of its teamsters were Mormons. Even if lingering cultural biases kept Mormons from mining work, many were willing to ply their trades in the mining town in exchange for cash wages.

A final cluster of Mormon employment suggests the effects of commerce between Park City and agrarian Mormon worlds. In Park City, these effects were slightly muted, due to the lack of agricultural settlement in the surrounding high valleys. Snyderville, though largely Mormon and only a few miles from Park City, was based on grazing rather than farming. Nonetheless, Park City’s was home to two Mormon dairymen and three ranchers. The diminished role of Mormons in the Park City grocery business has been noted, but one in six Park City grocers were Mormon, and the Salt Lake Valley’s farms and gardens undoubtedly provisioned the city.

Throughout these four categories, the economic motivation for Mormon settlement in Park City is clear. Faced with rapidly filling valley settlements and scarce cash, Mormons drew on the resources available to them to seek opportunity among the Gentiles. Many marketed their skills as tradesmen, others exploited their agricultural backgrounds, and still more offered only their willingness to labor for a wage. The Mormons in Park City were not just temporary workers laboring for a seasons’ pay
before returning to their farms. Park City’s Mormon population included more women and children than the city as a whole, and many of the listed Mormon workers were older married men. These settled workers, however, were not equally represented across all occupations: two-thirds of the Mormon miners were over age 25, but only one-third were married. In contrast, half of the millers and laborers were married, and only one of the seven carpenters was single. Nonetheless, these tradesmen and laborers by 1880 comprised a well-established minority presence in the mining town. Although Park City’s Mormons were in an unaccustomed minority role, many of them had come to stay.

At the same time, Park City’s Mormons remained in a somewhat tenuous position. Even if their occupancy and employment was not restricted as it was for the Chinese, they remained at the periphery of the city’s Gentile-dominated economic and governmental power structures. Neither were they fully acknowledged by the Mormon leadership; even though many rural areas with populations much smaller than Park City’s 153 Mormons had organized Mormon wards, there appears to have been no Mormon meeting in the city throughout the 1880s. The date at which one was organized is unclear, but Mormon Church Historian Andrew Jenson’s *Church Chronology* notes that Park City’s Mormon congregation was officially granted the status of a ward in 1901. By that time, of course, the cultural attitudes underlying Mormon settlement of Utah had dramatically shifted. During the two decades following the 1880 census, the Mormon abandonment of polygamy brought statehood to Utah, and the state’s economy had

been integrated within that of a broader American West. This subsequent social and economic transformation is discussed in the next chapter.
Chapter 5

Conclusions

The three case studies investigated in this thesis have highlighted the extent and diversity of non-Mormons in Utah’s settlement system. Although this settlement system had been organized under church direction and was still largely inhabited by Mormons, a decade of rapidly expanding non-Mormon presence had begun to transform its economy, geography, and culture. Non-Mormons had not only settled in mining camps and railroad towns, but had reshaped the urban fabric of Salt Lake City, establishing distinct commercial and residential quarters even as they shared those spaces with the Mormon faithful. Although this non-Mormon presence was considerably more attenuated in the agrarian towns of Sanpete County, it was nonetheless evident, particularly in the large apostate minorities of Mount Pleasant and other towns. In addition, the overall analysis of Chapter 2 confirmed that these case studies were not isolated concentrations of non-Mormon settlement, but emblematic of a broad continuum of occupancy stretching across over two-thirds of Utah’s 1880 precincts.

Within the broad continuum of occupancy in Utah, non-Mormons—including Gentiles, apostates, Indians, and Chinese—occupied numerous spatial and occupational niches. One trend, however, was clear: most of these non-Mormon presences either lay firmly within, or were supported by, the growth in commerce and industry made possible by the completion of the transcontinental railroad a decade before. This was most evident
in Salt Lake City, where the combination of mining investment and retail and wholesale trade enabled large multiplier economies, but mining development at Park City was also enhanced by the advent of cheap railroad transportation. In Sanpete County, on the other hand, a lack of railroad connections paralleled limited commercial development and the comparative absence of non-Mormons.

This concluding chapter will review the findings of this study in light of both the subsequent expansion of Utah’s population and the range of analytical frameworks introduced in the opening chapter’s literature review. Although this thesis has sketched the prevailing trends of non-Mormon presence in 1880s Utah, it raises numerous questions for further study.

5.1 Utah’s Unfolding Transformation

Both the extent of Utah’s settlement system and the structures of transportation and commerce that shaped it changed dramatically in the decades after 1880. Although the settled areas of Utah continued to expand well into the 1920s, these expansions were of a markedly different character than Utah’s early church-directed colonization. Most of the elements that had made Mormonism a central shaping force in the early settlement of Utah would fade after the 1880s. The Perpetual Emigrating Fund that subsidized new converts’ migration to Utah was dissolved by federal order in 1887, curtailing large-scale missionary activity, and ending the organized “Gathering of Zion.”

Church involvement in settlement planning and direction similarly decreased, due both to a lack of arable land in Utah and the small and peripheral character of the new settlements. After

the turn of the century, advances in dry-farming techniques and capital investment in high-line canals, larger reservoirs, and other large-scale irrigation improvements brought cultivation to many new areas of Utah, and expanded the scale of agriculture in settled districts. These new agrarian expansions, however, were far removed from the classic Mormon village landscape. In a world of privately owned lands, dispersed settlement prevailed, and town-building was a task of private speculators. Settlers were not “called” Mormons, but a mixture of Mormons and Gentiles acting independently. These later settlements, in areas once dismissed by Mormon colonizers, were broadly successful. Between 1880 and 1914, six new counties were organized in Utah, reflecting both the settlement of these new areas and the maturation of settlements that had been embryonic in the 1880 census.

In place of agricultural expansion, Utah’s settlement system was transformed by commercial and industrial concentration. This concentration was most dramatic in Salt Lake City, where railroad connections fueled rapid urban growth. Railroads not only linked Salt Lake to Sanpete County and other agrarian hinterlands, but connected the city to other centers of western commerce. During the 1880s, new rail connections linked Salt Lake with Butte, Portland, and Denver, and by 1910 these had expanded to include Los Angeles and a second line to San Francisco. Salt Lake became not only Utah’s primate city and commercial capital, but the “Crossroads of the West.” The city’s population more than doubled (to nearly 45,000) between 1880 and 1890, and exceeded 100,000 by 1920.

New construction in the city slowed due to the depressed economy...
of the 1890s, but the commercial presence of non-Mormons became increasingly visible after the turn of the century. Along Main Street, southward expansion of the Gentile business district included ten-story office buildings, a neoclassical federal courthouse, and the ornate Salt Lake Stock Exchange and Commercial Club buildings. A block to the east, on the former staging ground of incoming wagon trains, the Romanesque spires of Salt Lake’s 1894 City Hall challenged the Mormon Temple’s dominance on the skyline. Salt Lake’s residential quarters, too, reflected the city’s growth, as the mansions of mining magnates lined South Temple Street, punctuated by Catholic and Episcopal cathedrals.

A similar trend of concentration marked Utah’s mining communities. Although several of the mining camps active in the 1880s soon played out, Park City, Tintic and Bingham were active through the subsequent decades. Within these towns, new ore discoveries fueled further growth and investment, though Salt Lake remained the commercial market and control center for Utah’s mines. Additional mining growth was spurred by the 1906 development of open-pit mining of immense quantities of low-grade copper ore at Bingham. The most significant development in Utah’s mining sector, however, came when the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad connected Salt Lake to coal fields at Price, in what would become Carbon County. Price, along with numerous smaller mining towns, swelled with Gentile miners, many of them immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe. Although Carbon County coal soon made earlier Mormon mines at Coalville and Wales unprofitable, it fueled industrial expansion in Salt Lake City. Indeed, as May notes, by the 1920s, the production of copper and coal, among
other industrial metals, had eclipsed the former prominence of precious metals in Utah’s mining economy.  

Sanpete County, on the other hand, fared less well in subsequent decades. The completion of two rail lines through the county diminished travel times and transportation costs and opened markets for the county’s produce, but the character of Manti, Ephraim, Mount Pleasant, and other towns remained primarily agrarian. Railroads sped the transport of people and goods to and from the Wasatch Front metropolitan core, but did not effectively alter long-established urban hierarchies. Sanpete County was also hit hard by the troubled economy of the 1890s: many farmers, newly exposed to available credit, were unable to repay their debts. Indeed, populations in many Sanpete County towns declined dramatically after 1900, as available lands diminished and young adults left the valley in search of other opportunities. Many towns, including Ephraim, Manti, and Mount Pleasant, had not returned to their 1900 population levels by 1980.

The diminishing population of Sanpete County, however, was the exception rather than the rule in Utah. In the four subsequent decades, Utah’s population increased rapidly. Censuses recorded Utah’s population as 210,779 in 1890 and 276,749 in 1900—a near-doubling over 1880 totals. By 1920, Utah’s population neared half a million. Much of this population growth involved non-Mormons. In 1880, Mormons comprised roughly four-fifths of Utah’s population; by 1890 their majority had declined to two-thirds, and by 1920 had reached a low point of 55%. Although it is impossible to precisely identify

5. Peterson and Bennion, Sanpete Scenes, 42–43.
6. Ibid., 24.
8. Ibid., 51.
the locations of this Gentile influx, the growth of commerce in Salt Lake and Ogden and the continuing mining boom, set against the relative decline of the Mormon agrarian hinterland, were major themes in Utah’s transforming settlement geography.

This shift in the state’s economic and population geography illustrated in this thesis formed a background for the cultural transformations traced in Yorgason’s analysis of Mormon discourses. Between 1880 and 1920, Mormons reversed their positions on numerous issues that had once been hallmarks of their culture. Not only did all but a handful of Mormons in breakaway sects abandon polygamy, but Mormon culture emphasized conservative gender relations. Mormons likewise turned from their earlier communitarianism to pursue individual economic gain, and participated actively in bi-partisan government of their new state. Although the precise geographies corresponding to these discourses are unclear, these shifts were more than simply responses to federal prosecution of polygamy. Instead, they reflected the growing presence of non-Mormons in the beehive of Utah, and the effects of their presence on previous Mormon social and economic structures.

5.2 Reconciling Analytical Frames

In addition to the relevance of this study to the cultural transformation articulated by Yorgason, its findings offer insights on, and corrections to, many of the previous studies of Utah’s Mormon settlement. This study has showcased a complexity in Utah’s population that is all but absent from the early historical geographic literature on Utah. Although the nineteen majority non-Mormon towns identified in Chapter 2 correspond roughly with Meinig’s framework of “Gentile intrusions,” they were only one component
of a widespread and variegated non-Mormon presence in Utah. This non-Mormon presence played a crucial role in shaping Salt Lake City as a metropolitan center of business and trade, and non-Mormon minorities were fairly common well into Utah’s hinterland. Utah’s population, moreover, was not strictly divided between Mormons and Gentiles—the apostate presences noted in Sanpete County suggest that the boundaries between Mormon and Gentile were often fluid, and highlight the growth of an endogenous non-Mormon population well removed from mineral riches and commercial deposits. The Gentile-dominated mining town of Park City was similarly complex—many businesses were owned by apostate Mormons, and a sizable Mormon minority had come not only to work, but to build homes and raise families.

Ultimately, however, Meinig’s work retains considerable validity, and deserves its classic status. Its goal, it should be stressed, was not to fully explore and analyze the range and distribution of Utah’s Mormon and non-Mormon communities, but to define and explain the spatial boundaries of one distinctive region within the American West within the frame of a thirty-page article. Although Utah’s population exhibited considerable diversity, it should be remembered that Gentile, apostate, and other terms used frequently in this study have little meaning outside Utah. Meinig’s work approached Mormon colonization from just such an outsider’s perspective, pursuing not an extensive understanding of local intricacies, but an overall prototype for regional (and, ultimately, national) characterization and comparison.

More surprising, however, is the lack of attention to such subtle variation by the more detailed and archivally intensive works that followed Meinig’s paper. For these authors, it appears, Meinig’s regional focus was not a useful abstraction in support of
further comparative work, but a frame through which Utah’s historical geography was distilled into the most palpable elements of Mormon distinctiveness. This overly narrow focus drew attention away from questions of non-Mormons’ presence and roles within Utah. Over forty years after Meinig’s paper was published, no studies have examined the commercial and functional hierarchies of Utah’s Mormon settlements. Similarly, despite considerable research on the forms and landscapes of Mormon settlement, questions of subsequent occupancy, land subdivision, and building succession within these towns have been almost completely ignored. The Sanborn maps presented within this thesis were cursory beginnings intended to suggest the character and function of Utah’s urban places, but their full analysis could be a lengthy study in its own right.

Many of the themes suggested in the New Western History are clearly evident and complex in this study. One of the most prominent themes addressed by Limerick—the role of the federal government in shaping the West—was a central element of the waning Mormon dominion over Utah. The federal government’s policies subsidized the building of railroads, and encouraged the development of mines, substantially encouraging the commercial activity central to Utah’s Gentile population. Federal prosecution of polygamy, and the anti-Mormon initiatives that accompanied it, not only forced eventual Mormon capitulation on the issue of gender relations, but curtailed Mormon immigration and restricted the assets available to Mormon businesses. Direct federal presence in the spaces and populations of Utah in 1880, however, was limited. Although military posts at Fort Douglas and Fort Cameron proclaimed federal power, federal officials made up a relatively small portion of Salt Lake City’s population, and were all but absent beyond. Instead, the imposition of federal authority on Utah was channeled through existing
legal frameworks, which the Mormons largely respected. The Mormon abandonment of polygamy was not a military surrender, but a response to the Supreme Court’s 1889 ruling in *Late Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints vs. United States* that plural marriage was not protected by the First Amendment[^9].

The location of Utah’s federal courtroom and territorial officials in a Salt Lake office building is indicative of a broader conjunction of federal power and non-Mormon commercial activity. Within the legal frameworks maintained by the federal government, commerce and investment played crucial role in attracting non-Mormons to Utah, and in supplanting Mormon institutions. Outside capital investment built the railroads, speculated in the mines, and stocked the extensive stores of Salt Lake City. My case studies have suggested the effects of this investment, rather than directly tracking its sources and destinations. Nonetheless, the links connecting Salt Lake City and Park City were clearly evident, as was the retarding influence of Salt Lake on Sanpete County’s commercial development. Further study of the origins and disposal of capital investment in Utah—perhaps using surviving records from Salt Lake’s banks, mining companies, and retailers—could do much to illustrate the geographies and demographies of commerce and industry in a connected Utah.

Despite the prominence of federal power and outside investment, the commercial development and cultural transformation of Utah does not precisely fit the meta-narrative of conquest advanced by Limerick. Although the Mormons were subjects of federal prosecution, and their institutions were weakened by competing Gentile economies, they were not without power in shaping Utah’s development. The establishment of

Corinne—one of the most pointed attempts to turn Utah’s settlement hierarchy away from its Mormon roots—rapidly foundered. Mormon-built branch railroads maintained the centrality of Utah’s Mormon settlements, even as Mormon dominance within those settlements was challenged. Mormon boycotts of Gentile merchants continued through the early 1880s, giving rise to a distinct commercial system centered around the Mormon cooperatives. Once those boycotts were abandoned, Mormons and Gentiles rapidly formed associations such as the Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce, seeking not retribution and retaliation, but mutual profit. Only six years after Mormon President Wilford Woodruff capitulated to federal demands regarding polygamy, Utah was granted statehood, even though the Mormon leadership continued to play a central role in the state’s economy and culture. Although federal authority was imposed on Utah, Utah’s white, English-speaking Mormons retained considerable agency within their new state and used that agency to recast themselves as model Americans.

Themes of conquest and dominion are somewhat more germane with regard to Utah’s ethnic minorities. In the case of both Chinese and Native Americans, a clear racial hierarchy was evident in Utah’s population. The two groups were only rarely found in the same settlements: Chinese populations were associated with Gentile influences, settling in mining and railroad towns, and in small areas of Salt Lake City and Ogden, while Native Americans were largely found on the outskirts of Mormon settlements, and in Mormon-run Indian farms. Behind this dichotomy lay a sharp division in cultural attitudes. To Utah’s Gentiles, along with most white settlers in the broader West, the Chinese were an inferior race. Drawing on this prejudice, federal policy restricted, and subsequently barred, Chinese immigration. Treatment of those Chinese already
resident in Utah mirrored that elsewhere in the West: restricted in their living quarters, they were tolerated as cooks, laundrymen, and railroad laborers, but barred from other sectors of the economy. In contrast, Mormons viewed Native Americans as “Lamanites,” descendants of peoples in the Book of Mormon. Mormons thus sought to “redeem” the Indians, teaching them agriculture and converting them to Mormonism. In practice, however, Utah’s Native Americans were likewise subject peoples: Indian resistance to Mormon expansion had been violently quashed during the Black Hawk War of the 1860s, with massacres mirroring the treatment of Indians elsewhere in the West. Church Indian farms were located in peripheral areas, and the handful of Indians living within Mormon settlements were employed as domestic servants.

Within the overall white majority of Utah’s settlers, the roles of ethnicity were not as clear. The case studies occasionally noted concentrated populations with particular ethnic backgrounds, including the Welsh at Wales, the Swedes and Danish in Sanpete County, and the Irish miners in Park City. These passing observations nonetheless indicate considerable diversity in the ancestry of Mormons and non-Mormons alike. Once again, this diversity took different expressions in different places. The legacy of directed colonization had left many Mormon towns occupied chiefly by one or two ancestral groups, but Mormon culture encouraged rapid assimilation. Indeed, Limerick has suggested that Mormonism was the basis for a distinct ethnicity within the West.\(^{10}\) In Gentile towns, in contrast, multiple ethnic identities were clearly visible both in the census schedules and in the built environment. Much more work, however, could be

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done to explore the roles of ancestry in shaping the evolving character of Utah and the encounters of Mormons and non-Mormons within it.

Finally, the census schedules indicated that the relevance of gender in Mormon Utah went well beyond the struggles for representational authority described by Morin and Guelke. The census schedules themselves are of limited use in tracking plural marriage, as the census procedures were not geared to highlight multiple wives. Although a few cases of polygamy were clearly evident in the census schedules, most were more ambiguous. Throughout the schedules, a large number of female-headed households were notable, but it is unclear whether these were widows, husbands who worked elsewhere, or polygamous wives who maintained their own living arrangements. Women’s’ work, in contrast, was far more recognizable. Although the vast majority of women were recorded as “keeping house,” many others worked in traditionally female jobs, as schoolteachers, domestic, milliners, and seamstresses. A few were store clerks, or managed their own farms. Salt Lake City, along with Park City and other Gentile-majority towns, housed prostitutes, though these were recorded inconsistently in the census. One overall trend, however, was notable: across both Mormon- and Gentile-majority towns, working women were almost entirely drawn from the religious majority population.

Through this thesis, the analysis of archival records has allowed the human geography of Utah in the 1880s to be explored in far greater detail than was previously possible. The portrait of a changing Utah Territory provided by the census schedules, Sanborn maps, and city directories reconciles the disparate approaches that have dominated scholarship on Utah’s historical geography. Although the legacies of Mormon settlement in Utah are undeniably clear, the census records reveal considerable
diversity, both in the religious composition of Utah’s population, and in the spectrum of ethnicity, class, gender, and capital that shaped the lives of Mormons and non-Mormons alike. These themes strongly resonate with Limerick’s New Western History, but were not uniformly expressed across Utah. Instead, they traced the outlines of a broad continuum of occupancy stretching from Mormon farm villages to Gentile mining towns to the commercial capital of Salt Lake City. Within this system of settlements, religious demography, economic influence, and local and national scale connections intertwined to produce intricately variegated patterns of Mormon and non-Mormon presence. These presences, and the structures underlying them, shaped the ensuing transformation of Utah’s economic and cultural geography and Utah’s partial assimilation into the spatial and societal frames of the American West.

5.3 Possibilities for Future Research

Although this investigation has revealed the depth and extent of non-Mormon presence in 1880s Utah, it has also highlighted the existence of a vast body of archival evidence that can be used to trace Utah’s historical geography in much greater detail. This study’s focus on non-Mormon presence in 1880s Utah has drawn on many of the themes suggested by Limerick, Yorgason, and other prominent authors to shape an understanding of Utah’s changing place in the American West. It has not, however, pursued such themes as ancestry and migration, gender in society, and the economic links binding diverse settlements as explicitly or as comprehensively as might be desired. To fully explore these themes and their impact on Utah’s transformation, further research will be necessary. Fortunately, much of this research will be aided by the data sources
explored in this thesis. In particular, the marginal notes in the census aid the inter-
pretation of a wide variety of archival material, making possible detailed investigations
of religion in the economies, spaces, and lives of Utah’s people. Among these, several
research trajectories seem particularly worthy of attention.

The three case studies have illustrated three points along Utah’s continuum of
occupancy. Although these were chosen as representative examples of the sorts of
settlements found throughout the territory, no example can be perfect. Investigations of
other settlements within Utah would both confirm the generality of the patterns noted
here, and trace finer variation between settlements of similar religious composition.
Among the possibilities for an expanded analysis of Utah’s settlements are Ogden—
Utah’s second city and transportation hub—and the Cache Valley, where Logan, Utah’s
fourth-largest city, had numerous businesses, but a striking absence of non-Mormons.
Similarly, the almost entirely Mormon settlements of Utah’s southwestern “Dixie” region
could offer insight on economic development in regions of Utah isolated from commerce
and non-Mormon influence. Broadening the array of places investigated beyond the three
case study towns would both confirm the trends identified here and aid identification of
additional patterns.

Within such a wider array of Utah towns, the Sanborn maps offer a rich record of
the changing character of Mormon towns and cities. Although the Mormon farm villages
remain a distinctive settlement form, the transition from self-sufficient agriculture to
market economies markedly shifted land use within them. Retail blocks and Main Streets
drew the focus from the religious reserves that had previously dominated Mormon public
space. Secular public institutions—including city halls, county courthouses, and public
schools—further diversified Utah’s townscapes. Successive revisions of the Sanborn maps would offer a ready foundation for studies of changing urban land use during Utah’s ensuing cultural transformation.

Alongside the city directories and Sanborn maps, numerous other sources could provide background information for interpreting the census records. A central challenge in using the census data is its lack of recorded addresses, which hinders detailed investigations of Utah’s religious geographies. Tax assessments and land ownership records could allow individuals to be traced to their residences, allowing religion to be precisely mapped. In addition, these sources would highlight differing land values in Utah’s settlements, bringing class issues into this analysis. Furthermore, surviving records of Mormon wards, along with those of Protestant and Catholic churches, could highlight the geographies and demographies of religious involvement in much greater detail than the census records. Such studies could also engage the rich literature of local-scale Utah history, along with the diaries and newspapers central to Yorgason’s discourse analysis.

More broadly, the census records can be used not only to track individuals and characterize particular settlements, but to support territory-wide analyses of religion, ancestry, and occupation. These themes, dealt with in this thesis primarily through close readings of the census schedules, could also be tracked through a more extensive database analysis. Such an approach, for instance, could highlight the relative concentration of individuals from certain regional or ethnic backgrounds in particular parts of Utah, allow identification of primarily Mormon or non-Mormon occupations, and connect occupations to ancestries. As an example, it was noted that Park City’s miners were disproportionately Irish. Through the census database, that tendency could be traced in
other mining towns in Utah, and explicitly quantified. Such an analysis, however, would require the development of more detailed data structures, consolidating the free-form occupational descriptions used by census enumerators into standard categories suitable for computer analysis. Continuing the example of Park City, it was unclear whether individuals recorded as “Miners” were mine laborers, mine workers, or mine owners, while many different trades worked in ore mills. Recorded ancestries, likewise, would require a multi-scalar framework that would condense and categorize specific birthplaces. The assumptions underlying these frameworks would require careful attention, however, as the choice of analytical hierarchies could easily skew the results of a statewide analysis of ancestry, occupation, and religion.

Census-recorded birthplaces are yet more intriguing when considered at the family scale. Recorded birthplaces of successive children can be used to reconstruct the migration paths of their families. The family of Joseph Meyers, a Gentile grocer in Salt Lake’s Thirteenth Ward, provides a revealing example. Although Meyers, and his wife Kate were both born in Germany, their first two children were born in California. A third was Nevada-born, but the family had returned to California by 1868, when their first son was born. By 1874, however, their fifth child was born in Utah. By comparing this information across multiple families, it would be possible to reconstruct characteristic migration routes linking both Mormons and non-Mormons to ancestral hearth regions, and to compare the prominence of these regions across the two groups. Such a task, however, would require considerably more sophisticated data models focused not on individual census entries, but on families and households. The census data is nominally organized along these lines, but the complexity of family structures, the inconsistent
recording of many enumerators, and the presence of non-family environments such as boarding houses complicates the automated identification of family groups and migration routes. Nonetheless, even a data set restricted to screened nuclear families could offer numerous insights on the differing heritages of Utah’s Mormons and Gentiles.

Intertemporal comparison is also a promising possibility. Although the religious notations are unique to the 1880 census, comparison of the range of ancestries and occupations between the 1880 schedules and those from subsequent decades would highlight the changing population and economies of a transforming Utah. Unfortunately, the 1890 census schedules were destroyed in a 1920s fire. Schedules from the 1900 census are available, but have not been widely or systematically transcribed, making a large-scale, database-driven comparison impossible. Even so, a close reading of schedules for a few carefully-chosen precincts could be revealing, particularly since the later census include far more detailed records of individuals’ addresses and occupations.

Finally, although the 1880 census appears to have been a generally accurate record of religious affiliation in Utah, questions surround the motives for the collection of this information. The uniformity of these records suggests some degree of central organization. Following Hannah’s broader Foucauldian analysis of the census as a tool of government knowledge and power, it is easy to imagine the census directors adding religious affiliation to the Utah census not as an objective demographic record, but as a preparation for the increased federal presence in Utah in the 1880s. Although neither the census schedules themselves nor the nationally-standard instructions to enumerators mention or explain the marginal notations, a careful search of other census records—including any surviving reports from Utah’s census supervisors, and the papers of Francis
Walker—might lend explanatory insight to a useful data source of slightly uncertain provenance.

Despite these concerns, the census data offer a unusually rich source of data on a crucial aspect of Utah’s cultural and demographic transformation. This thesis has begun to explore that data source, highlighting Utah’s diversity, and beginning to reconcile the legacy of scholarship on Mormon settlement with the themes of a diverse and dynamic American West. The future research possibilities outlined above trace those themes further, placing Utah at the crossroads of Western historical geography. Once realized, such an understanding of Utah’s diversity and transformation could form the basis for a new Historical Atlas of Utah. Such a project would be both a drastic departure from, and a worthy companion to the previous *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*.\(^{11}\) As Mormon church-provided statistics indicate that Utah’s Mormon majority has fallen to levels not seen since the early twentieth century, and as demographic trends forecast a majority non-Mormon Utah by 2030,\(^{12}\) the transitional moment of 1880 offers a solid platform from which to build insights for a new wave of cultural transformation.

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