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**A Mormon Melting Pot:
Ethnicity Acculturation in Cedar City, Utah, 1880-1915**

**A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Family and Community History
Brigham Young University**

**In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of History**

**by
Vida Leigh
April 1990**

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A MORMON MELTING POT:

Ethnic Acculturation in Cedar City, Utah, 1880–1915

Vida Leigh

Department of History

M.S. Degree, April 1990

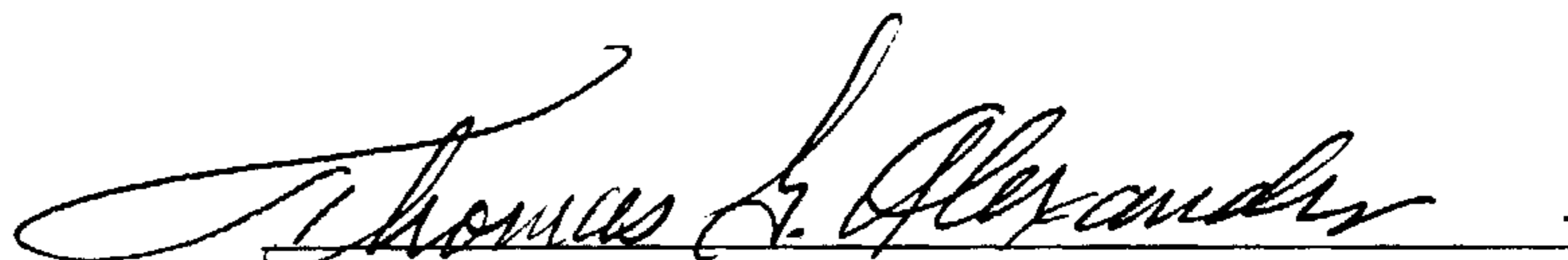
ABSTRACT

This thesis studies the ethnicity of the five ethnic groups found in Cedar City, Utah, during the 1880-to-1915 period. Those five groups were originally sent by Brigham Young to found the Iron Mission, as a two-fold project: (1) developing the iron mining industry, and (2) building a united community of Latter-day Saints.

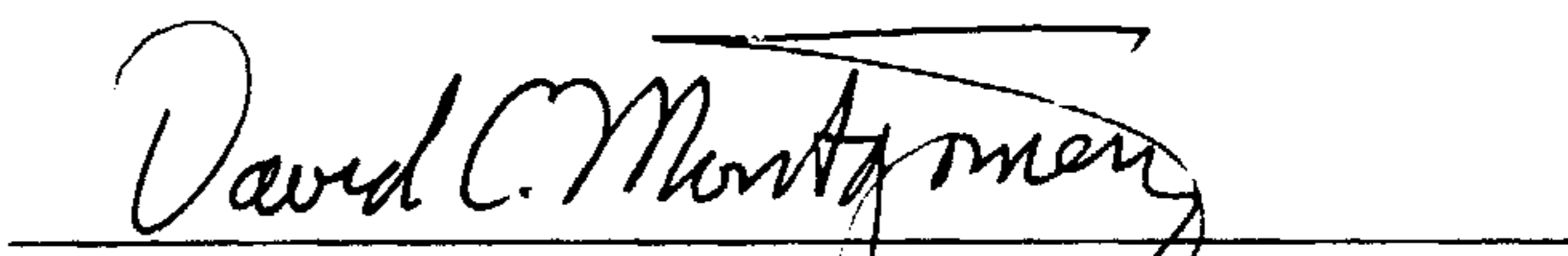
The demographics, kinship ties, marriage patterns, occupations, wealth, and elites in church government and society have been examined in detail through U.S. censuses, Iron County assessment records, marriage records, Cedar City municipal records, LDS church records, diaries, histories, and personal histories. By comparing all the ethnic groups within the community with each other, plus comparing them with groups in other communities in Utah and other U.S. areas, the contribution of each group on the community can be measured, as can the impact of the environment and American Mormon church on the ethnic immigrants.

All groups — American-born and foreign-born — developed a community united in its goals to build the kingdom and be mainstreamed into the American dream after Utah gained statehood in 1896.

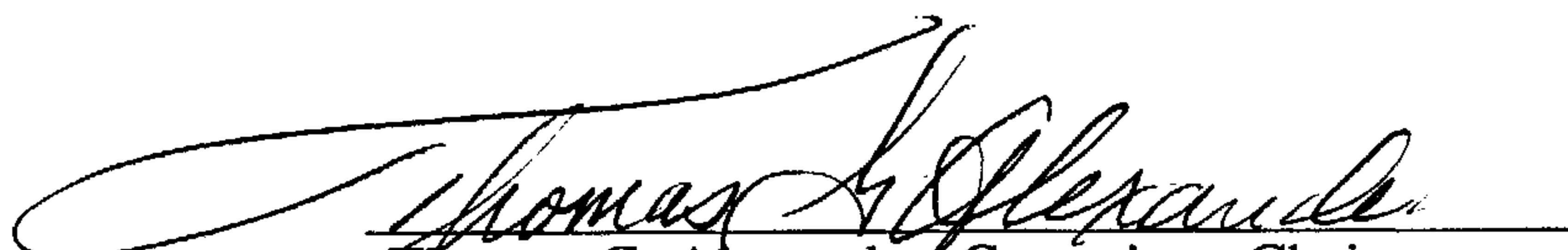
COMMITTEE APPROVAL:


Thomas G. Alexander, Committee Chairman


Robert C. Kenzer, Committee Member


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This thesis, by Vida Leigh is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of History.


Thomas G. Alexander, Committee Chairman


Robert C. Kenzer, Committee Member

21 Dec. 1989
Date

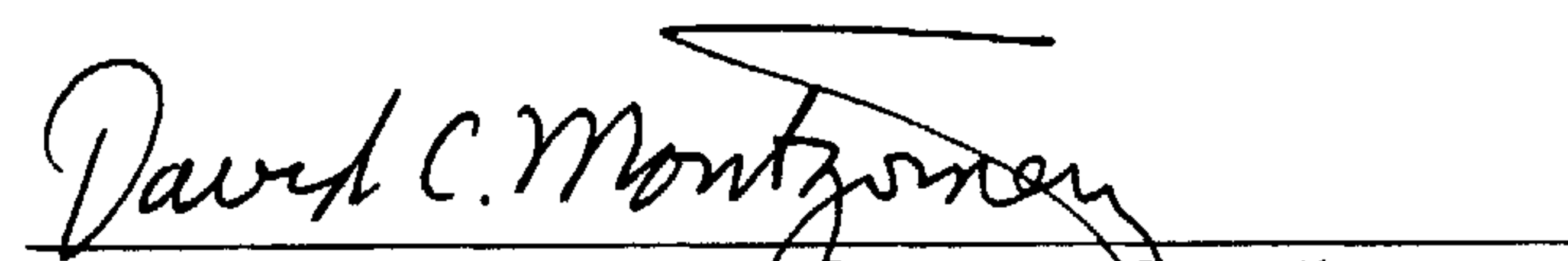

David C. Montgomery, Graduate Coordinator

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACCEPTANCE ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS..... iii

LIST OF TABLES iv

CHAPTER

1. INTRODUCTION 1

2. A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF CEDAR CITY, 1880 – 191511

3. KINSHIP TIES AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS IN CEDAR CITY30

4. ECONOMIC HISTORY OF CEDAR CITY64

5. THE PLACE OF ETHNIC ELITES IN CEDAR CITY 1880–1915.....98

6. CONCLUSION 134

APPENDIX..... 142

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 165

ABSTRACT

1000

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the research and writing of this thesis I have received a great deal of support and encouragement. The help received from the personnel and staffs of the LDS Family History Center, the University of Utah Library, Brigham Young University Library, and the SUSC Special Collection Department, as well as the LDS Church Historical Department, have been significant. Also the Iron County Courthouse, the Cedar City DUP, and the Utah State Archives, and Utah Historical Society.

Dr. Thomas G. Alexander has been both patient and helpful. He has encouraged, made significant suggestions, and never failed to aid me in refining the text and improving the format. I appreciate his time and professional skills so generously given in my behalf.

Also, I would like to thank my family and friends who have gone to the libraries and copied pages and pages of material for me, who have searched and gathered diaries, journals, and personal histories of old residents of the Cedar City area--friends such as Kelly and Cleone Dalton, and Alene Chamberlain of Cedar City.

The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the hours and hours of typing, formatting, and printing of my sister RueDell M. Sudweeks, nephew Curtis R. Sudweeks, and son Kent J. Leigh. Also the patience and support of my husband Cordon.

This has been a great learning experience, enhanced by my fellow classmates and made possible by the great professors, especially Dr. Robert Kenzer, and the staff of the BYU History Department.

LIST OF TABLES

1. Persisters and Non persisters by Age, 1860.....	16
2. Heads of Households by Age, 1860	16
3. Male Heads of Households by Wealth and Age, 1860.....	17
4. Total Population of Cedar City, 1880, 1900, 1910.....	20
5. Male Persisters (18 and Over) Cedar City 1880, 1900, 1910	21
6. Place of Birth of Cedar City Couples, 1880, 1900, 1910	31
7. Cedar City Marriages, 1888-1915	40
8. Common Surnames of Persisters, 1851-1910	44
9. Cedar City 1910 Surnames with 2 or more Heads of Households and 15 or more children from Country of Origin	47
10. Male Descendants of James Snadon Hunter.....	50
11. Male Descendants of Peter Mathiason Mackelprang.....	52
12. Male Descendants of Samuel Leigh.....	54
13. Plural Marriages (Heads of Households)	59
14. Wealth of Persisters for Male Heads of Households	67
15. Concentration of Wealth	69
16. Cedar City Businesses 1890–1915	79
17. Total Adult Wealth, 1880–1910.....	84
18. 1880 Wealth of Adults	Appendix 142
19. 1880 Wealth of Persisters.....	Appendix 148
20. 1900 Adult Wealth.....	Appendix 154
21. 1900 Wealth of Persisters.....	Appendix 160

22. Occupational Trends of the Cedar City Work Force.....	89
23. Ethnic Composition of Cedar City Occupations.....	89
24. Ethnicity of the Cedar City Work Force, 1880, 1900, 1910	91
25. Cedar City Mayors 1852–1916	99
26. Civil Leaders, 1851-1915.....	103
27. Church Leaders, 1851 – 1915.....	108
28. Social-Economic Leaders, 1880 –1900	113
29. Male Elites and their Wives’ Maiden Names Ranked by Wealth, 1914.....	115
30. Church Offices Held by Females, 1853-1915.....	119
31. Higher Education, 1890—1915 (Sampling of local students).....	127

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Historians, sociologists, geographers, and anthropologists have subjected the Mormon community to extensive cultural, economic, and spiritual study. Dean May and other historians have published demographic examinations of several Mormon towns using techniques pioneered by John Demos, Philip Grevan, Kenneth Lockridge, Micheal Zuckerman, and Richard Bushman in their new social histories of colonial New England. He suggests that historians should direct studies of Mormon towns towards those elemental questions addressed in these works of historians of early America.¹

Colonial New England family and community life have been the focus for many studies of social historians. Demos examined family life in Plymouth colony and Grevan investigated population, land and families in colonial Andover, Massachusetts. The use of town, church, census, and court records, family histories and diaries, made quantification possible. Using quantifiable data, they explored the basic structure and character of society through detailed examination of the experiences of individuals, families, and groups in two communities of colonial New England.² These scholars concentrated upon developing understanding between “order and growth, authority, and meaning,” in the colonial New England town. All agreed that for some periods of time and at some levels an extraordinary degree of social harmony was realized.³

Using similar techniques, May analyzed data from the Mormon community of Kanab, Utah. He included questions about the relationship of family patterns to community stability, the nature of and reasons for community solidarity and conflict, the

role of the family in community life, and the role of the Mormon church and its leaders in forming Mormon communities.⁴

Sociological studies of pivotal and enduring importance have been conducted by Nels Anderson and Lowery Nelson. Nelson's study includes statistical work on Mormon villages of the 1920s and 1930s.⁵ Anthropological studies by John L. Sorenson and Mark P. Leone sought to examine historical development in Mormon village life by examining the process of change over time. In the aggregate their work both broadens the geographical and chronological scope of Mormon community studies.⁶

These sociological studies support the arguments of geographers like Donald W. Meinig, Richard Francaviglia, Richard H. Jackson, and Lowell C. Bennion that there exists a Mormon cultural region distinctively different in values and physical appearance from non-Mormon areas in the American West. That aside from the physical landscape developed around the nuclear farm village, the Mormon settlers were found to place more value on solidarity and unity than other Westerners. Other characteristics they observed include avoiding competition, promoting cooperative enterprises, placing a higher value on group achievements than individual achievements, and developing virtue and good works. A strong patriarchal family structure and uniquely coterminous church/community/family solidarity also appear essential.⁷

However, it remained for Donald Meinig to produce what has become the standard version of "the Mormon cultural region." He added two new dimensions by examining the Mormon region in a historical context and by delimiting differences within it. His regionalization posits a core, domain, and sphere.⁸

National authors and scholars focused studies upon the distinctive aspects of Mormon town life while they explored the process through which Mormon society evolved historically. One of the earliest was William E. Smythe, an admirer of Fredrick Jackson

Turner and his American frontier model. In the 1890s Smythe argued that with the American frontiers all settled, national upward mobility depended upon the successful development of the irrigable lands in the arid West. He concluded that “the economic institutions of Utah are the natural outgrowth of conditions of an arid land. He claimed, “Utah is a product of its environment.” His faith in the Mormon irrigation system, although simplistic, advanced one of the first systematic studies of the peculiar qualities of Mormon society.⁹

Scholars since Smythe have focused upon questions he raised. One such major project was a research study known as the “Comparative Study of the Values in Five Cultures,” sponsored by the Laboratory of Social Relations of Harvard University and supported by grants from the the Rockefeller Foundation. Altogether, 68 separate studies were published by members of the research team. This included their informative summary work, “People of Rimrock--A Study of Values in Five Cultures,” published in 1966. Thomas F. O’Dea, a member of the team published The Mormons in 1957.¹⁰ Since one of the cultural groups studied was the Mormon village of Ramah (called Rimrock in the study), the Latter-day Saints have received intensive scrutiny.

Charles S. Peterson, a Mormon historian, has argued that the land and its appurtenant resources were strong factors in fixing the village and its forms upon a landscape, which today, continues to reveal the ways of pioneer society. He analyzed the development of the agricultural systems associated with Mormon landscape, and Mormon efforts to settle the arid region of southwestern Utah and Nevada along the tributaries of the Colorado River, where at best, their efforts were heroic in an area only marginally habitable.¹¹

Mormon settlers of the American West were not supermen, only ordinary individuals who accomplished the seemingly impossible because of their faith and

persistence. President J. Reuben Clark in a classic sermon in 1947 acknowledged, “The building of this....empire was not done in a corner by a select few but by the vast multitude flowing in from many nations. These faithful ones measured to their humble calling and to their destiny as fully as Brother Brigham and the others measured to theirs.” Their communities were made up of both American-born and immigrant converts from Great Britain, Scandinavia, and Canada. Not primarily agrarian, they consisted mainly of skilled craftsmen, tradesmen, and factory workers. Viewed in this light, Richard H. Jackson suggests the trip across the ocean and plains was a unifier of the saints providing the first common bonding since conversion and arrival in Salt Lake City or Zion. He asserts the process by which new immigrants arrived and they and their children became assimilated into Mormon culture was an important feature of the colonization of the Mormon West.¹²

After a short period of time in Salt Lake City, the heterogenous harvest of converts continually arriving was generally called to settle in small farming towns where their skills and leadership were needed. There, cast in close social, religious, everyday association, the process of becoming saints, indicated by leaders as their paramount task, began in earnest. The greater part of the rural outlying communities remained cut off from the outside world until the granting of statehood, perpetuating the unique character of the Mormon village into a distinctive subculture.¹³

No one imagined Mormon country more comprehensibly than Brigham Young, and no one's vision was more influential in shaping it. Over and over again in his writings he revealed the great commonwealth he envisioned for the saints. He saw neat, bustling cities and towns in which faithful adherence to the gospel and concern for the common good elevated ordinary people into saints. He declared to the people in Cedar City in 1855, “This is a splendid valley, and is better adapted to raising saints than any other article that can be raised.”¹⁴

Statehood was also high on Brigham Young's list of priorities. After the Mormons established themselves in the Great Basin, Michael Quinn states, "The U.S. government sought to curb the radical trend it perceived the church as having. Troops were sent, federal legislative and judicial branches were activated against the authoritarian walls of the Great Basin Kingdom. By 1890 the entire membership was threatened with unilateral disfranchisement. The leadership of the church bowed to federal authority."¹⁵ Between 1890 and 1930, according to Thomas Alexander, the church accepted, for the first time, the necessity of finding a way for God's Kingdom "to coexist with Caesar's."¹⁶ Statehood was finally granted and with it the social, economic, and political life of the Mormons began to take on the characteristics of their American counterparts. Ecclesiastical dominance gave way to the rise of secular control of political, social and economic activity, dominated by competition.¹⁷

Much of the uniqueness of Utah settlement and subculture lay in the motivating religious zeal, the existence and widespread acceptance of strong leadership, the practice of plural marriage, and the pervasive cooperative elements of the Law of Consecration according to Richard D. Poll.¹⁸ Lawrence Foster states that when these characteristics were given up, especially polygamy, for political, economic, and social acceptance, some of the saints' original idealism had been sacrificed to make possible the successful transition from a persecuted subculture to mainstream American acceptance.¹⁹

Ethnic interaction in the Mormon community is an essential factor in a comprehensive study of Mormon settlement and growth. Dean May and Wayne L. Wahlquist in their demographic studies have found that most of the adults in outlying areas between 1860 and 1880 were foreign-born, either British or Scandinavian. By the 1890s and 1900s two-thirds of the population were American-born, but these were all young

adults and children. The majority of the older adult population were recent European immigrants.²⁰

The dynamics for a study of ethnicity from 1880 to 1915 in Cedar City, Utah, are ideal. Erastus Snow and Franklin D. Richards were sent to Cedar City in 1852 to check on the progress of the iron missionaries called there by Brigham Young in 1851. Snow's hopes for the community went well beyond success in smelting iron. He observed, "We found a Scotch party, a Welsh party, an English party, and an American party, and we turned them into iron masters and undertook to put all these parties through the furnace and turn out a party of Saints for building up the Kingdom of God."²¹

Studies have been written on the English, Welsh, Scots, and Scandinavian converts as ethnic minorities. A study of ethnic interaction in Cedar City, Utah, during this crucial period 1880-1915 has not been conducted. In the four chapters of this thesis, I intend to answer the question of ethnicity relating to these select groups sent by Brigham Young to settle and develop the Iron Mission. I want to find out if the individual groups retained their ethnic traditions and culture, influencing the communities in which they resided, or if the American-born Mormons controlled and dominated community social, economic, and religious standards. In the chapters that follow, I analyze the interacting ethnic elements of Cedar City's cultural, social, political, and economic structures as they evolved over time. The arrangement of the chapters is basically thematic in content to explore fully the ethnic experiences.

Chapter two deals with mobility studies of the 1850-60 persisters and their families that remained in the area at the time of this study. Included in these experiences are fertility, mortality, mobility, migration, geography, and economics, all of which will be examined in their ethnic context in the following chapters. What factors contributed to the persistence of these settlers in Cedar City? What factors encouraged non-persisters to

move on? These are some of the questions that must be answered in order to establish the basic demographic realities affecting Cedar City settlers.

It is possible to probe the economic and demographic basis for family stability or mobility by establishing the extent to which sons remained in the same community or resettled elsewhere by discovering the circumstances contributing to or inhibiting mobility. Since quantitative studies of persisters in Cedar City 1860-70 have already focused on occupations and income, this examination will investigate whether these persisters were part of the 1880-1915 population, and if so, the ethnic composition of this segment as well as the total adult population.

Chapter three notes marriage and kinship ties. How important was ethnicity as a force shaping marriage patterns? Did couples marry within their groups or was there intermingling among groups? How important were kinship ties and extended families? Using statistical methods and analysis from information gathered through marriage records of the LDS church, and state and federal records, the importance of group kinship ties, plus proximity of available marriage partners should be revealed. Did any one group accept or reject plural marriage more than others?

In chapter four, the economic condition affecting families is analyzed. Did any group acquire significantly more wealth, either real property or personal property, than others? Did economic conditions to any significant degree, influence social, political or ecclesiastical status? Did any ethnic group prefer particular occupations or professions more than any other? Did wealth, either real or personal, influence mobility?

In the fifth chapter, it should be discernable if any group emerges as the elites in church, community leadership, politics, wealth and property, business or education and the arts. A clear perception of ethnic factors in the building of Cedar City should reflect the results.

In the conclusion, I feel investigation of factors contributing to the integration of these ethnic groups in Cedar City helps identify the characteristics required to develop cooperative communitarian strength as well as western frontier individualism. Did the dichotomy resulting provide a strong bulwark against the temptation posed by emergence and integration into the American system? This was a crucial period for both church and state. The church's dominance was replaced by national priorities. Isolation was no longer possible. How well Cedar City fulfills the role envisioned by its leaders is its challenge in the 20th century.

Notes to Chapter 1

¹Dean May, "The Making of Saints: The Mormon town as a Setting for the Study of Cultural Change," Utah Historical Quarterly, 45 (Winter 1977), 75-92.

²John Demos, A Little Commonwealth Family Life in Plymouth Colony, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Phillip J. Greven Jr., Four Generation: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts, (Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press: 1970), 274

³Dean May, "The Making of Saints."

⁴Ibid., 91; Kenneth Lockridge, A New England Town: The First Hundred Years: Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1730, (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1970); Michael Zuckerman, Peaceable Kingdom: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century, (New York: Alfred Kropf, 1970); Richard L. Bushman, From Puritan to Yankee: Character and Social Order in Connecticut 1690-1765, (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Press, 1967).

⁵Nels Anderson, Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1942); Lowery Nelson, The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952).

⁶Mark P. Leone, "The Evolution of Mormon Culture in Eastern Arizona," Utah Quarterly 40 (1972): 122-41; "Archeology as the Source of Technology: Mormon Town Plans and Fences," in Charles Redman, Ed., Research and Technology in Current Archeology, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1973).

⁷Dean May, "The Making of Saints": 81.

⁸Dean R. Louder and Lowell Bennion, "Mapping Mormons Across the Modern West," The Mormons' Role in the Settlement of the West, ed. by Richard H. Jackson (Brigham Young University Press: Provo, Utah, 1980); D. W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns of the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 55 (1965), 191-221.

⁹Dean May, "The Making of Saints": 79; Irrigation Age 1 (1891) 214; also William E. Smythe, The Conquest of Arid America, (reprinted Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969): 52,56.

¹⁰Thomas F. O'Dea, The Mormons, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957).

¹¹Charles S. Peterson, "Imprints of Agricultural System on the Utah Landscape," The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West, ed. Richard H. Jackson, (Brigham Young University Press: Provo, Utah, 1978), 2.

¹²Richard H. Jackson, "The Overland Journey to Zion," The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West, ed. Richard H. Jackson, (Brigham Young University Press: Provo, Utah, 1978), 1-21.

¹³Dean May, "A Demographic Portrait of the Mormons, 1830-1980," Journal of Mormon History, 7 (1980): 41.

¹⁴Joel Edward Ricks, Forms and Methods of Early Mormon Settlement in Utah and Surrounding Region, 1847 to 1877, (Logan, Utah, Utah State University Press, 1964), 46.

¹⁵D. Michael Quinn, "Socio-religious Radicalism of the Mormon Church: A Parallel to the Anabaptists," New Views of Mormon History, ed. by Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher (University of Utah Press, 1987), 378.

¹⁶Thomas G. Alexander, "To Maintain Harmony: Adjusting to External and Internal Stress, 1890-1930," Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought, 14 (Winter 1982), 378.

¹⁷Thomas G. Alexander, "Twentieth-century Utah Introduction," Utah's History, eds. Richard D. Poll, Thomas G. Alexander, Eugene E. Campbell, David Miller, (Brigham Young University Press: Provo, Utah, 1978), 405.

¹⁸Richard D. Poll, "An American Commonwealth," Utah's History, 672.

¹⁹Lawrence Foster, Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community, (University of Illinois Press: Urbana and Chicago, 1984), 246.

²⁰Dean L. May, "A Demographic Portrait of the Mormons, 1830-1980," Journal of Mormon History, 7 (1980), 64.

²¹*Deseret News*, December 25, 1852.

Chapter 2

A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF CEDAR CITY, 1880 – 1915

For those Mormons who shared the unfolding vision of a promised refuge in the American West, the exodus of the Latter-day Saints represented both hardship and opportunity. But in the isolation of the mountains, they found a stronghold that met their expectations. The quest was over. Brigham Young declared Utah is “a first-rate place to raise saints.” Furthermore, he insisted, “if they lived worthily, the Lord would never allow them to be driven from this promised land.”¹

The saints would never forget that they had come to the Rocky Mountains to escape violence and persecution. They had, in Orson Pratts’ words, “been driven by our enemies to the very spot that Jehovah wanted us to be.”² Brigham Young, in both the written and spoken word, expressed his vision of neat, bustling cities and towns populated by faithful, industrious saints.³ Edward A. Geary argues that images of a mountain refuge, thrift, the garden, lombardy poplars, irrigation, and the cooperative businesses provided the substances that distinguished Mormon culture and provided a sense of community for the Mormon people.⁴ This image of a refuge in the “Kingdom of Heaven” helped prepare the hearts of thousands of immigrants streaming to Zion, eager to abandon Babylon and learn from those having priesthood authority and status within the Mormon kingdom. Social, cultural, and religious norms were set by the American elite, yet during the latter part of the nineteenth century, foreigners were in the majority, and critics of Utah suggested that the European population was influential in shaping a Utah culture alien to American tradition.⁵

To compare and contrast Mormon communities with American communities generally, there must be a comprehensive study of both. Previous studies of the social history of towns and communities reveal that American society has been mobile virtually since its inception. As land became available, the frontier moved ever westward during the nineteenth century. American society became increasingly transient; many individuals and families pulled up stakes and moved west more than once in their lives. John Demos has shown that a tradition of mobility existed among the Puritans.⁶ Philip Grevan, in his study of colonial Andover, Massachusetts, found “an increased readiness within each generation to leave family and community.”⁷ Similar trends were found by Kenneth Lockridge in his research in Dedham, Massachusetts, and Robert Gross in his study of Concord. Gross determined that the pressure for land and autonomy resulted in migration of sons from the closed community of their fathers.⁸

Dean May's indepth demographic study of Kanab, Utah's, population in 1874 points out many similarities and differences common to the colonial New England villages studied by Demos, Grevan, Lockridge, and Gross. Both groups established closely-integrated communities characterized by strong family relationships, May suggests that the pressures in New England at work after a century were at work in Kanab after the first decade. This pressure resulted from severely limited resources of land and water.⁹ Most pioneers came to the American West with high expectations of success prompted by their visions of the American dream. They were torn out of a familiar network of kinship and friendship. They often settled amid a population from diverse regional and national origins, with different cultural values which impeded the development of the new groups. This created competition within the community and instability aggravated by economic uncertainties.¹⁰

Don Harrison Doyle, in his study of Jacksonville, Illinois, states that the structured foundations of Jacksonville's social order appeared in the patterns of migration that tended to select citizens according to their economic function and stage in the life cycle. These forces allowed many people to just pass through, while others remained as part of a stable community base. Within this transient population the family, kinship, and the household unit served as bases of social organization.¹¹ The repressive control of the small community, as in Jacksonville, over its members was a familiar theme in American settlements. Page Smith's survey of the town in American history traced this tendency back to communities of Puritan New England. However, the ethos of temperance and social discipline are not unique to New England. Instead, understanding and enforcement of social discipline was defined by nineteenth-century America: laissez-faire, capitalization middle-class mobility, fervor of puritanistic Protestantism, surge of westward expansion, immigration, rapid urbanization, a new liberal faith in properly engineered institutions to improve society, and control over forces of disorder threatening the community and nation.¹²

Also, Doyle's study of Jacksonville found that roughly 25 percent of the non-dependent population persisted in Jacksonville from 1850 to 1860: only 21 percent remained in 1870. Meanwhile, net gain in population occurred as new arrivals took the place of those who had migrated. According to Doyle, "Transients were such a common part of the nineteenth-century western towns that contemporary accounts adapted the term 'movers' to describe this portion of the population, as though migration alone defined their social status."¹³ This mobility was a common pattern in nineteenth-century America as the population spread across the continent. Cities and towns of all sizes had a normal rate of persistence over a decade around 25–40 percent.¹⁴ Jacksonville's persistence rates were lower because the community was located within a rapidly developing area. It served as a

“caravansary” where migrants stopped briefly before choosing a permanent settlement site in the next town, county, or state. Important variables that helped set apart Jacksonville's non-persisters from the more stable persisters were occupational status, wealth, and stage in the life cycle.

Larry Draper found about the same persistence rate in Salt Lake City, Utah, during this period as Doyle and Merle Curti found in Illinois and Wisconsin because Salt Lake was also a place where settlers stopped and then were called by their leaders to settle elsewhere. The low rate of persisters found by Curti in his study of rural Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, during the period 1860-1870 was 25 percent and 29 percent in 1870-1880 as a result of the same factors Doyle identified in Jacksonville, Curti in Wisconsin, and Draper in Salt Lake City, Utah.¹⁵

A study of ethnicity in Cedar City, Utah, from 1880 to 1915 is particularly important because of the community's initially diverse composition. Those called by Brigham Young to participate in the Iron Mission were chosen carefully from the best Welsh, Scottish, and English miners to insure the success of the iron industry in Iron County, whose goal was the production of iron for all the Mormon Kingdom. Under the leadership of Henry Lunt, a company of 30 men was dispatched from Parowan to settle Coal Creek. They surveyed the land and according to John Urie," George A. Smith, in humility before God, together with the rest of his fellow pioneers, dedicated the ground just surveyed, the surrounding land, the minerals, the water, the timber, and the grass to the service of God in the manufacture of iron machines, etc., that our necessities might be supplied and the territory built-up."¹⁶

In November 1851 a Scottish company trained in coal mining and the making of steel, arrived in the new colony.¹⁷ These first settlers drew numbers from a hat for ownership of city lots of one acre each and farm plots of ten acres. Two hundred and eight

lots were provided for the accommodation of new settlers.¹⁸ By 1855, there were 725 people in the settlement and 145 houses had been constructed.¹⁹

That part of the country was very forbidding, the water was scarce, and the soil barren. The crops they grew were plagued by early frosts and insects. The Indians posed a constant threat, so the failure of iron manufacturing, followed closely by the “Utah War” and the “Mountain Meadow Tragedy” prompted church leaders to release the settlers from their mission and they counseled the people to move away. Cedar City in 1859 was reduced from a community of 928 to 376 people. These events, especially the “Mountain Meadow Massacre,” focused the spotlight of shame and recrimination upon the reputation and lives of the settlement for many years. Psychologically the town retreated, preferring anonymity to notoriety. Many of the men of the Iron Mission, their fortunes depleted, could not afford to disperse as they were counseled to do. They stayed and their pioneering spirit kept the town alive.

For survival the remaining colonists in Cedar City turned to agriculture and home industry. Bishop Lunt told the Deseret News in 1870 that:

the average yield to the acre for the entire settlement has greatly increased in the last year. Altogether Cedar seems to be a thrifty settlement and a good place for a man to get a start. We need more population and are willing to give settlers land to cultivate and water to irrigate it with. We lack men of capital, but we are hard-working men whose only capital is labor so we know how to appreciate that class.²⁰

What did the Cedar City population look like during the 1860s? A study of the persisters of Cedar City from 1860-1870 shows 49 male heads of households, along with three female heads. Of the 49 male heads of households in 1860, 25 or 51 percent were persisters and were found in the 1870 census, 24 or 49 percent were non-persisters and moved from the area or died. (See Table 1)

TABLE 1**Persisters and Non persisters by Age, 1860**

Age of persisters	Number	%	Non-persisters	%
20-29	5	68	6	46
30-39	12		5	
40-49	7	32	6	46
50-59	1		5	
60-69	0		2	8
70 plus	0			
TOTAL	25	100	24	100

Source: Utah Census, 1860, Iron Co., Utah Territory

Age does not seem to have been a major factor in predicting non-persistence. Even though the percentage of the population over age 40 was much smaller (32% as against 68%) than those under age 39, the percentage of non-persisters in the 20 to 39 age group was the same as those 40 to 59. However, the middle-aged controlled the biggest percentage of the wealth.²¹(See Table 2 and 3.)

TABLE 2**Heads of Households by Age, 1860**

Age of Heads of Households, 1860	Number	%
20-29] 30-39] Young	28	57
40-49] 50-59] Middle Age	19	39
60-69] 70 plus] Old Age	2	4
TOTAL	49	100.0

Source: Utah Census, 1860, Iron Co., Utah Territory

TABLE 3
Male Head of Households by Wealth by Age, 1860

Persisters	Number	% of Persisters	Total Wealth	% of Wealth
Young	17	68%	\$11,950	44%
Middle-Age	8	32%	15,445	56%
Old Age	0	0%		0%
Total	25		\$27,395	

Non-Persisters	Number	% of Non-Persisters	Total	% of Wealth
Young	11	46%	\$5,895	40%
Middle-Age	11	46%	6,975	48%
Old Age	2	8%	1,780	12%
Total	24		14,650	

Note: The persisters in 1860, although about even in number with the non-persisters controlled nearly double the wealth of the non-persisters (\$27,395 compared to \$14,650.) Doyle found this relationship between property and persistence reciprocal — those with a “stake in the community” were inclined to stay, and those who stayed improved their chances of acquiring more wealth.

Source: Utah Census, 1860, Iron Co., Utah Territory Published analysis Iron Co. Utah Territory 1860 University of Utah Library, document section.

Comparing Mormon communities with other American frontier communities shows some similarities: high mobility, desire for economic and social betterment, a young population, high fertility, and ethnically-mixed populations. However, there were also notable differences. Mormon town patterns and land distribution were followed systematically, with all heads of families starting with equal amounts.²² Social, cultural, and religious norms were set by the American elite--those who taught the gospel, arranged the voyage to America, directed the overland journey, and welcomed the incoming saints. Most converts came with a heart prepared to follow the American church leaders and to

build Zion; from Salt Lake City members were called to settle where their skills were needed; harmony and the good of all were valued over individualism and competition.²³

The demographic patterns for 1860, 1870, and 1880 found by Dean May's study of Cache Valley compare with those of Cedar City.²⁴ The figures for Cache County show the broad-based characteristics of a high-fertility population, a sizable group of young and early middle-aged adults and a sharp decrease in the 40 and older categories, revealing a generally young population, also found in other American frontier areas.²⁵

In 1880 foreign-born population was concentrated in the older age categories. They had few children, as most of their children, except for the very recent immigrants, were born in America. From age 20 years and upward the proportion of foreign-born far exceeded the U.S.-Utah-born. This phenomenon was evident in 1860, even more so in 1870, and was greatest in 1880.

Where then is the two-thirds American majority suggested by the aggregate data? They were virtually all children under 18. Deceptively, the greatest bulk of the adult population consisted of recent European immigrants to Mormon Zion.²⁶ Many of the 1880-1900 immigrants were relatives and friends of former converts, who chose to settle in the communities where their relatives excitedly awaited their arrival. Kinship migration is a typical American-migration pattern.

A large percentage of the persisters in the 1860-1870 study were among the original settlers called to the Iron Mission between 1851 and 1857. Although there was only a 49 percent persistence rate during that decade, many of the original names were still found among the 1910 persisters. Some of these 1851-1857 settlers were Henry Lunt, Homer Duncan, Ebenezer Hanks, Thomas Corbett, Elisha Groves, Samuel Hamilton, Richard Harrison, George Hunter, James A. Little, Joseph Walker, George Wood, Joseph Morris, Daniel Leigh, Joseph Fife, Isaac Haight, Peter Nelson, Bengt Nelson, John Urie, Thomas

Gower, Peter Mackelprang, Robert Bulloch, Thomas Jones, Thomas Bladen, Timothy Adams, and William Unthank.²⁷

The 1860 and 1870 censuses included 90 percent of the persisters' names found in 1910. Among these names were McConnell, Middleton, Webster, Johnson, Smith, Perry, Parry, Jensen, Jenson, Harris, Perkins, McFarlane, Geary, Slack, Corry, Dalley, Orton, Stephens, Williams, Davis, Parker, Palmer, Davies, Ahlstrom, Pryor, Elleker, Tate, Heyborne, Green, Matheson, Higbee, Chatterley, Wade, Thorley, Lambeth, Cosslett, Roundy, Ashdown.²⁸

As stated previously, many of the reasons for high mobility were common to both western communities and Mormon communities. However, the following are characteristic of Mormon towns only. The Mormon Church called missionaries to colonize new settlements in uninhabited areas. This practice persisted into the 1880-1900 period and accounted for many of the non-persisters during the first 50 years of settlement.. The Hole-in-the-Rock Company called to the San Juan country in 1879 was the largest group, taking many of the 1860-1870 persisters. Among these were Joneses, Perkins, Mackelprangs, Bullochs, Williams, Duncans, Nelsons, and Lymans from Cedar City and many others from Parowan and surrounding communities.

The statehood question, inflamed by the polygamy problem, caused great turmoil and personal sacrifice during this period, forcing many to leave the country. Henry Lunt, an original 1851 settler, community leader, bishop, husband, and father was among those forced by the Edmund Act to take several of his wives and children and resettle in Mexico in 1885. Julius Mackelprang was another of those forced to flee. He married his second wife, Margaret Jane Stephens, on April 3, 1885, in the St. George Temple. She lived in Salt Lake City with other family members for a year and then she and her husband loaded up their belongings and went to Old Mexico to join other Mormon people there.²⁹ Another

factor common at that time was the Mormon policy of calling heads of households and young men and women on LDS missions for two or more years.

The 1880 census showed 197 adult heads of households in Cedar City precinct of which 70 percent were foreign-born. Of the 137 foreign-born, 72 were English, 29 Welsh, 21 Scots, 14 Scandinavian, 10 other, 60 U.S.-Utah. The number of heads of households reached a high of 137 foreign-born in 1880, then steadily decreased through 1900 to a low of 93 in 1910. Of the 93, 84 were persisters. Only four came after the turn of the century within the time period covered by this study. (See Tables 3 and 4.)

TABLE 4
Total Population of Cedar City, Utah

ETHNICITY*HH	1880	%	1900	%	1910	%
ENGLISH	72	37	48	16	36	12
WELSH	29	15	26	9	22	8
SCOTS/IRISH	12	6	11	4	11	4
SCANDIN.	14	7	18	6	17	6
OTHER	10	5	14	5	7	2
U.S./UTAH	60	30	178	60	213	70
TOTALS	197	100	295	100	306	102
% of FOREIGN BORN		70		40		30
NON HH ADULTS (18+)	1880	%	1900	%	1910	%
ENGLISH	146	27	60	12	32	6
WELSH	53	10	18	4	9	2
SCOTS/IRISH	19	3	2	0.01	1	0.002
SCANDIN.	22	4	14	0.03	10	2
OTHER	22	4	6	0.01	7	1
U.S./UTAH	259	49	415	81	497	89
TOTALS	521	100	515	100	556	100
*Total + HH	718		820		856	
% Foreign Born	56%		28%		18%	
*Heads of Household						
CHILDREN (under 18)	1880	%	1900	%	1910	%
ENGLISH	19	4	9	0.007	0	
WELSH	7	1	3	0.003	0	
SCOTS/IRISH	0	0	0	0	0	
SCANDIN.	6	1	2	0	0	
OTHER	0	0	0	0	4	.005
U.S./UTAH	431	94	932	99	857	0.995
TOTALS	457	100	946	100	861	100
TOTAL POP.	1205		1766		1723	
TOT. FOREIGN BORN	431		231		156	
%TOT. POP.	36%		13%		9%	

Source: Utah Census Records Cedar City, Iron Co. Utah 1880, 1900, 1910

TABLE 5
Male Persisters (18 & Over) 1880, 1900, 1910
Cedar City

ETHNICITY	up to 1880	%	1900	%	1910	%
ENGLISH	155	37	105	14	62	11
WELSH	43	10	48	6	26	5
SCOTS/IRISH	18	4	12	2	12	2
SCANDIN.	21	5	25	3	23	4
OTHER	29	7	15	2	15	3
U.S./UTAH	156	37	541	72	433	75
TOTALS	422	100	746	100	571	102
% TOT. POP.	59%		92%		66%	

Table 4 confirmed the conclusions of May's Cache County study that 1880 was the peak year for foreign-born adults. Seventy percent of the adult heads of households were converts from overseas. Sixty-five percent of heads of households were British or Scandinavian in origin.³⁰ A closer look shows a young population, high fertility, characteristic of a sizable group of young and early middle-aged adults, and a sharp decrease in the older-age categories.³¹ The similarity is borne out further by examining all male adults 18 and over in Cedar City, 1880. (Table 4) But of the total population, 56% are foreign born, among the 457 under 18, only 36 are foreign-born. Ironically, children of foreign-born persisters in many cases are listed both as foreign-born for older children born before immigration and also American-born for those born after immigration. The great increase of American-born in 1900 was a result of two factors: (1) children of foreign-born, born in Utah, marrying and becoming heads of households; (2) the opening of a branch normal school and the influx of teachers and students to the area. By 1910 of the 861 children only four were foreign-born. For the first time there are no children from

England, Wales, Scotland, or Scandinavia. This was the first time that had happened since Cedar City's settlement in 1851.³²

Study of the persisters in 1880 verified the arrival of new converts from foreign lands. For instance, seventy-two persisters from England out of 145 adults included 60 new arrivals. Whether they decided to settle in Cedar City because of relatives, friends, or favorable publicity is a matter of conjecture in many cases. However, from the census, family group sheets, and journals, it appears that many were grandparents, brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, parents, aunts, uncles, and old friends.

Welsh families were not exceptions. They were a minority. Many were unable to read or write English. Most lived in homes throughout the community. They did not form a Welsh enclave for support as they did in Wales and Willard, Utah, and Samaria and Malad, Idaho. Facilitated by expressions of intense feelings for life in their adopted land, Welsh messages and letters to families back in Wales encouraged their relatives and friends to emigrate immediately to Iron County. Those who had already emigrated met the new arrivals with jubilation and rejoicing.³³

Two people were converted by former Cedar City missionaries, proselyting in their former country. This incident argues for the great power of Mormonism to “traditionalize” (Brigham Young's term) the convert population. This process led them to identify with the saints instead of emphasizing former national loyalties. Also it helped adapt their values and points of view to those taught to them by those sent out by Mormon leaders.³⁴

To get a chronological over view of Cedar City's population comparing the persistence rate of adults over 18 in 1860 with those in 1880, we find 51 percent persistence in 1860 and 59 percent in 1880. The phenomenon of in-out migration was very common in Iron County during this period. A family or member of a family listed as a persister in one census could be listed as a non-persister in the next, with the person having

moved to another town in the county or to a farm or a ranch. In a later census the members of that family might appear as persisters again. An example was engendered by the founding of Iron Springs by the Great Western Mining Company. Thomas Taylor and John Cutler moved their families from Cedar to Iron Springs. Within ten years the company and the town had failed and the families returned to Cedar City.³⁵

A comparison of Cedar's persistence with other communities shows some interesting facts. The persistence rate for the decade of the the 1890s was 91 percent, a remarkable figure, considerably more than the 66 percent of 1900 decade, or the percentages of the late earlier 1800s. Reasons for this high percentage will be investigated in later chapters, as this is a phenomena not found before in Utah or other American towns researched in earlier periods. The 51 percent persistence of 1860s was just one percent lower than the 52.2 percent Robert Kenzer found in Orange County, North Carolina, for the 1850s.³⁶ However, for cities, towns, and rural counties of all sizes, the rate of persistence for a decade was somewhere between 40 and 50 percent.³⁷

A look at turn-of-the-century Cedar City shows a growing community, with an ethnic composition similar to that evident at its founding 50 years before. This ethnic mix was not too different from many Mormon towns. Welsh settlers dominated communities like Wales, Willard, Spanish Fork in Utah; 15th and 16th wards in Salt Lake City, and Malad and Samaria in Idaho, and Scandinavians dominated Sanpete County. These were exceptions however. In Cedar City as in most towns, the Welsh, Scots, , and lesser continental Europeans were all minorities. Moreover, community land distribution policy dispersed them through the community since each household head drew for a city lot and an additional ten-acre field in the rural area surrounding the townsite. As already stated, this policy created a mixed community and prevented a concentration of any ethnic group in one area. Nevertheless, the minorities in the town population supported one another.³⁸

Cedar City and Iron County were comparable to most of the Mormon communities in 1880. Salt lake County had a higher proportion of foreign-born (by one percent) than Sanpete, especially when the percentage of heads of households was analyzed. Nearly three-fourths of the adults came from abroad, which was similar to Cache County. In Cedar City, 70 percent of the population was foreign born. Whereas, the British Isles contributed 83 percent of Cedar's foreign-born population, the British contingent in Sanpete ranked next to last. For Scandinavians, Sanpete topped all other counties, roughly twice that of the other important areas (adjacent Emery and Sevier counties, settled largely by one-time residents of Sanpete).³⁹

All of Sanpete's communities averaged 72.2% foreign-born. Mayfield was the highest with 90.6 percent, mostly Scandinavian. Thistle, the smallest town, had a low of 16.6 percent foreign born. Wales, a Welsh enclave, equalled Mayfield's 90.6 percent.⁴⁰

During the same period that Mormon converts emigrated from Europe, similar ethnic groups came to Eastern and Midwestern states. Concentration of Welsh and Scandinavian immigrants to the United States settled in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Minnesota communities, which then had similarly high percentages of foreign born population. Their ethnic heritage and culture are still visible, typical of foreigners elsewhere in the United States.⁴¹

The melding of European and American culture in the furnace of western Mormon acculturation was unique in the American West.⁴² Cedar City, with five well-represented ethnic groups, was typical of the acculturation process in the Mormon kingdom. The immigrants to the Utah territory required a break — often severe — with the Old World and with country, church, and often with family and friends who disowned them. The new American church was interested in unifying the brotherhood. The old tongue was tolerated only as an expedient mediator, a means for immigrants to learn of the affairs of the

kingdom in a language they could understand until they learned English. In Utah the mother tongue died quickly, the Sanpete area being one of the exceptions.⁴³

Elements of the townsite plans combined in Sanpete to set them apart even as Mormon settlements. The north-oriented grid plan, the old ditch irrigation system, and a variety of houses made of adobe, brick, or stone speak of the Scandinavian tradition. Lombardy poplars shading the summer streets from the blazing sun, weathered barns and out-buildings, along with the patronyms and epitaphs in the cemeteries are other familiar cultural characteristics. Since about two-thirds of the total population were Danish, Swedish, or Norwegian, it follows that many of their national peculiarities survived.⁴⁴ But even in the Sanpete-Sevier region there was a noticeable lack of Scandinavian folk material and loss of symbols conditioned by an early loss of language. The LDS church discouraged retention of the Mother tongue and the conversion-migration process itself favored rapid assimilation.⁴⁵

The historical experiences of the Mormon communities helped shape Mormon society. This is dramatically illustrated by the Iron Mission settlement and development. Iron ore in the arid mountains of the Southern Utah Territory needed by the Latter-day Saints for building and expanding Mormon colonization prompted Brigham Young to send a contingent of British, Welsh, Scottish, Scandinavian, and American miners to build the Iron Mission in 1851.

The ethnic groups were well-represented. However, they had one goal in mind and that was to follow the direction of Brigham Young and do their part to build the Kingdom of God. But ironically, by the 1870 census only one person listed his occupation as miner. Hopes for iron production had died, and the settlers of Cedar City resembled the majority of the other Mormon settlements. Only three counties—Sanpete, Sevier, and Emery; plus Willard, Utah; and Malad, Idaho—had highly concentrated populations of one ethnic

group. As May's and others' studies show, the population of Mormon communities of the 1880s consisted of older foreign born and young Utah-born. Cedar City was no exception.

Mobility studies of the persistence rate in Cedar City is comparable to rates in other American and western American communities. However, the 1900–1910 percentage of 91 percent persistence is unusually high compared to earlier periods studied, but a study of kinship ties and marriage patterns, economic opportunities, and upward mobility should help to clarify this percentage in the following chapters.

Notes to Chapter 2

¹Brigham Young Sermon, Conference Cedar City, Utah, May 20, 1855 (folder labeled Cedar City in Historical Department of Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah); also private journal of Jessie N. Smith, Parowan Library, Parowan, Utah, p. 43.

²Thomas Bullock Minutes, 14 November 1847, Church Archives, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

³Brigham Young Sermon, Conference Cedar City, Utah, May 20, 1855 (folder labeled Cedar City in Historical Department of Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah); also private journal of Jessie N. Smith, Parowan Library, Parowan, Utah, p. 43.

⁴Edward A. Geary, "For the Strength of the Hills: Imagining Mormon County," Journal of Mormon History, 7 (1980): 75.

⁵Dean L May, "A Demographic Portrait of the Mormons, 1830-1980," Journal of Mormon History, 7 (1980): 41.

⁶John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

⁷Philip J. Grevan, Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1970), 274.

⁸Robert A. Gross, The Minutemen and Their World, (New York: Hil and Wang, 1976), 78-83.

⁹Dean L. May, "The Making of the Saints: The Mormon Town as a Setting for the Study of Culture," Utah Historical Quarterly 45, (Winter 1977): 8.

¹⁰Don Harrison Doyle, The Social Order of a Frontier Community, Jacksonville, Illinois 1825-70, (Urbana, Chicago: University Press of Illinois, 1983), 41.

¹¹Ibid., 93-97.

¹²Ibid., 12.

¹³Ibid., 15.

14. Ibid., 96.
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23. Dean L. May, "Demographic Portrait of Mormon," 64.
24. Vida M. Leigh, p.7.
25. Dean L. May, Demographic Portrait of Mormon," 60.
26. Ibid., 63.
27. Vida M. Leigh, "A Study of Ethnicity in a Rural Mormon Community: Cedar City, Iron County, Utah, 1800-1900," History 590R, Unpublished Paper, 1986, 8-9, (Taken from 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900 Federal Censuses).
28. Ibid., 10.
29. Gwen Mackelprang Schoenfelt, History of Margaret Jane Stephens Mackelprang, (Private unpublished history, 1980), 1.
30. Vida M. Leigh, 8.
31. Dean L. May, "Demographic Portrait," 61.
32. Federal Census for 1880, 1900, 1910.

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Chapter 3

KINSHIP TIES AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS IN CEDAR CITY

Andrew Jensen, an assistant LDS church historian, described Cedar City in 1900 as a flourishing city of about 1,700. The 1900 census enumerated 820 adults (those over 18), allowing for 980 children. Among this population, the United States-Utah group had swelled to 593 adults in 1900, leaving 217 foreign born adults, 136 of which were ethnic persisters from the 1851-1880 period. During that 20 years the majority of the immigrant adults had reached 40 and older. Since the population had persisted and grown older, first-, second-, and third-generation now mainly Utah-born, were marrying and reproducing.¹ (Table 5)

Investigation of marriage records, family group sheets, the census, personal histories, and assessment records show that ethnicity was not the major factor in marriage-partner selection.² This chapter will carefully analyze and examine all the factors.

In 1880 there were 197 heads of households (Table 4), with 160 couples (Table 6). The other heads of households were widows, widowers, or married women with no husband present. The census takers determined the couple's place of origin by the place of origin of the head of the household, but even in 1880 a high percentage of couples were not from the same ethnic group or the same place of birth. The English with 25% of the heads of household were the most numerous. It was not surprising then to find 65 couples (41 percent of the total) listed with one spouse foreign-born and one spouse U.S.-Utah-born. Most foreign-born couples were married before they emigrated (Table 6), with a few interesting exceptions.

TABLE 6
Place of Birth of Cedar City Couples, 1880, 1900, 1910

Male Heads of Households

ETHNICITY	1880	%	900	%	1910	%
ENGLISH	40	25	22	8	8	3
WELSH	8	5	1	0	3	1
SCOTS/IRISH	4	3	1	0	0	0
SCANDIN.	5	3	8	3	3	1
OTHER	4	3	2	1	3	1
U.S./UTAH	34	20	150	55	205	67
US/FOREIGN	65	41	91	33	74	27
COUPLES	160		275		296	

Source: US Census records of Cedar City, Iron Co., Utah 1880, 1900, 1910

Richard Palmer was born in Aberdare, Wales, March 20, 1828. At age ten he began working in a machine shop, and from then until early manhood was engaged in blacksmithing, engineering, and working among metals. He first heard of Mormonism at age 15, and five years later embraced the faith. In 1851 he immigrated to America, arriving in Salt Lake in the fall of 1852. In 1855 he was called to the new settlement of Cedar City to ply his trade in building up the iron industry. None of his family joined the church or immigrated with him.

In 1860 he went on a mission to Great Britain and Wales, where he held the position of president of the Mommouthshire conference. There he met Johanna Rees, who later became his wife.³ She was born in Pontypool, South Wales, August 6, 1842. She, with her whole family, joined the Mormon church. In 1863, at age 21, she migrated to Salt Lake City. On her arrival she married Richard, and they honeymooned on their trip to Cedar City, where they lived the rest of their lives.⁴

Benjamin Perkins, son of William Perkins and Jane Mathews Perkins, was born January 14, 1844, in Schoot, Wales. Ben wrote that while he and others of his family were waiting in the inn for the train which would take them to Liverpool and the voyage to America, he saw Mary Ann Williams, a convert to the church, sitting across the room looking sad, probably because she had no funds to emigrate. He went across the room and asked her if she would come if he could make enough money to bring her out when he reached Utah. She answered, "Yes." They were both true to that understanding.

Ben sent back money for the passage of his mother and father and Mary Ann Williams. At age 18 she came with her future in-laws, leaving behind her own family, to seal her life to that of her sweetheart, Ben. They married in the Endowment House on October 4, 1869, and journeyed to Cedar City with Bishop Lunt.⁵

The decline in the number of couples both of whom were foreign-born parallels the immigration to Cedar City from 1880 to 1910. In 1880, 61 couples were foreign-born, just lower than the 65 mixed couples. By 1900 the number of foreign-born couples had decreased to 34, while the U.S.-Utah-born couples had increased to 150 couples. The group of mixed foreign-born- U.S.-Utah-born couples had increased to 92 couples. This mirrored the emergence of the second and third generations of the children born in Utah to foreign-born parents, marrying and reproducing. Only four foreign born people moved to Cedar City after the turn of the century, while the foreign-born couples still living in the community were predominantly persisters from the 1850's through 1900. As the percentage of US-Utah born increased, the mixed percentage faded. Thus, the total population in 1910 of 1,723 was 91% US-Utah born.

Strong kinship networks helped establish a cohesive community of persisters able to endure from one generation to the next. Studies have found a definite correlation

between stable communities and strong family kinship ties. For example, the Scandinavian and British Mormon converts came to Zion largely as family groups.

Of the Scandinavian converts making up 31 selected companies, William Mulder found that between 1853 and 1882, 7,785, or 74 percent, were in family groups. They ranged from married pairs to extended family groups of 11. Couples were most common—560 of them— followed by 470 families of three, 345 families of four and so on. Three-generation groups and extended families were not uncommon.

The parallel migration of converts from Great Britain also consisted principally of families. Of 18,791 British emigrants counted between 1841 and 1868, 15,112, or 80 percent were family groups, with 32 percent of these in groups of over five.⁶

Numerous examples of the internal dynamics of kinship and extended family ties can be found in other groups studied in frontier America. Among these studies are Allen Kulikoff's study of Colonial Prince George's County, Maryland, the area presently just east of Washington, and Robert Kenzer's study of Orange County, North Carolina from 1849 to 1881. Extensive kin networks in the Chesapeake took shape from 1719 to 1733 as the number of families more than doubled and as sons married and stayed near their parents. By 1733, 54 percent of the households were related by blood to at least one other family. By 1776 one-third of all families shared their surname with at least four other families. By this late date it had become virtually impossible for two people to marry who were not already related by blood as cousins or by marriage as in-laws.

Kenzer found Orange County's isolated, self-contained, rural neighborhoods were cemented together by marriage. The young married their peers in their own neighborhood. Mate selection was very important in the families' life cycle and to the family economic and political persistence over time.⁷

Cedar City and the settlements of Iron County and other Southern Utah counties were rural, isolated, and self-contained and they reveal some similarities and some differences with Prince George County, Maryland, Orange County, North Carolina, and the New England villages mentioned in Chapter 1. To the Southern Utah settler, conversion to the LDS church, the voyage across the ocean, and the trek across the United States to Salt Lake City followed by a call to settle the southern region represented the common denominator uniting immigrant converts from many countries, religions, and social, economic backgrounds.

The marriage patterns of Cedar City were similar to the studies, just mentioned. Studies of the kinship ties among early settlers who persisted were also much the same, but mate selection as practiced in the old tradition couldn't function.

The organization of the Mormon community, on the other hand, economically, politically, and culturally encouraged individuals to adapt as rapidly as possible to the new western Mormon group. The priority of Mormon group unity reduced the importance of ethnic marriage, language, and tradition. Thus individuals of differing ethnic background were acculturated into the Mormon Community.

E. G. Hartmann, writing about the Welsh settlements in America, argued that the 1900 census figures do not do justice to many of the older areas where grandchildren and even great-grandchildren of Welsh settlers dwelt side by side with newer Welsh immigrants and their children. Particularly that was true in Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Oneida County, New York. The census figures can't reflect the strength of Welsh consciousness which strongly continued to exist into the third and fourth generation, and even today.⁸

Hartmann argued that particular factors promoted Welsh consciousness in the traditional Welsh centers, such as at Ebensburg, in Cambria County, Pennsylvania,

Johnstown and Green Township in Indiana County. Those factors he identified were: (1) great iron and coal centers, with farming communities close by which provided economic mobility for miners and farmers and their children; (2) concentration of Welsh immigrants; (3) Welsh churches and societies spoke Welsh and preserved the Old World language and culture; and (4) mate selection was from within the Welsh community.⁹

An investigation of original and early (1860-70) persisters in Cedar City revealed two important factors which helped maintain the stable social order experienced by the Iron County area even after the disastrous early 1850s.¹⁰ They were: (1) proximity of an eligible partner, and (2) family kinship networks. An examination in detail of these two factors follows.

The marriage records of the LDS church and Iron County for 1888 to 1915 (Table 7) showed approximately 327 marriages. Of these, 251 were marriages in which both the bride and groom listed Cedar City as their place of residence. This was 77 percent of the marriages. Of the other 76 marriages, 57 marriage partners (17 percent) were from Iron County; 14 (4 percent) were from Southern Utah, 2 were from the rest of Utah; and 3 (2 percent) were from other states. (Table 7)

Obviously, friends within the community, the neighborhood, the ward, and the stake boundaries offered top choices for mate selection. Henrietta Lunt, oldest daughter of Henry Lunt, one of the leaders of the first group of settlers called in 1851 and his second wife, Mary Ann Wilson, had known Lehi Jones, whose parents had both been born in Wales, all her life. Their fathers had served in the bishopric together when Lehi and Mary Ann were children. They were in the same age group and met socially with the other local young people. It was natural that a courtship should develop as they grew older.¹¹

Henrietta and Lehi went to St. George and were married in the St. George Temple, February 13, 1878, when Lehi was 24 years old and Henrietta was 19. Three of Lehi's

friends were married the same day: Gus Mackelprang to Jane Parry, Walter Murie to Catherine Stewart, Peter Fife to Sarah Jane Leigh.¹²

Seven of the eight partners mentioned were born in Cedar City. Jane Parry was the exception--born in Wales just before her Welsh parents emigrated to Utah. The parents of all four couples were among the early 1850s' settlers. They had immigrated to Cedar City from different countries. Lehi Jones, Sarah Jane Leigh, and Jane Parry were offspring of Welsh parents; and Walter Murie, Catherine Stewart, and Pete Fife were children of Scottish parents. Gus Mackelprang's parents were from Denmark, and Henrietta Lunt's parents were from England.

Lehi Jones' father, Thomas Jones, and Sarah Jane Leigh's father, Samuel Leigh, were among the first Welsh saints to leave Wales on February 26, 1849, aboard the Buena Vista. Those 249 converts constituted the first collective emigration from among the Welsh converts. Capt. Dan Jones was president of that emigrating company.¹³

Many early companies were unable to continue on west. They had to stop and regroup at Council Bluffs. The Leighs, Trehornes and Thomas Jones were among the approximately 200 Welsh saints forced to stay in and around Council Bluffs. They banded together and offered mutual assistance to each other. Council Bluffs also overflowed with English, Norwegian, and other immigrants. Interpreters were kept busy. The need for the Welsh to learn English was lessened by the formation of a Welsh-speaking branch of the church. That branch lessened the cultural shock assuring future immigrants of a warm welcome and accommodations with instruction and guidance in their own language as they prepared to complete their journey to the Valley.¹⁴

The people who remained at Council Bluff had all suffered great pain from loss of family members physical impairment and economic destitution. Samuel Leigh's wife, Ann, and newborn son had died of cholera while traveling up the Mississippi River to

Council Bluff. This left him with four young children and his own body weakened from cholera. William Trehorne left Wales with a wife and four daughters and one son. Before they reached Council Bluffs, the oldest son, John, his wife, and two children, and William and his wife, all died leaving their teenage daughters and a young son. Sage, one of the daughters, went to work for Samuel Leigh in his home.¹⁵

Thomas Jones was the only one of his family to accept Mormonism. He stopped at Council Bluffs to earn money so he could continue on to Salt Lake.¹⁶ Out of these close associations came three marriages. Samuel Leigh married Mary Trehorne, Thomas Jones married Mary's sister Sage and in Cedar City many years later after Thomas died leaving a young family, Samuel Leigh married his friend Thomas' widow, Sage.¹⁶

In Salt Lake the Trehorne sisters and their brother William were separated. Mary and Sage were called to go south with their husbands and help the Iron Mission in the manufacture of iron. Three Trehorne children remained in the Valley, and became part of the "New Wales," a three-block concentration of Welsh settlers. Each of the Welsh families received a city lot of one-and-one-fourth acres in addition to some land for farming about four or five miles west of the city. That three block area came to be known as "New Wales." The Welsh received approval from Brigham Young to form the first of several foreign-language branches established in Salt Lake to accommodate various ethnic groups in the settlement process.¹⁷

Another example of next-door neighbors marrying one another was found in the case of Hannah Daphine Smith Dalton, daughter of Jesse Nathaniel Smith and Emma Seraphine West. She listed her parents as both American-born. Her father was a member of the early LDS church Smiths of New England and her mother was from South Carolina. Both families were originally from England. Hannah was born in Parowan, Iron County, Utah, March 22, 1857.¹⁸

Hannah, a happy child, grew up with her father, mother, brothers, sisters, her father's other wives, her half-brothers and sisters, aunts, uncles, cousins, and grandparents. She was typical of the 76 percent of Iron County couples who chose a mate from among their own hometown acquaintances.

When she was a good-sized girl, she and the other girls wanted to go out with the school boys. What happy, sweet times they experienced as notes were passed to each other, and as they watched for the look of love in each other's eyes. The boys liked her, and they laughed and talked together, but never went on spooning parties together.

Later she taught school. The boys she liked in her youth often came to give her a ride home. They came on horseback and she got up on the horse behind them and hung on for dear life to the saddle strings as they galloped home. Her father was very strict and never let them stay out later than 10 p.m.

She liked all the boys; they were great chums, but there was something about Johnnie Dalton that always appealed to her. He lived right on the corner of her block. They laughed and talked and enjoyed each other just as children.

After she went to the University of Utah to school and came back home, she met Johnnie on occasion. One day they were sitting on the woodpile as he helped her get wood. He had a new 25-cent piece. He told her he was going to make her an engagement ring out of it. She just laughed. He got his knife and whittled the quarter till he got it so it would fit her finger. He put it on her finger and that was the only engagement ring she ever had.¹⁹

She taught school and Johnnie came to walk home with her. They went steady, but never stayed out later than 10 p.m. In the spring he asked her father if he could marry her. They were married in the Endowment House, May 1, 1876, by Joseph F. Smith. This was cause for a great celebration by the whole town when they returned.²⁰

Utah was the one pioneer territory with a nearly equal male-female ratio, the direct result of Mormon family structure. In 1870 men in Utah numbered 44,122 and women 42,665; foreign-born men 15,127 — women 15,575. In 1890 among the Norwegians there were 87.2 men to 100 women, among the Swedes 92 men to 100 women.²¹ In Cedar City in 1880 there were 221 men to 218 women, making local neighborhood mate selection a natural option.²² Cedar City in 1880 was a well-organized, integrated Mormon community with a fluid pattern of coexisting multiple-ethnic groups. No one group erected ethnic walls around itself, which allowed single individuals to generally disregard ethnic lines when contemplating marriage.

Marriage helped secure the continuity of the Mormon community (Table 7) but it also satisfied the desire of the individual for fulfillment as a personality, apart from social and religious consideration. All over America during the nineteenth century, the theme of romantic love grew steadily in importance. It emphasized that the feelings and desire of the individual could surmount the barriers of ethnic difference and social orientation.²²

Individual romantic freedom of mate selection among local peers was evident in Cedar City. Table 7 also shows there was conformity to Mormon community standards. Of the 327 marriages between 1888 and 1915, 124 or 38 percent were performed in an LDS temple; 203 or 62 percent were performed by a local bishop or other presiding priesthood authority. Until 1900 all were members of the LDS church. The number of Mormons marrying non-members increased from 1910 to 1915, although the mixed couples were still shown as married by LDS local authority. The records for all this period indicate 11 marriages of mixed religious orientation, five of which were in 1915. This was by far the greatest number recorded for one year, indicating a slight shift in mate selection.

TABLE 7
Cedar City Marriages, 1888-1915

YEAR	TYPE MARRIAGE				§RELIGION		TOTAL
	LOCALS	NON/LOCAL	TEMPLE	CIVIL	Mor	NM	
1888	4	1	3	2	5		5
1889	10	1	4	7	11		11
1890	7	3	6	3	9		9
1891	7	4	4	7	11		11
1892	9	5	4	10	14		14
1893	9	3	4	8	12		12
1894	5	3	1	4	5		5
1895	7	1	2	8	10		10
1896	7	4	3	5	8		8
1897	6	2	3	7	10		10
1898	6	3	5	3	8		8
1899	5	3	1	7	8		8
1900	13	5	6	10	16		16
1901	6	1	1	11	12		12
1902	3	1	1	3	4		4
1903	6	1	2	5	7		7
1904*	3	0	0	4	4		4
1908	8	0	3	5	8		8
1909	10	0	4	6	10		10
1910	20	2	10	12	21	1	22
1911	18	2	8	12	20		20
1912	28	2	19	11	30		30
1913	17	10	7	20	24	3	27
1914	19	14	13	20	31	2	33
1915	18	4	9	13	17	5	22
TOTAL	251	75	123	203	315	11	326
% OF TOT.	77	23	38	62			

SOURCES: PAROWAN STAKE FILM # 025846 MARRIAGE RECORDS
IRON COUNTY COURT HOUSE, PAROWAN UTAH, P. 22-183

*NOTE 1905-06-07 ARE NOT INCLUDED AS THEY COULDN'T BE LOCATED.

§REL = RELIGION

Mor: Mormon

NM: Non Mormon

Mormon church organization and structure must be explained as it had a direct bearing on local areas' mate selection. The political boundary of the Iron Mission was Iron County. The ecclesiastical boundary was the Parowan Stake. They were coterminous. In the beginning both the county and the stake included wards and branches in Cedar City,

Clifton, Hamilton's Fort, Johnson (Enoch), Mammouth (Hatch Town), Panguitch Ward, Paragonah Ward, Parowan 1st Ward, Parowan 2nd Ward, Potato Valley (Escalante), and Summit Branch. Missing from this list are Kanarraville, and several other communities which later, after county boundary changes, became part of Iron County and Parowan Stake.²³

The Legislature changed the boundary lines of Iron County, Kane County, and Washington County, on May 26, 1885. Kanarra which had been in the St. George Stake, Washington County, now became part of Parowan Stake, Iron County. Boundary changes of county lines also accounted for some of the demographic changes in U.S. census figures during that period. A persister in one census could become a non-persister in the next census and never change residence due to the area's becoming part of another county.²⁴

Stake conference was always a time of rejoicing and friendly get-togethers. It was a time when families and friends from all over the stake loaded in wagons and started at daybreak for the town where conference was being held. The ride was long and tiresome for many of the members attending, but everybody young and old, looked forward to it twice a year. The meeting place for stake conference was rotated between Cedar City and Parowan.²⁵

Presiding leaders of stake positions were called by the General Authorities in Salt Lake City from anywhere within the stake. Some were called from outside the stake in the 19th century. The stake activities held during the year often brought all the members of the stake together. Since young people attending conferences met those from other towns within the stake, it is not surprising that marriages took place between men and women from different communities. Cedar City youth during that period also selected mates from other towns in Iron County. Moreover, 14 marriages, (47 percent) were from towns in

other counties in Southern Utah which originally had been part of Iron County before the legislature placed them in Garfield , Kane , and Washington Counties. (Table 7).

An example of this pattern was Kanarra, a few miles south of Cedar City, which had the most varied history of any of the Iron Mission settlements. First settled in 1861, shifting boundaries moved it from one county to another five times. The correct transfer dates still are not clear. First it was part of Kane County; next it was part of Washington County; then part of Iron County and then, for political reasons caused by the rise of Silver Reef, it was put in Washington County. Silver Reef brought in a great influx of non-Mormons which for a time threatened to change the political complexion of the county. To stop this, Kanarra and New Harmony, two Mormon towns, were annexed to Washington County. Some years later Kanarra returned to Iron County. New Harmony still remains in Washington County.²⁶

Kanarra was settled early by emigrants predominantly from Wales called to the Iron Mission. Sprinkled among the Davises, Davies, Williamses, Rees, Roundys, and Parkers, were the Fords and Berrys, Groves, Willises, Reeves, and Pollocks. The Fords were from England, the Berrys from Tennessee, and the Pollocks from Ireland.

William Ford, an early settler of Kanarra, was an example of the coterminous shifting back and forth. He was born in England, came to Utah in 1854, came to Iron County in 1867, and remained there. In the 1880 census he was not listed from Iron County, but he was found in the Cedar City census for 1900 and 1910. His residence proper was in Kanarra, but a few years later he purchased a large house in Cedar City and alternated between the two towns. He also had a fine ranch in Sevier County (formerly Iron County) where he spent part of his time.²⁷

A further illustration was the little community just south of Cedar City of Hamilton Fort. Hamilton Fort formed a branch which belonged to Cedar City 2nd Ward, and later

the Cedar City West Ward. Most of the families (Hamiltons, Fifes, Middletons) had lived first in Cedar City. Then they moved to Hamilton Fort only to return again to Cedar. Some of them then went back to Hamilton Fort.. Generally, the inhabitants had lived somewhere else in Iron County before and after they moved to Hamilton Fort.

When the children grew up, some married their friends from Hamilton Fort, but most of their spouses came from Cedar City. In the case of Hamiltons, John Hamilton, Sr., married his wife in Ireland. Their son John, Jr., married an Irish immigrant in Springville, Utah. The next two generations married spouses from Cedar City. The third generation married spouses from Utah, and the fourth generation had spouses from Utah and other parts of the country. Some children stayed, but most adults were buried in Cedar City or other towns where they previously had lived.²⁸

That scenario was repeated over and over from one end of the physical political boundaries of the Iron Mission settlements to the other. This leads us to conclude that the coincidence of political and ecclesiastical boundaries had a direct bearing on marriage patterns and persistence of kinship ties during the first 55 years after settlement.

To determine the importance of kinship ties and extended families among the early settlers (1851-1880) that persisted from 1851-1910, four factors must be kept in mind. Aside from death they included: (1) families called by LDS leaders to settle other communities or to fill a need in a community already settled. (Table 8) The last major call came on September 10, 1900, when a company of about 100 Iron County volunteers left from Parowan to settle the Big Horn Basin in Cowley, Wyoming.²⁹ (2) changes in county boundaries; (3) nearly all of the early persisters were called on at least one mission and many on two or three; (4) and from 1880 to 1900 the heads of households could be in prison or in hiding, the result of federal prosecution under the Edmunds-Tucker Act.³⁰

The policies of the LDS church contributed to both persistence and the non-persistence of Cedar City families. Members had been called to settle the Iron Mission, and calling "settlement missionaries" continued until after the turn of the century. The faithful accepted a call from the First Presidency of the church to a mission settlement, or service until they were released officially from that calling.

TABLE 8
Common Surnames of Persisters, 1851-1910

NAME(Original settler)	1880		1900		1910	
	HH	CHILD	HH	CHILD	HH	CHILD
1851-1853						
ADAMS, JOHN L.	*4	20	*6	20	*8	31
ARTHUR, CHRISTOPHER	*3	5	*3	5	*2	2
BLADEN, THOMAS	2	1	1	7	1	6
BULLOCH, JAMES	3	8	5	16	6	15
CHATTERLEY, JOSEPH	2	10	1	3	1	5
HAIGHT, ISAAC C.	3	9	3	24	2	20
HUNTER, WILLIAM	*5	22	*8	41	*10	52
CHAFFIN, LOUIS	*	2	2		0	0
JONES, THOMAS	11	41	9	56	8	39
LAPWORTH, WILLIAM	*		*		0	0
LEIGH, SAMUEL	*6	18	5	39	11	41
LUNT, HENRY	*	13	3	17	3	20
PARRY, JOHN	*2	6	4	17	5	16
PERRY, GEORGE	*3	10	6	24	7	27
SLACK, WILLIAM	1	3	1	8	0	0
SMITH, PHILLIP K.	**5	8	4	25	6	10
WALKER, JOHN	***3	35	***4	47	*10	42
WOOD, GEORGE	**2	10	*3	24	3	13
1854-1880						
AHLSTROM, CHARLES	*	5	*1	5 *1	4	
ALGER, HENRY	*	5				
ANDERSON, JAMES		4	3	9		
ARMSTRONG, JOSEPH	*	4	*	3	*	2
ASHDOWN, GEORGE	*	4	*1	6	4	9
BRYANT, RICHARD	*1	3	*1	10	*2	12
BAUER, ALLWISE	*3	20	*6	20	*8	31
BELL, WILLIAM	1	3	1	4	1	3
CONDIE, GEORGE	*	5	*2	4	1	4
CORRY, ANDREW	**	12	*3	10	*10	31
COSSLETT, GOMER	**	1	**	8	*2	7
CORLETT, THOMAS	1	2	1	2	1	1
COX, EDWIN C.	*	6	*1	3	*1	4

Note: Each * represents an original settler who is still alive in the census indicated.

NAME (Original settler)	1880		1900		1910	
	HH	CHILD	HH	CHILD	HH	CHILD
DALLEY, WILLIAM	*	4	2	18	1	9
DOVER, WILLIAM	*	8	*1	5	3	13
DUTTON, JAMES	*1	3	2	8	1	1
ELLIKER, JOHN	*	*1	9	*		
FIFE, ADAM	2	4	2	10	3	10
GREEN, WILLIAM	*	1			1	10
GOWER, THOMAS	2	8	4	10	4	9
HAMMILTON, JOHN	*3	17			1	5
HIGBEE, JOHN M.	*2	15	*2	7	4	12
HEYBORNE, ROBERT	**	8	**1	13	*2	15
HARRIS, JOHN	1	7	4	15	2	9
HOUCHEN, HENRY	*	4	*1	10	*2	15
ISOM	1	2			1	3
JENSEN, ANDREW	*1	6	3	8	2	4
KNELL, JOHN	*	5	2	4	1	2
LAMBETH, RICHARD	*	3	1	1	2	2
LARSON, GEORGE	*		1	2	1	4
MACFARLANE, JOHN M.	*1	4	3	10	4	15
MACKELPRANG, PETER	*4	7	4	18	5	19
MCCONNELL, JAHIEL	**2	6	3	7	5	15
MELLING, JOSEPH	*	2	1	5	1	8
MIDDLETON, WILLIAM	*2	6	5	14	3	13
MURIE, GEORGE	1	1	1	4	2	2
PALMER, RICHARD	*	7	*3	6	*3	11
PERKINS, WILLIAM	3	2	3	11	2	7
PERRY, GEORGE	*3	11	6	26	7	27
PRYOR, NATHANIEL	*	7	*1	9	*1	8
PUCELL, ROBERT	*		1	4	1	3
ROLLO, WILLIAM	***		***	6	**1	13
ROOT, LEWIS	*	7	*2	5	2	3
SHERRATT, JOHN	*	5	3	10	2	14
STAPLEY, CHARLES			*1	5	2	9
SAWYER, WILLIAM	*	4	*	4	*	2
SANDIN, LARS	*	4	1		1	2
STEPHENS, JOHN	*	6	*	5	1	5
TATE, WILLIAM	*	7	2	8	1	1
THORLEY, THOMAS	*	8	*6	13	4	16
UNTHANK, WILLIAM	*2	7	*1	4	1	1
URIE, JOHN	*2	13	*4	27	7	25
WEBSTER, FRANCIS	*2	10	*6	28	9	29
WESTERHOLD, CHARLES	*	3			*	
WILDEN, CHARLES	*	6			1	1
WILLIAMS, EVAN	*	7	*9	40	4	21
TOTALS	164	518	211	818	230	824

NAME (Original settler)	1880		1900		1910	
	HH	CHILD	HH	CHILD	HH	CHILD
1880-1910						
BERGSTROM, OLAF			*	3	*	4
BROWN, CHARLES			*1	9	1	9
CLARK			1	4	3	9
DOVER, WILLIAM	*	8	*1	5	*	7
DAVIS, JAMES			*4	24	2	14
DIX, WILLIAM			*	6	*	12
EDWARDS, DAVID			**	7	1	5
FORD, WILLIAM			*1		7	1
FROYD, PETER			*1	2	*2	9
HALLMAN, CHARLES			*1	3	*1	3
HANSON, ANDREW			*	4	*	6
HOLLAND, JOHN			*1		*	2
KEEL, WALTER			*1	13	*	6
MOSDELL, CHARLES			*	4	*	5
PALM, AUGUST L.			*		1	2
PENDLETON, DAVID			*	7	*	7
ROUCHE			*	2	1	6
ROSENBERG, JOSEPH			*1	9	1	5
ROUNDY, WILLIAM			*	5	1	3
SHOPPMAN, EUGENE			*	4	*	7
SIMPKINS			3	11	2	6
WILKERSON, JOSEPH			*1	9	*1	11
TOTAL	1	8	38	138	30	138

Note: * Represents the original settlers who came in each timeframe, and are still found alive in the next census.

HH indicates heads of households.

Child indicates number of children.

Source: History of the Iron Mission, Andrew Jensen, list of 1851 settlers; William R. Palmer collection SUSC; Utah Census 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910.

TABLE 9

Cedar City 1910 Surnames with 2 or more Heads of Households
and 15 or more children from Country of Origin

NAME	ENGLISH		WELSH		IRIS/SCOT		SCAND.		USA		OTHERS		TOT
	HH	CH	HH	CH	HH	CH	HH	CH	HH	CH	HH	CH	
ADAMS	9	31											
BAUER											9	13	
BULLOCH					6	15							
CORRY					11	31							
HAIGHT									2	20			
HEYBORNE	3	15											
HOUCHEN	3	15											
HUNTER	11	41											
JONES			8	39									
LEIGH			11	41									
LUNT									3	20			
MacFARLANE					4	15							
MACKELPRANG							5	19					
MacCONNELL									5	15			
NELSON							4	15					
PARRY			5	16									
PERRY	7	27											
THORLEY	4	16											
URIE					7	25							
WALKER	11	42											
WEBSTER	9	29											
WILLIAMS			4	21									
TOTALS	8		4		4		2		3		1		22
TOT. HH	57		28		28		9		10		9		141
TOT CHILD		227		117		86		34		55		31	550

Explanation: Totals means total surnames
Total HH means total heads of households
Total Child means total children

Source: US Census, Iron Co.,1910

Such was the case of Llewellyn Harris, who for over thirty years made his annual rounds among “the Lamanites in his field of labor,” teaching them that the Mormons were

their friends. He traveled among the Indians of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. He spoke fluently the dialects of 20 or more tribes in addition to English, Spanish, and his native Welsh, with a strong preference for the latter.

He came to Cedar City in the summer, where he was welcomed by fellow saints, especially fellow Cambians. This faithful missionary was called by Erastus Snow, president of the Southern Mission, to labor as a missionary among the Indians. At first he went with other missionaries who one by one were released. Brother Harris spent his winters, year after year for 30 years, on missionary expeditions among the Indians, faithfully discharging his duties. He died while in service as an Indian missionary.³¹

It is instructive to examine the 22 surnames represented by two or more heads of households and 15 children or more (Table 9). The Haight and Lunts, for instance, are both shown in 1910 with just two heads of households, but 20 children each. Both families figured prominently in every major event or decision, both civilly and spiritually, in early Iron County. Table 9 shows the part of their families left in Cedar City. The two polygamous heads of the families were forced to leave their homes, and with a wife and several children they had fled to Arizona, Toquerville, Utah, and other destinations unknown, as federal marshals sought to arrest and imprison them. Isaac Haight and Henry Lunt died before they made it back to Cedar City from Mexico and Arizona. Most of the families of both men did come back, and they joined the family members still there. Thus, the strong kinship network established from the first days of settlement, continued to exert an influence on the life of the community. Both men and their several wives, produced a large posterity.³²

However, among the 22 most common surnames in 1910 (Table 9) only eight were polygamous families. Both Haight and Lunt were American-born. Of the remaining 20 surnames, eight were from England — double any other ethnic group. The eight English-

born produced 57 heads of households and 227 children. The four from Wales had 28 heads of households and 117 children; four were Scottish and Irish, with 28 heads of households and 86 children; two were Scandinavian with nine heads of households and 34 children; one was Swiss with nine heads of households and 31 children; three were U.S.-born, with ten heads of households and 55 children.

Of the persisters who came to Cedar City after 1880, no one surname was represented by more than three heads of household or more than 14 children. (Table 8, 1880-1910). James Davis, an emigrant from Wales in 1852, did not come to Cedar City until in the 1880s. In 1900 six heads of households and 24 children had the surname Davis. However, by 1910 a part of this family had moved back to Kanarra and Harmony, where they had originally settled, leaving only two heads of households and 14 children in Cedar City. It must be noted that several daughters had married sons of original families, illustrating that during the second and third generations marriages united many families of the original settlers.³³

It is also interesting that of the heads of households and children found in the 1910 U.S. census (Table 5), of the 306 heads of households 141 (46 percent) bear the 22 most numerous surnames of original 1851-1880 settlers. Of the 861 children, 550 or 64 percent are children of these 22 surnames (Table 9). This pattern of marriage and local residency bonded together the households in Cedar City, even though headed by people with different surnames they shared the same ancestral lines. A list of the four couples already examined (Lehi Jones-Henrietta Lunt, Gus Mackelprang-Jane Parry, Walter Murie-Catherine Stewart, Peter Fife-Sarah Jane Leigh) are examples of people with ancestors in the local community. Of these four couples Lehi Jones, Henrietta Lunt, Gus Mackelprang, Jane Parry, and Sarah Jane Leigh were posterity of the 22 most numerous surnames.

TABLE 10

Male Descendants of James Snadon Hunter

<u>MALE</u>	<u>MATE(S)</u>
JAMES WILLIAM HUNTER	ORIGINAL SETTLER
JOSEPH SNADON HUNTER	NANCY MORTON, ANN RICHARDS, HANNAH GREEN, ELIZA PINNOCK
JOSEPH HENRY HUNTER	ROSELIA GOWER LUNT
WILLIAM PINNOCK HUNTER	CHARLOTTE ROUNDTREE
ALEXANDER PINNOCK HUNTER	Never Married
GEORGE HUNTER	JOSEPHINE
GEORGE HUNTER M.	MARY MUIR MURIE, ELIZ. MURIE
GEORGE W. MUIR HUNTER	JANE WILLIAMS
JOSEPH HUNTER	BEATRICE DOVER
JAMES ALBERT HUNTER	BETSY ANN WALKER
WILLIAM HUNTER	ELIZABETH
DAVID MURIE HUNTER	SARAH JANE URIE
WILLIAM MURIE HUNTER	Never Married
EVAN W. HUNTER	_____
GEORGE W. HUNTER	_____
MILES W. HUNTER	_____
FERNANDO HUNTER	_____
LAMONT HUNTER	_____
JOSEPH M. HUNTER	Never Married
ROLAND LUNT	LOUISE HOFFMAN
WILFORD LUNT HUNTER	Never Married
GORDON LUNT HUNTER	NETTIE WEBB
LORENZO LUNT HUNTER	GWEN BURTON
GIAURDELLO LUNT HUNTER	MAE SULLIVAN
JOSEPH SNEDON HUNTER	FAYE BECK
CONRAD HUNTER	_____
GEORGE E. HUNTER	_____
DAVID HUNTER	_____
JOHN URIE HUNTER	HORTENSE KEEL
DELOY HUNTER	_____
MELVIN HUNTER	_____
CHARLES R. HUNTER	RUTH HALL
GRANT R. HUNTER	ODESSA FORD
WILLIAM R. HUNTER	_____
BERNARD HUNTER	_____
JOSEPH M. HUNTER	_____
JOHN HUNTER	_____
DAVID URIE HUNTER	_____
JOHN HUNTER	_____
DELROY HUNTER	_____
GEORGE HUNTER	_____
ALEXANDER HUNTER	_____
MELVIN HUNTER	_____
TOTAL 43	

FEMALES

SARAH CATHERINE HUNTER	BENGT NELSON
ELIZABETH SNADON HUNTER	DAVID W. GIBSON
CATHERINE ROSALIA HUNTER	SAMUEL BAUER
EUPHAMIA HUNTER	WILLIAM RUBEN DOTSON
MARTHA PINNOCK HUNTER	JOHN ALBERT BOOTH
MARY JANE HUNTER	_____
MARY MURIE HUNTER	_____
ELIZABETH HUNTER	Never Married
ELLEN HUNTER	CHAFFIN
MARY ANN HUNTER	LEIGH
ROSELIA HUNTER	HENRY W. LUNT
MARY W. HUNTER	_____
CATHERINE HUNTER	RAYMOND EARL MERRYWEATHER
GWENDOLYNN HUNTER	_____
ANDREA HUNTER	_____
LUCILLE HUNTER	_____
JULIA HUNTER	_____
SARAH HUNTER	_____
MARY JANE HUNTER	_____
KATHERINE HUNTER	JOSEPH KING STEVENSON
MARION HUNTER	REN LUKE
NORA HUNTER	_____

TOTAL 22

Source: Utah Census 1870,1880,1900,1910

Hunter four generations file, Family History Center, SLC

Personal histories of James Snadon Hunter, George Hunter, Elizabeth Pinnock Hunter, and Roselia Gower Hunter.

TABLE 11

Male Descendants of Peter Mathiason Mackelprang

<u>MALES</u>	<u>MATES</u>
PETER MACKELPRANG	ORIGINAL SETTLER
	MARGARET SORENSEN
CHRISTIAN ERIC MACKELPRANG	LENORE BAILEY
SAMUEL WILLIAM MACKELPRANG	ADELIA TERRY
AUGUST MACKELPRANG	JANE HARRIET PARRY
JULIUS MACKELPRANG	MARTHA PERKINS, MARG. STEPHENS
PETER MACKELPRANG	CATHERINE PERKINS
CHRISTIAN HENRY MACKELPRANG	MARY ISBELLE BULLOCH
JOSEPH MORONI MACKELPRANG	EVA MAY WOODALL
DELL ROY MACKELPRANG	LEONA BAUER
WARREN MACKELPRANG	ORAL HARRIS, RAMONA HUNTER
MAX MACKELPRANG	MARY JANE WADE, VARENE ROWLEY
PETER EDWARD MACKELPRANG	SELMA AUSKAGHER, CHLOE JENSEN
DONALD PARRY MACKELPRANG	LOUISE PERRY
MELVIN PARRY MACKELPRANG	NAOMI PERRY
WILLIAM JULIUS MACKELPRANG	HAZEL JOHNSON
ARTHUR MACKELPRANG	BESSIE AVERETT
FRANCIS MACKELPRANG	ILLENE MACE
WILLARD MACKELPRANG	MAURINE BRINDERHOFF
HENRY MACKELPRANG	Never Married
HENRY MACKELPRANG	MARY
EARL MACKELPRANG	LUCILE
EDWARD MACKELPRANG	_____
TOTAL 21	

FEMALE

CHRISTIANA ANN MACKELPRANG	MORTON CHATTERLEY
ANNA MACKELPRANG	NEPHI BAILEY
MARY MACKELPRANG	FREDERICK ISAAC JONES
MARGARET MACKELPRANG	DANIEL PERKINS
SARAH AMELIA MACKELPRANG	HERBERT CHARLES ADAMS
MARY ELLEN MACKELPRANG	EDWARD SANDIN
LENORA NAOMI MACKELPRANG	JOHN HENRY PERRY
HENRIETTA MACKELPRANG	Never Married
CAROLINE MACKELPRANG	WILLAM C. MURIE
MARGARET JANE MACKELPRANG	BENJAMINE H. DALTON
EUNICE MACKELPRANG	HOWARD LONG
MELINDA MACKELPRANG	JULIUS MACKELPRANG
LAVERN MACKELPRANG	ARTHUR L. NORRIS, GLEN C. ROUSEY
ROXEY MACKELPRANG	WILLIAM MIDDLETON, BILL STEPHENS
MARGARET E. MACKELPRANG	KEN URIE, HYRUM NIELSEN
HARRIET C. MACKELPRANG	BRUCE STEVENSON
IRENE PARRY MACKELPRANG	WILFORD JOHNSON
MARTHA MACKELPRANG	RUSSELL GORDON CUTLER
GWENDOLINE MACKELPRANG	REX R. SCHOENFELD
BLANCHE MACKELPRANG	Never Married

TOTAL 20

Source: Utah Census 1870,1880,1900,1910

Mackelprang four generations file, Family History Center, SLC
Personal Histories of Peter Mackelprang, Margaret Sorenson Mackelprang,
Christina M. Chatterley, Mary M. Jones, Gus Mackelprang, Peter Mackelprang,
Julius Mackelprang, and Margaret M. Perkins.

Note: The offspring who died while still babies or young children are not included in these tables as they are not statistically viable in marriage and kinship data. Some mates are not listed, and it is assumed that (1) they never married, (2) they were not in town during the census or their posterity failed to send in family group sheets to the Genealogical Library, (3) or they married after the time period being studied.

TABLE 12

Male Descendants of Samuel Leigh

MALES	MATES
SAMUEL LEIGH	ORIGINAL SETTLER
	ANN DAVIS, MARY TREHORNE, MARY LEWIS
	SAGE TREHORNE JONES
WILLIAM DAVIS LEIGH	ELIZABETH DAVIS WOOD
HENRY LEIGH	AMY ELIZABETH WEBSTER
JOHN DAVID LEIGH	SARAH MARIA CHAFFIN, MARY TREHORNE
DANIEL TREHORNE LEIGH	ALICE FIFE
SAMUEL TREHORNE LEIGH	CAROLINE NELSON, MARY ANN HUNTER
URIAH TREHORNE LEIGH	Never Married
WILLIAM HENRY LEIGH	MARTHA ELEANOR BERRY
SAMUEL GEORGE LEIGH	Never Married
RUFUS WOOD LEIGH	EVA SMART PARKINSON
ELIAS WOOD LEIGH	ALINE WALKER
JOHN DAVID LEIGH	JULIA RICHARDS
SAMUEL W. LEIGH	CATHERINE HINTON
FRANCIS W. LEIGH	ADA BRYANT
WEBSTER H. LEIGH	—————
WILFORD WEBSTER LEIGH	ANNAMAE LANGFORD
SAMUEL FIFE LEIGH	PRISCILLA SMITH URIE
DANIEL FIFE LEIGH	EDITH HALL
PETER FIFE LEIGH	REBECCA BLADEN
KUMEN FIFE LEIGH	HENRIETTA EVANS PRYOR
JOSEPH TREHORNE LEIGH	KATHERINE BURBEE
BERNARD FIFE LEIGH	IDONA STEWART
LELAND LEIGH	—————
LEON FIFE LEIGH	MINNIE ADAMS
HENRY HINTON LEIGH	JOAN COOLEY
REED HINTON LEIGH	MARY ANDRUS
JOHN URIE LEIGH	IONA LUND
SAMUEL URIE LEIGH	VERNETTA LILA FRAZER
GEORGE HUNTER LEIGH	IONA WOOLLEY
HARRY BERRY LEIGH	JANET GOWER
SAMUEL WILLIAM LEIGH	GRACE STERLING
GEORGE LEIGH	
TOTAL 32	

FEMALES

MARY ANN LEIGH	CHARLES HEYBORNE
SARAH JANE LEIGH	PETER BARROWS FIFE
LOUISE TREHORNE LEIGH	GEORGE ETHER PERRY
SOPHIA ETTA LEIGH	Never Married
CAROLINE LEIGH	MAGNUS AHLSTRON
RUBY LEIGH	ADOLPH PEDERSON
CAROLINE LEIGH	_____
DELLA LEIGH	_____
MARY ANN LEIGH	_____
SARAH ANN LEIGH	_____
SOPHIA LEIGH	_____
BETSY LEIGH	_____
MARY W. LEIGH	_____
ECHO F. LEIGH	_____
CAROLINE C. LEIGH	_____
LAURA LEIGH	_____
ANN E. LEIGH	_____
AMY J. LEIGH	_____
SOPHIE LEIGH	_____
WINIFRED LEIGH	_____
MARIAN LEIGH	CHARLES PROCTOR
HELEN LEIGH	WENDALL HOLMQUIST
ALICE URIE LEIGH	HERBERT VINCENT HESS
CARRIE HUNTER LEIGH	Never Married
MARY INA LEIGH	ARTHUR GARDNER
CORTELLA HUNTER LEIGH	VAN DEAN CUTLER
MAURINE LEIGH	CARL ERICK CLEGG
LAVERA LEIGH	MELVIN BURK
ELLA ROBERTA LEIGH	THURMAN PRYOR
WILLMA REBECCA LEIGH	DURRELL CORRY
DORIS LEIGH	ERVIN VANCE JOHNSON
RAVENNA LEIGH	ELBERT FISHER
MARY CAROL LEIGH	HARVEY WILLARD STURDEVAN
FRANCELLA FIFE LEIGH	CHARLES N. CORRY
MARY JANE FIFE LEIGH	THOMAS WADE
ABIGALE FIFE LEIGH	FRANK B. WEBSTER
ALICE FIFE LEIGH	CARLOS JONES
ANN LEIGH	FREDRICK EDGAR WARNER

TOTAL 38

Source: Utah Census 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910

Leigh four generations file, Family History Center, SLC

Personal journal of Samuel Leigh, History of Daniel Trehorne Leigh, Henry Leigh, and Daniel Fife Leigh.

Walter Murie and Peter Fife were descendents of original settlers. Only Catherine Stewart came from elsewhere in the country (Tables 8, 9).

Walter Murie's mother, Mary Muir, born in Scotland, married David Murie, left him in California when he moved there; returned to Cedar City with her children and married George Hunter. She bore five of his children. He was an original settler from England and progenitor of the largest posterity of common surnames in 1910.³⁴

The families of James Hunter, Peter Mathison Mackelprang, and Samuel Leigh are characteristic of the majority of 1851-1880 settlers called to Iron County. They owned land and were leaders in the community and the LDS church. Their children, not called by authorities to other areas, married mates with common surnames which bonded the families into a close-knit, interrelated part of the community.

The male and female descendants of these three families to the third generation illustrate the strong interconnection of the common surnames. Only the sons, their mates, and their children are listed in the tables. The females in the family are listed with their mates, but their children are not listed. If this were possible, the ties created through the marriages of aunts, uncles, cousins, in-laws, etc., would link almost every surname in town in one way or another (Tables 10, 11, and 12).

Absence of the female members of the families' children and grandchildren distorts the true relationship of local surnames as in the case of Peter Mathison Mackelprang and Margaret Sorensen. They had ten children, five girls and five boys. The five girls had 31 children. A daughter, Christine Mackelprang Chatterley Brown, had seven children, 24 grandchildren, and 46 great-grandchildren. This is typical of female posterity not related by surname but related by bloodline.³⁵

Several surnames are represented by a large posterity. James Snadin Hunter had by the third and fourth generation 43 male and 22 female descendants. In the 1910 census

(Table 9) the Hunter surname is shown with 11 heads of households and 52 children. It was the most numerous surname in Cedar City in 1910 leading, one to conclude that a large part of the Hunter descendants remained in Cedar City. Samuel Leigh in Table 12 had 32 male posterity and 38 female posterity. In Table 9 the Leigh surname lists 11 heads of household and 41 children. It was the third most numerous surname. Peter Mathison Mackelprang in Table 11 appears with 22 male descendants and 20 female descendants. In the surnames of 1910 (Table 9) there are five Mackelprang heads of households and 15 children. The smaller number in 1910 resulted from the call of three of the children of Peter Mackelprang — son William and daughters, Mary and Ann — to settle Bluff in San Juan County in the 1880s. Also Julius, another son, was forced to move to Tuba City, Arizona, and later Johnson, Utah, due to polygamy.³⁶

Polygamy must be addressed as a contributing factor in marriage and kinship data relating to the history of the Iron Mission settlement. In the period of this study, especially in the 1880s and 1890s, some heads of households were absent, forced to flee elsewhere to escape prosecution for polygamy. Eight of the most numerous surnames were polygamous families. Four of the eight were English. The English showed twice the number of common surnames of any other group in the top 22. The Lunt and Haight surnames were among the 22 most numerous surnames with 20 children each but only two heads of households. Samuel Leigh, a Welshman, was also among the top 22. He married into polygamy, but plural wife, Sage Trehorne Jones, didn't bear him children. She was the sister of his wife Mary Trehorne, and he married her after her children were born and her husband Thomas Jones had died.³⁷

Table 3 showed that in 1880 there were 197 heads of households of whom 155 were married. The other 42 heads were either listed as widowed, single, or married women with no husband present. Twenty-one were married woman with no husband present. A

search through family group sheets and personal histories indicates those married women and their children to be the plural wives and children of men listed as living with another wife or as in hiding and not present during the time of the census.

An interesting example of this phenomenon was Christopher Jones Arthur, a Welsh convert to Mormonism and immigrant to the Iron Mission in 1852. He had served as under-secretary to Franklin D. Richards, keeping the books for the Iron Company. He married Ann Jones in Wales before immigrating. In later years he married Elizabeth Perry, Jane Condie, and Marion Brown.

In the early 1880s when the bitter crusade against polygamists was beginning, men with more than one wife had to flee or go “on the underground.” Bishop Arthur returned to his native land as a missionary. He was in the British Mission during 1883, 1884, and 1885. During his absence he was released as bishop.

Returning home in 1885, he found the search for polygamists at its height and was forced to remain hidden. With Francis Webster and Henry Lunt he spent one cold lonely winter at Cook Springs on the Cedar Mountain south of Cedar City. The three men came to the mountain rim once a week to receive mail and supplies which their sons struggled through the deep snowdrifts to deliver. In the evenings the three men would sit and look down on the distant town. They watched the smoke curl from their own chimneys. Sometimes smoke signals rose up from their chimneys — one puff, the boys have gone — two puffs, all is well — three puffs, we send our love.³⁸

Several men with plural wives had left Cedar by 1880. Of the 42 who were left, the largest number had emigrated from England, followed by those born in the U.S. None of those who settled in Cedar City after 1880 added to the number of polygamist families.

From the information available it is possible to calculate the percentage of polygamous households. Since forty-two of the 197 male heads of households in Cedar

City lived in polygamy (or 22 percent of the married men), it is important to note that these men who lived in plural marriages were among the early settlers and were church and community leaders who wielded great influence in every aspect of Cedar City and Iron County growth. In the following chapters on wealth and leadership, those families and their roles will become more pronounced.

TABLE 13

Plural Marriages (Heads of Households)

	ENGLISH	WELSH	SCANDI- NAVIAN	SCOT- IRISH	U.S.- UTAH	OTHERS	TOTAL
TOTALS	19	3	1	6	12	1	42
H.H.1880	72	29	14	12	60	10	197
PERCENT	26	10	0.07	50	20	1	22

Source: Utah Census 1870,1880,1890

Cedar City LDS Church records film no. 6235; Family History Center, SLC; Parowan Stake records film no. 026,415,1869-1886; film no. 889,363 1875-1885; Personal family histories; Private collections; Special collections room SUSC, Cedar City Utah; Four Generations Collection, 2nd floor Family History Department, SLC.

A breakdown of the nationality of polygamous families reveals some diversity by nationality. The English with 19 plural families were the largest number comprised 26 percent of the 72 English heads of families. U.S.-Utah-born were next with 12 plural heads of the 60 heads of households for 20 percent. The Scottish-Irish were next with six plural heads out of 12 heads of households for 50 percent of the Scottish-Irish families listed. The Welsh, Scandinavians, and others (German, Swiss, Indian, French, etc.) lagged far behind. Three out of 29 Welsh heads, or 10 percent were plural families; and

only one Scandinavian head out of 14, or .07 percent; and others, one out of ten heads, or one percent. This seemed to be the pattern in other Mormon communities as well. Jens Warbye recorded in his day book (June 1876): 253 married men in Manti, Utah; 136 Americans, English, and German; 117 Scandinavians with 40 polygamist, half Danish.

At least 15 percent of Manti's married men claimed two or more wives in 1880, giving over 30 percent of the married women plural status and placing 20 percent of the children in polygamous households. A breakdown of individual towns indicated a varying degree of polygamous households similar to Manti. Only the men of Wales acted truly reluctant to take a plural wife.³⁹

Plural living became particularly complicated during the raids of the U.S. marshals from 1880-93. Iron County was inundated with them, causing hardships and tragedy, even a death in Parowan. Poignant stories and memories persisted in many Cedar City families, perceived according to the individual feelings experienced by each family member. While some were bitter, others were positive and nostalgic.

Kinship ties and extended families unified the isolated, rural communities of Southern Utah. Brides and grooms regardless of ethnic background, married hometown sweethearts, then settled down in their own homes within the community or on nearby farms to help build the kingdom. Here they enjoyed the advantage of life in a harmonious community of family and friends, related in one way or another by the third and fourth generation. This pattern of marriage and local residency bonded the community into a close-knit group able to trace common ancestry of the most numerous surnames back to the original settlement of the Iron Mission, and from thence each individual family back to the land of origin and their conversion to the LDS church.

Notes to Chapter 3

¹Vida M. Leigh, *Ethnicity Study of Cedar City, 1880-1900*, 15.

²Iron County Record, "Early Settler Goes to His Reward," September 1816, Files, Cedar City DUP Special Collection, Cedar City Library.

³Iron County Record, "Biographical Sketch," May 8, 1925, Files, Cedar City DUP Special Collection, Cedar City Library.

⁴Ibid

⁵Lyman D. Platt, "The Perkins Family History," Private Publication, 1975, Film No. 940,028, Family History Department Salt Lake City, Utah, 43.

⁶William Mulder, Homeward to Zion, (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), 108.

⁷Robert C. Kenzer, Portrait of A Southern Community, 1849-1881: Family, Kinship, and Neighborhood in Orange County, North Carolina, (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 1987) 22.

⁸E. G. Hartman, American from Wales, (Christopher Publishing House: Boston, Mass., 1967), 93.

⁹Ibid., 87.

¹⁰Vida M. Leigh, "Mobility Study of Cedar City, Utah 1860-1870," (unpublished, 1986) 6.

¹¹York F. and Evelyn K. Jones, Lehi Willard Jones, (Copyright, Cedar City, Utah, 1972), 55.

¹²Ibid., 67.

¹³Ronald D. Dennis, The Call of Zion: The Story of the First Welsh Mormon Emigration, Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University (Bookcraft, Inc.: Salt Lake City, Utah, 1987), 1.

¹⁴Ibid., 54.

¹⁵Ibid., 70.

¹⁶Ibid., 113.

¹⁷Ibid., 120.

¹⁸Ibid., 78.

¹⁹Hannah Daphne Smith Dalton, Pretty Is As Pretty Does, (Private Printing South Africa, March 1933), in possession of Kelly Dalton, Cedar City, Utah, 18.

²⁰Ibid., 21.

²¹Ibid., 22.

²²Oscar Handlin, "Historic Perspectives on the American Ethnic Group" Daedalus 90 (Spring, 1961), 231.

²³Parowan, Utah Stake History 1851-1980, compiled by Parowan Stake Presidency Sesquicentennial Year, 1980, 62.

²⁴Ibid., 63.

²⁵Ibid., 62.

²⁶Ibid., 64.

²⁷Inez Cox, Talk given at Hamilton Fort, 1965. DUP Collection, Cedar City Library, Cedar City, Utah, 62.

²⁸Ibid., 64.

²⁹Reid R. Cox, "The Life Story of Edwin R. Cox and Mary Hamilton Cox," unpublished journal in possession of Reid Cox, Cedar City.

³⁰Parowan Stake History, 70.

³¹U.S. Census, Cedar City, 1880, 1890: Histories of John Parry, David Bulloch, Isaac C. Haight, Francis Webster, Henry Lunt, Christopher Arthur, John Lee Jones, William R. Palmer Collection in the Special Collection Room of Southern Utah State College Library, Cedar City, Utah.

³¹William R. Palmer, "Llewellyn Harris," Pioneers of Southern Utah, Special Collection Room of Southern Utah State College Library, Cedar City, Utah.

³²Henry Lunt, Journal 1824-1902, Film No. 154#3, LDS Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah.

³³William R. Palmer, "Isaac C. Haight," *Pioneers of Southern Utah Series*, Special Collection Room of Southern Utah State College Library, Cedar City, Utah, William R. Palmer Collection.

³⁴William R. Palmer, "Histories of Early Cedar Pioneers: Mary Muir Hunter 1831-1921," William R. Palmer Collection, Special Collection Room, Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, Utah.

³⁵Mort and Rachel Chatterley, *Life History of Christina Mackelprang Chatterley*, DUP Cedar City Library, Cedar City, Utah.

³⁶Family History of Peter Mathison Mackelprang and Margarete Sorenson, William R. Palmer Special Collection, ch. 1-4 306, Special Collection Room, Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, Utah.

³⁷Samuel Leigh, *Unpublished Journal of Samuel Leigh*, Private collection of Alice Leigh Jones, Cedar City, Utah.

³⁸William R. Palmer, "Christopher Jones Arthur," "Prominent Men of Southern Utah Series," William R. Palmer Collection, Special Collection Room, Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, Utah.

³⁹Gary B. Peterson, Lowell C. Bennion, *Sanpete Scenes*, 26.

Chapter 4

Economic History of Cedar 1880–1915

“Landscape,” wrote John B. Jackson in the National Issues Forum, “is history made visible.” Charles S. Peterson observed that nineteenth-century Utah produced three distinctive agricultural landscapes. Created first was the Mormon village, fixed early in the Utah landscape because it was the only system of Mormon expansion that really worked. Efforts to develop heavy industry failed. Superimposed upon it, but not replacing it, was the homestead landscape, which in turn was supplemented by the landscape of dry farming and grazing lands. Each of these expressed a distinct stage in the territory’s social, political, and economic growth.

This was especially true of Cedar City. The failure of iron manufacturing forced the colonists who remained in Cedar City to turn to agriculture and home industry. The decade of the 1860s revealed a community economically depressed and fighting for survival. Population dropped and the persisters eked an income out of the soil and supplemented it by home industry. Then one bright spot appeared — the livestock industry. Cattle and sheep proved vital to the local economy. Alfalfa seed that was brought by Australian converts to San Bernardino and then on to Cedar City by the retreating California colonists became very important in the livestock industry as well.¹

Statements by local settlers expressed the situation. John Urie stated that “1860-69 is only marked by farming and such other industry as is necessary for building and improving and making our homes comfortable.”² Bengt Nelson recorded that he “was kept busy farming and building, laying up two or three houses every year according to the

size of them.” He noted that most of the building was done in the fall after the harvest was in. He also recalled that the Cooperative Mercantile Company was organized on the 3rd of March 1869. “I took \$25, in the concern, being all I could do at the time. It was made up of small stockholders and was kept by John M. Higbee in his granary.”³

The Cedar City Co-op became the center for a number of activities. These included a bank, tax collecting agency, and produce distributor. Individuals and public institutions deposited funds with the store which paid employees with money. Bengt Nelson further wrote in his diary, “The Sheep Company was organized into a Cooperative Sheep Association on May 20, 1869. I put in 68 head valued at \$344.56. I took the contract of building the Co-op Store for part capital stock and part merchandise. I completed it December 17, 1876.”⁴

By 1880, Cedar City citizens believed that conditions had improved substantially. John Urie wrote: “the year 1880 gives us 740 inhabitants, 135 houses, 2,000 acres of land enclosed, 12,000 sheep of inferior and superior quality, 300 cattle, 1,000 horses, a superior gristmill, steam sawmill, tannery, shoeshop, furniture shop, two mercantile stores, and a beautiful little village with its orchards and trees, the envy of every passerby. Everything has been accomplished by local enterprises; no outside capital has been invested.”⁵

He continued:

Our condition in 1880 is vastly superior in intelligence and wealth to what it was in 1851. Our means of livelihood are easier. Markets are on our borders for our surplus produce.....Schools and churches are numerous and well-attended. Several societies for the diffusion of useful knowledge to the young are well patronized and taken advantage of. Women brought flower seeds from their native countries to plant in their gardens; and Cedar City was becoming home to its people, most of whom had come from other lands.⁶

A milestone in the history of Cedar City during the 1860s was the coming of the telegraph line. The line was opened from Salt Lake to St. George on January 15, 1867. The company to operate it was incorporated and organized March 21, 1867. Joseph Rogerson came to Cedar City from Beaver to instruct the first group of operators: Ellen Lunt, Alice B. Bulloch, Mary C. Coslett, and Henrietta L. Jones. The Lunt Hotel and Stage Stop was the first telegraph station in Cedar City, and it was Henrietta Lunt who sent and received the telegram for Major John Wesley Powell when he brought his exploring party off the Colorado River.⁷

Within six years the entire line was built and in operation. The important news was posted on a bulletin board on Main Street. Francis Webster, John Parry, Robert Bullock, Andrew Corry, Henry Leigh, Robert Heyborne, and David Bulloch contributed the money for this newswire which provided the people with the biggest news items of their time. It also provided young women with jobs different from household servants or dressmakers.⁸

During those years citizens opened ranching and other business operations outside the city. The settlers drove their stock to graze on the high plateaus and built sawmills along the mountain streams. Summer ranches homesteaded during the seventies and eighties dotted the Kolob and Paiute highlands. Dairying and lumbering became important industries. Nevada mining towns provided markets for meat, cheese, and lumber.⁹

General Authorities commented on results of local economic growth. Apostle George Q. Cannon observed, "That the people have much to learn and transplanting them to Zion will benefit them in every way, if they do what's right . . . that the Gospel not only bestows spiritual benefit . . . but it will benefit them temporally." "Their habits of industry and the various ways in which they are taught to apply it," felt Apostle George A. Smith, "renders them well-qualified to develop the resources of new and untried countries and their former experiences enhance their appreciation of the emancipation the gospel brings to them and contentment will follow."

By the 1880s these statements finally seemed to be coming true; but from the 1850s to the 1880s stability was a major problem. Of the 49 male heads of households in 1860 only 25 or 51 percent persisted and were found in the 1870s. Many of the sons of present and former settlers were found in the 1870 census.

Although only half of the men persisted during the decade, many of the original settlers were among the persisters. Bishop Henry Lunt came with the original settlers. He remained Cedar City's bishop until in the 1880s. Isaac Haight and Samuel Leigh were among the first settlers. Haight, with four wives and nine children, was nevertheless the economic leader of all the settlers in 1860 with the largest value of real estate and second most in personal property. Leigh, with one wife and nine children, was about in the middle percentile for both real estate and personal property. Joseph Walker and George Wood were two others in this group. All were wealthy leaders in the livestock industry beginning in the '80s. (Table 14)

TABLE 14
Wealth of Persisters of Male Heads of Households
1860

REAL ESTATE	No.	% of Wealth	
\$0-99	2	8	
100-249	9	36	
250-499	7	28	
500-999	2	8	
1000-2499	4	16	
2500+	1	4	
TOTAL WEALTH	25	\$15445.00	
AVERAGE		\$618.20	
PERSONAL	No.	% of Wealth	
\$0-99	3	12	
100-249	5	20	
250-499	8	32	
500-999	6	25	
1000-2499	3	12	
2500+			
TOTAL WEALTH	25	\$11250.00	
AVERAGE		\$450.00	
GRAND TOTAL		\$26695.00	

1870

REAL ESTATE	No.		% of Wealth
\$0-99	1		4
100-249	5		20
250-499	6		24
500-999	7		28
1000-2499	5		20
2500+	1		4
<hr/>			
TOTAL WEALTH	24	\$17600.00	
AVERAGE		\$704.00	
PERSONAL	No.		% of Wealth
\$0-99	1		4
100-249	7		28
250-499	7		28
500-999	7		28
1000-2499	2		8
2500+	1		4
<hr/>			
TOTAL WEALTH	24	\$28050.00	
AVERAGE		\$1122.00	
GRAND TOTAL		\$45750.00	

Source: Published Analysis, Iron Co., Utah Territory 1860,1870 University of Utah
Library document section.

Note: Joseph Walker, a florist from England in 1860, had become a miller in 1870 and converted all his wealth to personal property. In 1860 he had \$500 real estate and \$600 personal property. In 1870 he had zero real estate and \$10,000 personal property. This tends to distort the picture of personal property, and leaves one puzzled as there is no record to explain this drastic change. (Table 15)

TABLE 15

Concentration of Wealth Among
Male Heads of Households, 1860–1870

Real Estate											Gini Index
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	
1860	0	.02	.04	.05	.05	.06	.07	.08	.15	.48	.55
1870	0	.03	.031	.05	.06	.07	.09	.12	.18	.39	.52
Personal Property											
1860	0	.02	.05	.06	.07	.10	.12	.15	.17	.26	.41
1870	0	.01	.021	.02	.03	.04	.05	.06	.10	.70	.82
Combined Wealth*											
1860	0	.03	.05	.055	.07	.08	.09	.11	.15	.37	.47
1870	0	.02	.021	.03	.05	.06	.07	.09	.13	.52	.61

Table 15 shows that the real estate was concentrated evenly in the first five deciles. This is not surprising as drawing for lots was still in operation in the '60s as an incentive in the campaign of the community in its bid for new replacements from the thousands of converts being assisted to the Basin annually by the Perpetual Emigration Fund. Regarding the concentration of personal wealth, Joseph Walker's \$10,000 and George Wood's \$7,000 in 1870 made a high concentration of wealth in the 10th decile, causing the Gini Index to go up to .82 as compared to .41 in 1860. In the combined wealth for 1870, the Gini is .61 compared to .47 for 1860 showing the effect these two men caused in the wealth of Cedar City in 1870.

In February 1868 it was reported that Bishop Lunt persevered in his dedication to raising money to gather the poor saints from the old countries. He raised money, and teams were called to go with the annual church teams to bring in the immigrants. This practice continued until 1869 when the transcontinental railroad was completed, whereupon

*Increasing inequality was a characteristic of maturing communities. Draper found the same thing in Salt Lake.

teams assembled in Salt Lake City from all over Mormondom to pick up immigrants and freight.¹⁰

Much of the money to bring these converts was raised in the local communities, such as Cedar City. Gathering the Saints required sacrifice among the settlers, and lowered the amount of their personal monetary wealth, but brought joy and satisfaction to the donors since many of those coming were relatives and friends.¹¹

Among the heads of households in 1860 only one of the six heads of household listed as zero wealth was among the persisters. The 1860 zero-wealth persister, John Chatterley, had risen to the 7th decile in real estate in 1870 and to the 7th decile in personal wealth. He came from England; apparently he experienced substantial upward mobility during this ten-year period. In 1880 he had \$6,400 assessed wealth, was in the 7th decile, and one of the six heads of households with the greatest individual wealth. By 1900 he was 64 years old, listed himself as a farmer, and had an assessed value of real estate of \$1,860 and \$235 personal wealth. He was enumerated in the 1910 census as having no occupation, which probably means he had retired. Two of his sons were listed as farmers, and as heirs to their father's economic prosperity, they both were in the 6th decile.

Where those with no wealth generally left the community, those who accumulated wealth remained at the same relative level or rose to a higher economic position in the community. None went to a lower decile. Six stayed at the same decile, 19 advanced to at least one decile higher. Moreover, all of those in the 10th decile in 1870 were 1860 persisters. This stable core of Cedar City's population experienced some upward mobility in wealth and occupational status during those two decades but they later were the principal beneficiaries of Cedar City's economic progress during the prosperous cattle and sheep era of 1890-1930.

Although the expansion of the livestock industry totally changed the economy in the 1880s, even by the 1860s it had already begun to grow rapidly. In 1869 at Iron Springs the combined herds of 62 owners in Iron County totaled 2,184 out of which the Cedar City Cooperative Sheep Association was born. A cattle cooperative was already in operation in the county.

The industry of first importance in the pioneer economy of Utah and especially Iron County and Cedar City was livestock. Farming and livestock ownership went together, so in the 1880 census it was not strange that a person might tell the census taker he was a farmer, but be found on the assessment rolls as owning several thousand head of sheep in the Cedar City Sheep Coop.¹²

As William R. Palmer explained to the Salt Lake Sons of the Utah Pioneers in 1954, the pioneers were not practical livestock men. Most of them had come from factories and coal mines in the Old World (236 of Cedar City's 316 adults in 1880), and their livestock experience consisted of driving a yoke of cattle across the plains. Even the most experienced among them knew little or nothing of the forage values of the plants that were growing in the arid country. Often they avoided the best ranges since they could see no grass growing. In the late 1870s the livestock men of Iron County started taking their sheep and cattle into the mountains where the best ranges lay wholly untouched. They had been afraid of losing their animals either in the timber or to the bears and wolves.¹³

In the 1870s, large numbers of stockmen, often operating as United Order cooperative cattle and sheep companies, began to drive their herds out onto the range. Cedar City boasted no large ranching operations but almost every family ran a few head — 3 or 4 to as many as 15. All of this helped to ensure tax money and cash for other necessities.¹⁴

The decades after 1870 evolved into the heyday of Cedar City's livestock industry. A way of life developed as stockmen settled their families on mountain ranches in the summer and busied themselves with such necessary duties as spring lambing, fall roundups, and trailing stock to markets.

Families used various means to acquire the mountain ranches and to use the nearby public lands. Some homesteaded, but the opening of "Desert Entries" during the 1870s facilitated the expansion of ranching. An individual could get 160 acres under the Homestead Act and an additional 640 acres under the Desert Land Act. He could gain title to the desert entry by filing on the land, getting water to it within five years, and paying \$1.25 per acre. To prove up the land, desert entrymen ran the "high water" or spring runoff straight to the property as they scurried to build a house or dwelling of some sort. The assessment rolls for the 1880s and 1890s indicated that a majority of the families acquired their mountain ranches by desert entry.¹⁵

Although the public domain seemed like the poor man's friend and the young man's opportunity, as Utah's grazing industry grew, problems became more persistent. As numbers of stock increased so did depredations by Indians and rustlers. Virtually no regulation of the public domain existed since from the earliest days every rancher thought he had a right to unmolested use of the land. No one challenged that idea, yet free use created considerable friction between competing stockmen as it depleted the vegetation necessary to feed the livestock.

In the early 1870s, Peter Mathison Mackelprang "squatted" on a spring near the steam sawmill at the upper grove in Lower Cedar Canyon. With his family he built a corral, fenced the pasture, and constructed a house in preparation for making this their summer home where they could keep a sizable herd of milk cows and fine horses. The whole family worked together to produce cheese and butter for their winter use and also

they produced a surplus to be sold in for a good price at Silver Reef and the nearby Nevada mining camps.¹⁶

During the summer of 1876, the sawmill boys and Julius Mackelprang, a son of Peter, went on an exploring trip farther up Cedar Canyon. They came back very excited about the beautiful country. Julius determined to buy cattle with his wages and “squat” on a site up Cedar Canyon when he had complied with territorial law. He fenced and made corrals and peeled logs to build a house. That spring Julius and three hired men made their way up Ellis Canyon and over to the new ranch. They partitioned the rooms, put up doors, roofed the house with slabs and sod to keep out the snow and rain, and added a milk house.

Having complied with the federal law, Julius became the “first squatter” in Upper Cedar Canyon. His father was the only squatter in the Upper Grove. But before Utah became a state in 1896, 19 Cedar families — all of them 1851-1890 persisters — “squatted” in this area. Those families in Upper Cedar Canyon above Whiskey Hollow included: John Chatterly, Parrys, Heybornes, Uries, Taites, Haightes, Gowers, Stephens, Mackleprangs, Woods, Jensens, Corrys, Walkers, Pendletons, Lunts, Perrys, and in the head of Deep Creek, Schoppmans, Adams, Bladers, Fifes, Mellings, Walkers, McConnells, and Sawyers. In Long Hollow were Perkins, Leighs, Corays, Higbees, and Ashdowns ranch and sawmill. All these families were issued patents to their ranches in January of 1900. The Forest Service Act of 1905 required the separation of the patented land from the forest lands.¹⁷

The opening of thousands of acres of grazing land to homesteading delayed the movement from the community of Cedar City’s youth. In areas without such opportunities, migration tended to deplete communities during the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. In the long run, however, even more land and job

opportunities were needed to accommodate the growing number of young native heads of households and continued influx of emigrants.¹⁸

A brief explanation of Mormon economic philosophy is necessary to the understanding of Mormon Community development. The essential ingredient in Mormon colonization between 1847 and 1884 was the suppression of individualism and the mobilization by the LDS church of human capital and natural resources for building new communities. Property rights were not normally communal, but they were in every case incidental to the common good. Until 1884, a Mormon colonizing company was a group of individuals especially called and directed as a unit to found a settlement and develop its resources for the benefit of all.

In 1869 Brigham Young and other church leaders advised formation of a local cooperative store in every community, established by the pooling of the small investment of everyone. The rich were to use their surplus capital to import sheep, build woolen mills, found tanneries, and establish home industry.

Church leaders in 1869 also counseled to abolish individual ownership of the sheep and to form a cooperative sheep association. In such an association, each person, including the church, turned his or her sheep over to the co-op herd in return for an equivalent number of shares. The herd was managed by an elected set of directors and appointed managers, and profits were distributed according to the shares held.¹⁹

During the 1880s mercantile and industrial cooperatives became incorporated as joint stock ventures. In these enterprises, shares of stock were subscribed, dividends distributed, and property rights were precisely described and apportioned. The church assisted these companies financially, and held stock in each company.²⁰

These business firms went through two phases. The first began in 1882 when the First Presidency announced the end of the gentile boycott and opened up retailing and

manufacturing to private enterprise. These private corporations were not organized in public mailings, and stock was not given in exchange for labor. In harmony with this policy of turning business enterprises to the private sector, church concerns were sold to private interests. Those sold included most local cooperative retailing and industrial enterprises which had originally had public sponsorship through the LDS community. Mormon businessmen were also encouraged to cooperate with those not of their faith to improve business systems in the communities. These businesses were financed by private savings of businessmen and by banks that were established at the same time. The conversion of ZCMI to a broadly held business corporation was a good example.²¹

The second phase was initiated in the 1890s. The church did not abandon its role as entrepreneur or innovator, but it did break with the past by actively soliciting financial backing from entrepreneurs outside of Utah.²²

ZCMI stores worked a magical effect on rural Utah communities. Their drummers carried samples of goods to every town, making it possible for people in all the settlements to use the same fabrics and wear the same clothes. The Church did not enforce the Word of Wisdom in the 19th century as it is today, so the store had a good tobacco trade, especially chewing tobacco. Townspeople could buy canned goods in a few varieties, as well as tools and cures for the sick.²³

An unusual item the store in Cedar City shipped in once a year was 100 pounds of Finian haddock for the Scandinavian customers. It was dried, smoked fish about two feet long which came wired up in 25-pound unwrapped bundles. Each bundle looked like a big armful of stove wood. In this form the dried fish was hard and tough as rawhide; a consumer had to chop it with an axe. After chopping it up, the consumer soaked the fish in lye water for three or four days, and then rinsed it in fresh water for three or four more days to get the lye out. When softened, the fish was cooked and flavored with salt and

spices. The fish came from Sweden, and was the favorite of all foods for the Scandinavian people in Cedar City. The store stock would be sold out in a week, and no more had to be reordered for a year as the Swedes and Danes all had laid in a year's supply.²⁴

The ZCMI cooperative operated in an economy almost completely devoid of United States money. It adopted the policy of paying its employees one-third in cash and the remainder in "ZCMI scrip," or orders payable in company merchandise. This was also true of local cooperatives in cities which also paid scrip as wages. A customer could borrow from the local co-op by giving his name at the office and receiving scrip to the amount of the face value of the note. The scrip could then be used to purchase goods from any establishment that honored them. This widely-circulated scrip bore resemblance to money.²⁵

The account book of the co-op store in Cedar City from 1886-1898 recorded 259 individual transactions and 16 transactions by associations, public entities, and partnerships such as Cedar City Sheep Association, Branch Normal School, and Bulloch and Jones, or Bladen, Higbee, and Palmer. This account book showed that cash was very scarce.²⁶

The account ledger revealed that merchandise was paid for mainly by commodities, labor, or local scrip. Bengt Nelson on his account carried from 1886-91 owed \$71 which he paid with corn, wheat, labor on the co-op building, flour, cash, and potatoes. On his account carried from 1892-1900 he owed \$56 which he paid by fixing grates, potatoes, store scrip, honey, city scrip, wheat, cash, and flour. The big spenders were also the leading families who had persisted from the early days. Robert Bulloch, a Scot, had a bill of \$96.70 for 1888-89 and paid it with one roll of butter, 600 pounds of wheat, 17 cheeses, 183 pounds of oats, store scrip, and 510 pounds of lucerne, and 247 pounds of cheese. In 1892-97 Robert Bulloch owed \$200, the largest individual account listed, and he paid it by store scrip, wheat, lumber, cheese, butter, and cash. All of the heads of

households for 1880-1900 are listed. The smallest account listed was \$1.25 by Eugene Schoppman, a German emigrant who paid in cash.²⁷

Sometimes it was possible to tell the occupation of the person carried on the account books by the goods or services offered in payment. Some examples follow. Lars Sandin, a tailor from Sweden, owed \$37. In payment he trimmed a pair of pants, repaired an overcoat, and made a pair of pants and a vest. He made J. Middleton a vest and pants and J. Middleton paid the store. He repaired another pair of pants, and donated \$9.39 worth of cloth and labor, to make the store manager a coat. Samuel Leigh, a furniture maker in Wales and also in Cedar City, paid his \$35 account by making a clothes tree, mattress and bedstead, and a rocking chair. He also fixed some chairs, hauled a load of coal, flour, and used a store premium. James Jackson, a rancher, owed \$14 from 1886-99 and paid his account with one and one-half gallons of wine and later by two more gallons of wine he brought from Dixie.²⁸ The record makes it clear that goods, labor, and scrip were the everyday methods of exchange for all heads of households, rich or poor, and that whatever you had to trade — from hauling manure on store manager William Palmer's garden to paying cash — was acceptable in exchange for goods.

The account ledger didn't note the items purchased but it listed page after page of accounts owed, the carry-overs from one year to the next, and the method of payment. The original persisters and their grown children were all on the ledger, as were the newcomers. According to the account record, newcomers were welcomed as patrons and treated the same as the persisters.²⁹

At the turn of the century salaries were small, but gaining in importance as personal income. However, Cedar City's economic life style and environment were undergoing dramatic changes. In William R. Palmer's history of his days at the Cedar City Co-op, he stated that his starting salary in the early 1900s was \$35 a month. After his marriage it was

raised to \$45. In a couple of years it was raised to \$65 a month, which made him the highest paid man in Cedar City.³⁰

Menzies John Macfarlane recorded that he accepted a position at the Branch Normal School in Cedar City in 1907, where he taught biology and related subjects for \$900 a year. The following year his salary was raised to \$1,000 a year, and in 1909 he received \$1,050. The Branch Normal School paid in cash and introduced in the local workforce a group of paid professionals different from any other group in Cedar City.³¹

Original settlers had been called by Brigham Young because they had the skills needed to produce iron, but by 1899 the heads of households in Cedar City had many different occupations. R. F. Polk and Company in 1899 listed 54 businesses and 105 farmers with 20 acres or more. Many of those listed as farmers were also listed as proprietors of businesses.³² The sheep company and cattle company revealed many large shareholders.

Table 16 shows that five men who had become part of Cedar City's business community were not listed among the persisters from 1851-1880. These five were Milton Bennion, Ellis H. Doty, Charles S. and Joseph Wilkerson, and Thomas Taylor.³³ Milton Bennion came from Salt Lake City to serve as principal of the new State Branch Normal School created in Cedar City in 1897 to serve the needs of education in the southern part of the state. He was not listed in the 1910 census having been replaced in the 1901-02 year by J. Reuben Clark, Jr., who gave way to George W. Decker in 1903.

Ellis H. Doty , a widower, came from Illinois to teach school. His father and mother came with him to take care of his children and put their daughter Julie in the Branch Normal School. They came in the early 1890s. Cedar had need for a drugstore and so he left teaching and became a long-time druggist.³⁴

TABLE 16

Cedar City Businesses 1890 – 1915

BUSINESS NAME	PERSON	POSITION	ETHNICITY
DESERET POST OFFICE	T.A. THORLEY	OWNER	ENGLISH
OPERA HOUSE	CHARLES AHLSTROM	MANAGER	SWEDISH
CONFECTIONER SHOP	HERMAN ANDELIN	OWNER	SWEDISH
BRASS BAND	OSCAR ANDERSON	LEADER	DANISH
SAWMILL & CARP	GEORGE ASHDOWN	OWNER	ENGLISH
U.S. WEATHER BU.	WAYLAND BAILEY	OBSERVER	U.S.A.
BRANCH NORMAL SCH.	MILTON BENNION	PRINCIPAL	UTAH
BRICKYARD/PAINTER	RICHARD BRYANT	OWNER	U.S.A.
BULLOCH WOOL GROWERS	LEHI JONES	OWNERS	WELSH
	DAVID BULLOCH		SCOTTISH
CEDAR CITY CO-OPERATIVE	J. PARRY/C.ARTHUR	PRES/VP	WELSH
	BENGT NELSON	SEC/TRE.	SWEDISH
CEDAR CITY DRUG CO.	ELLIS DOTY	MANAGER	U.S.A.
FURNITURE CO.	H. LEIGH/U.JONES	PRES/SEC	WELSH
SHEEP ASSOC.	W.CORRY/M.HIGBEE	PRES/SEC	ENGLISH
MERCANTILE CO.	R.C. LUND JR.	MANAGER	UTAH
HOTEL AND LIVERY	ANDREW CORRY	OWNER	ENGLISH
SALOON	CHARLES CORRY	OWNER	ENGLISH
HOTEL/FEED STABLES	WILLIAM CORRY	MANAGER	ENGLISH
NOTIONS SHOP	G. & J. COSSLETT	OWNERS	WELSH
WOOL GROWER	PETER FIFE	OWNER	SCOTTISH
BARBER	JOSEPH HUNTER	OWNER	SCOTTISH
IRON COUNTY RECORD	CHARLES WILKERSON	EDITOR	ENGLISH
JENSEN BROS.	HEBER & J. JENSEN	OWNERS	SWEDISH
PLANNING MILL			
NURSERY/CARPENTER	JED JONES	OWNER	WELSH
MEAT SHOP	DANIEL LEIGH	OWNER	WELSH
BRICK MANUFACTURE	WILLIAM MARSHALL	OWNER	UTAH
PHYSICIAN	GEORGE MIDDLETON	OWNER	ENGLISH
SHOEMAKER	AUGUST PALM	OWNER	SWEDISH
PALMER BROS.HARNESS AND SADDLES	EDWARD, JETHRO, & WILLIAM	OWNERS	WELSH
BLACKSMITH	RICHARD PALMER	OWNER	WELSH
MASON	EDWARD PARRY	OWNER	WELSH
LIME KILN	JOHN PARRY	OWNER	WELSH
APIARISTS/PAINTER	LEWIS ROOT	OWNER	U.S.A.
DENTISTS	SMITH & CHARLES	DENTISTS	ENGLISH
WOOD & TAYLOR COAL MINING CO.	THOMAS TAYLOR	SUPT.	ENGLISH
WOOL GROWER	THOMAS THORLEY	OWNER	ENGLISH
BLACKSMITH	GEORGE URIE	OWNER	SCOTTISH

TABLE 16 (continuing)
Cedar City Businesses 1890 – 1915

BUSINESS NAME	PERSON	POSITION	ETHNICITY
BLACKSMITH	JOHN WALKER	OWNER	ENGLISH
WOOL GROWER	FRANCIS WEBSTER	OWNER	ENGLISH
CONTRACTER	JOSEPH WILKERSON	OWNER	ENGLISH
GENERAL STORE	GEORGE WOOD	OWNER	ENGLISH
			Total = 40
			OWNERS = 50

	PERCENT	
ENGLISH	16	32%
WELSH	16	32%
SCOTTISH	4	8%
SCANDINAVIAN	7	14%
USA/UTAH	7	14%

SOURCE: R.F. POLK & CO.,
UTAH STATE GAZETTEER, BUSINESS DIRECTORY, 1880, 1890, 1900, US CENSUS
UTAH BOOK NO. 977792X2 JM 1890 INDEX

Joseph Wilkerson, father of Charles, a native of England, was a lawyer in Leeds, Utah. He moved his family up to Cedar City in the 1890s. He and his son Charles, editor of the Iron County Record, were important participants in church and civic affairs in Cedar during the early years of the twentieth century.³⁵

Thomas Taylor, 74 years old in 1900, listed his occupation as capitalist. He and his wife emigrated to Utah and to Cedar City in the 1890s. On the assessment roll for 1900 he listed a three-acre city lot, dry lot of 4.22 acres, ranch land of 170.36 acres, and coal and mineral claims. His real estate was worth \$5,846 with \$70 personal property for a total worth of \$5,916. His estate is found in the 1915 assessment rolls.³⁶

The original five ethnic groups who founded the Iron Mission represented 42 out of the 50 businessmen in Table 16, either as the original pioneer or their son(s). Also, the kinship networks studied in the preceding chapter, revealed nearly all of these families were

related to ten or more other families, which made kinship an important factor in the wealth and businesses of the community.

Polks Farmers Directory for Iron County in 1899, listed 105 farmers in Cedar City. Thirty-eight of those listed possessed over one hundred acres of farmland or \$1,000 or more assessed value of real estate. Five were listed with over \$2,000 assessed real estate evaluation, or over 200 acres.

Andrew Corry	389 acres, \$2,239
Lehi W. Jones & Brothers	919 acres, \$3,445
Frank Middleton	283 acres, \$1,824
Thomas Thorley	290 acres, \$2,350
George Wood	174 acres, \$2,515

Three of the five names above were original settlers; two were sons of original settlers; four of the five were owners of businesses in Cedar City in 1899, again in 1909, and again in 1915.

Polk's Business Directory for 1909 listed 50 businesses and professional people in Cedar City. This was ten more than in 1899. Cedar City was described as a progressive city of 1,800 people. A city with good schools, a college, a bank, several general stores, flour mill, sawmill, and weekly newspaper. The leading industries were: sheep raising, mining, and farming. The city had electricity and a good water system, plus long-distance phone service, indications of the changing lifestyles.

In addition, a bank, a power and light company, and an oil company opened in Cedar City between 1899 and 1909. The people running the new bank and the power and light company had familiar old Cedar City names. They include officers of the Bank of Southern Utah such as N. T. Porter, president, U. T. Jones, vice president, S. J. Foster, cashier, and E. M. Corry, associate cashier.

In 1900 the citizens of Cedar held a series of town meetings to discuss getting electric power into their homes. A franchise from the City Council was obtained and

capital stock and subscriptions were sold for the new Cedar City Light and Power Company. In a meeting in the ward tabernacle January 2, 1906, a board of directors was elected along with other duly elected officers as follows: George Decker, president; Lehi W. Jones, vice president; Joshua H. Arthur, secretary; Evan E. Williams, Myron Higbee, Peter B. Fife, John J. Webster, and Edward Parry, directors. It's interesting to note for the first time Star Crescent Oil Company and Escalante Oil and Development Company owned and operated by newcomers, Gordon W. Eatough, and Robert G. and John G. Page had established themselves in the city. Oil and gas along with electricity were signals of great change in the new twentieth century.

In the arrangement by which Utah was granted statehood, the church abandoned its traditional promotion of cooperative or group economic enterprises, sold most of its business properties, disbanded the People's Party and generally adopted a policy consistent with national policies. But the Mormon people as a church and as individuals sought to preserve as many of their traditional values as possible while "creatively adjusting" to mainstream America.³⁷

At the same time, individual entrepreneurial opportunities created by the impact of changing American advancements in technology and a consumer-based society made both the accumulation of personal wealth and community building viable options. A few large shareholders acquired the stock in such enterprises as the co-op store, the sheep and cattle co-op, and the gristmill, tannery, and sawmill — stock once owned in small shares by nearly every family.³⁸

William R. Palmer further stated that in the 1904-08 period, as he worked for the Cedar Co-op, he realized the company was old, its stockholders were all old people, and in the nature of things as they stood at that time, expansion in the business was impossible.³⁹

As a result the Cedar Mercantile and Livestock Company was organized in 1909. It was composed of a large group of the older men who had been in the livestock business and had succeeded as sheep men. By the first decade of the twentieth century, they had reached the age where they didn't want to knock around on the range anymore. They decided to put their assets together in a company and employ their sons to operate the business.⁴⁰

In organizing their business, they took in any stockman who wanted to turn in his sheep and range in the corporate venture. Incorporated for \$100,000, they succeeded in including rangeland scattered in various parts of Washington, Kane, and Iron counties, as well as in the states of Arizona and Nevada. They controlled 37,000 acres of land on which they ran 34,000 head of sheep. Officers of the organization were: Uriah T. Jones, president; H. W. Lunt, vice president; J. L. Jones, secretary-treasurer; T. J. Jones, superintendent over the general store; and M. D. Higbee, secretary-treasurer and manager of sheep operations. Also on the company board were: Herbert Webster, Lehi W. Jones (the largest shareholder, with 18,000 shares at \$1 a share, which was approximately 21 percent of the company), John A. Adams, William R. Palmer, Evan Williams, and Dr. M. J. Macfarlane.⁴¹

The final buy-outs and demise of the individually-owned shops by the corporate businesses through the late teens and twenties will make interesting material for another study, but their decline during the timeframe of the present study points to a new era.

Table 17 shows the total wealth, both real estate and personal, for 1880 and 1900, as well as the total wealth of the persisters and their children for this same period. The contribution of ethnic groups is evaluated, but it is evident that being an early persister who adapted to the farm-livestock economic mode, regardless of other talents and skills, was the

TABLE 17

Total Wealth of Various Ethnic Groups 1880–1900
Adults (18 and over)

1880	REAL ESTATE	PERSONAL PROP.	TOTAL	% of WEALTH
ENGLISH	\$84358	\$34498	\$118856	44
WELSH	\$22012	\$7141	\$29153	11
SCOTS	\$14655	\$6685	\$22855	9
SCANDIN.	\$12093	\$4733	\$16826	6
US & UTAH	\$36370	\$31115	\$67485	25
OTHERS	\$10240	\$4067	\$14307	5
TOTALS	\$179728	\$88239	\$269482	100
1900				
ENGLISH	\$57674	\$21748	\$79422	28
WELSH	\$21415	\$5823	\$27238	9
SCOTS	\$12122	\$6181	\$18303	6
SCANDIN.	\$7083	\$3078	\$10161	3
US & UTAH	\$100658	\$43062	\$143644	50
OTHERS	\$7610	\$2397	\$10007	4
TOTALS	\$206562	\$82289	\$288775	100
1880 Persisters				
ENGLISH	\$48320	\$27032	\$75358	43
WELSH	\$19476	\$5341	\$24817	14
SCOTS	\$11702	\$6121	\$17823	10
SCANDIN.	\$4358	\$1323	\$5681	4
US & UTAH	\$33647	\$10214	\$43861	25
OTHERS	\$5120	\$1435	\$6555	4
TOTALS	\$122623	\$51466	\$174089	100

Wealth of Persisters				
1900	REAL ESTATE	PERSONAL PROP.	TOTAL	% of WEALTH
ENGLISH	\$26202	\$19570	\$45772	23
WELSH	\$11004	\$1033	\$12037	6
SCOTS	\$6582	\$104	\$7686	4
SCANDIN.	\$1038	\$233	\$1266	1
US & UTAH	\$93569	\$35316	\$128885	64
OTHERS	\$3941	\$1448	\$5389	3
TOTALS	\$142336	\$57704	\$201035	100
% of TOTAL WEALTH				70%

1900 2nd & 3rd Generation Persisters					
ENGLISH	\$27035	\$14493	\$41528	75	41
WELSH	\$10411	\$4790	\$15201	47	15
SCOTS	\$5540	\$6077	\$11617	19	12
SCANDIN.	\$6070	\$2845	\$8915	17	9
US & UTAH	\$11117	\$7746	\$18863	32	18
OTHERS	\$3669	\$949	\$4618	12	5
TOTALS	\$63842	\$36900	\$100742	202	100
				% of Total Wealth	25%
				New Population	5%
				Total	100%

Source: Utah Census 1880,1890 and Iron Co. Assessment Rolls Utah State Historical Archives.

most powerful factor in assuring children a place in the economic progress within the community of their fathers.

The total wealth in 1900 shows 70 percent belonged to the persisters and 25 percent to their children. Only five percent was in the possession of new residents. The 1910 census listed 13 heads of household as either having no occupation or as being retired. They still owned their homes and farms, but all were in their 70's or 80's. In earlier censuses they had been listed as bookkeeper, farmers, stockmen, a teamster, and a blacksmith. They were people who had spear headed early settlement and held many church and civil positions of importance in the community's development. Among these were: Christopher Arthur, John Chatterley, Henry Houchen, Richard Palmer, Richard Tweedie, John Urie, John Walker, Thomas Walker, John Jensen, William Ford, and

Henry Elleker. Represented in this group are the English, Welsh, Scottish, Scandinavian, and Swiss of the Iron Mission.

Along with the retired male heads of households were 31 widows age 50 and older who listed no occupation. They also represented the early families and ethnic groups. Along with the older widows were eight widows under age 50 listed with no occupation.

Two widows age 50 and older did list an occupation. Catherine Bell listed her occupation as a farmer and also as running a dairy and ranch. In 1910, Emily Watson, 50, listed her occupation as a milliner who owned her own shop. Those two women heads of households were not representative of women listed as a spouse to the male head of a household. Without exception wives were listed with no occupation in 1910.

Factors involved in assessing wealth were sometimes misleading. In Table 18, where the total wealth for 1900 was \$288,775 assessed to individuals, but the total assessment for real estate, personal property, tools and implements, merchandise, improvements and sheep herds added was \$329,628.

The total number of live stock included only those animals located in Iron County, since those outside the county were not listed. Stockmen ran sheep and cattle together and separately and owned and used thousands of acres of public land not in Iron County, but in Nevada, Arizona, and other southern Utah counties. Many times the company or individual stockman could not provide an accurate count of all the animals owned. The assessment rolls for Iron County didn't list these.⁴²

The live stock situation can be illustrated from just two examples of the ten businesses operating in the county. Each involved families and stock in the cooperative or a company operation:

Cedar Sheep Association and Mercantile

Number of Sheep Value:	\$10,000
Real Estate Value:	\$ 7,000
Personal Property Value:	\$30,000
Merchandise of Store Value:	<u>\$ 4,500</u>
Total Value:	\$51,500

Jones Brothers

Property Value	
Real Estate	\$18,000
Personal Property	<u>\$37,000</u>
Total Value:	\$55,000

The Lehi W. Jones and David Bulloch families owned Pipe Springs on the Arizona Strip from 1885-1902, and ran a tremendous number of cattle. Once when Lehi was asked how many cattle he had, he answered, "We never knew for sure the exact number. It was a vast range impossible to make an exact count of." At roundup time there were as many as 100 cowboys and 300 of their horses. In 1902, the year they sold Pipe Springs, over sixteen hundred calves had been born during the spring.⁴³

Tables 18 and 19 provide information for the years 1880 and 1900 on both the real estate wealth and personal wealth of Cedar City adults 18 and over. It also details the wealth of the persisters. The 18-29 age group made up 36 percent of the 1880 assessment. Only one person, Homer Duncan, was found in the 8th decile. At age 65, he was in the old age group 59+. He had \$16,700 total wealth or nine percent of the total wealth of the 316 people assessed. The six people found in the 7th decile had total wealth of \$32,550 or 18 percent of the 1880 total, and were in the 30-49 age group. (See Tables 18 through 21 in the Appendix).

No Welsh were found in the top two deciles. The original settler, Thomas Jones, born in Wales, had died and his sons were U.S.-Utah-born. Samuel Leigh had retired and turned his real estate over to his three Welsh-born and three U.S.-Utah-born sons. The sons of many original emigrants were listed as U.S.-Utah-born.

The seven heads of households found in the 7th and 8th decile were: John Urie and David and Robert Bulloch, George Wood, John Chatterley and John Middleton, and Homer Duncan. In 1900 Homer Duncan, was not listed, but David Bulloch, age 26, was. He had a total wealth of \$13,455 or 4.66 percent of the \$288,775 total wealth. Ninety-six persons age 18-29 were listed as heads of house holds. Twenty-six year old David Bulloch with his \$13,455 wealth really distorted the wealth of the youngest age group. The early persisters were the dominant holders of the wealth in 1900: Bullochs, Jones, Leighs, Middletons, Woods, Chatterleys, and Websters.

By 1913 and 1914 the assessed value of all property for Cedar City had risen significantly from \$206,562 in 1900 to \$1,046,262 in 1913, with live stock valued at \$216,229. Included was a power and light company and a car company, both started since the 1900 census. The total assessed value of Cedar City property in 1914 was \$1,046,262 with livestock valued at \$227,522. There was a decline in the number of animals, especially sheep, but prices had gone up so even with fewer cattle, sheep and horses, the value had increased. The 1913 and 1914 assessments indicated an upward trend in wealth in the early 1900s, as a result of three major factors: (1) statehood, (2) the assimilation into western American business practices, especially the access to the railroad station at Lund, Utah, and (3) the return of prosperity after the depressed economy of the 1890s.

The list of occupations in the 1880, 1900, and 1910 censuses indicates that the number of people with jobs didn't change as much as did the job classifications.

(Table 22)

TABLE 22
Occupational Trends of the Cedar City Work Force

OCCUPATION	1880	1900	1910
LABORER	83	63	97
SHOPKEEPERS	33	32	13
" "	12	10	4
" "	24	17	15
PRINTERS	4	5	11
SKILLED	3	3	9
PROFESSIONALS	12	11	25
ENTREPRENEURS	2	3	14
BLUE COLLAR	8	5	10
FEMALE OCCUP.	32	19	18
CAPITALIST	0	1	0
FARMERS	128	122	155
TOTALS	341	290	371

Source: 1880,1900,1910 Utah Census

TABLE 23
Ethnic Composition of Cedar City Occupations, 1880, 1900, 1910

1880	ENG	WELSH	SCOT	SCAND	US/UT	OTHER
LABORER	20.5%	7.2%	0.0%	1.2%	59.0%	12.0%
SHOPKEEPERS	24.2%	9.1%	0.0%	0.0%	60.6%	6.1%
" "	33.3%	8.3%	0.0%	8.3%	16.7%	33.3%
" "	12.5%	8.3%	4.2%	8.3%	58.3%	8.3%
PRINTERS	0.0%	25.0%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	25.0%
SKILLED	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	66.7%	0.0%
PROFESSIONALS	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	75.0%	8.3%
ENTREPRENEURS	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%
BLUE COLLAR	0.0%	25.0%	12.5%	0.0%	62.5%	0.0%
FEMALE OCCUP.	25.0%	25.0%	3.1%	3.1%	31.3%	12.5%
FARM/STOCK	22.7%	11.7%	3.1%	2.3%	47.7%	12.5%

1900	ENG	WELSH	SCOT	SCAND	US/UT	OTHER
LABORER	12.7%	7.9%	6.3%	3.2%	68.3%	1.6%
SHOPKEEPERS	31.3%	12.5%	0.0%	3.1%	50.0%	3.1%
" "	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	40.0%	40.0%	0.0%
" "	17.6%	17.6%	0.0%	5.9%	58.8%	0.0%
PRINTERS	20.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	60.0%	0.0%
SKILLED	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	66.7%	0.0%
PROFESSIONALS	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	9.1%	81.8%	9.1%
ENTREPRENEURS	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	66.7%	0.0%
BLUE COLLAR	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	80.0%	0.0%
FEMALE OCCUP.	0.0%	15.8%	26.3%	15.8%	42.1%	0.0%
FARM/STOCK	23.8%	9.8%	4.1%	4.9%	51.6%	5.7%

1910	ENG	WELSH	SCOT	SCAND	US/UT	OTHER
LABORER	4.1%	5.2%	3.1%	2.1%	84.5%	1.0%
SHOPKEEPERS	7.7%	7.7%	0.0%	7.7%	76.9%	0.0%
" "	25.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	75.0%	0.0%
" "	13.3%	6.7%	6.7%	6.7%	60.0%	6.7%
PRINTERS	0.0%	9.1%	0.0%	0.0%	90.9%	0.0%
SKILLED	0.0%	11.1%	0.0%	0.0%	88.9%	0.0%
PROFESSIONALS	0.0%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	96.0%	0.0%
ENTREPRENEURS	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
BLUE COLLAR	10.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	60.0%	10.0%
FEMALE OCCUP.	5.6%	5.6%	0.0%	0.0%	88.9%	0.0%
FARM/STOCK	6.5%	5.8%	1.3%	4.5%	80.6%	1.3%

Source: 1880,1900,1910 Utah Census

TABLE 24
Ethnicity of the Cedar City Work Force, 1880, 1900, 1910

1880	ENGLISH	WELSH	SCOTTISH	SCAND.	US/UT	OTHERS	TOTAL
No.	72	38	7	8	173	40	335
%	21.0%	11.0%	2.0%	2.0%	52.0%	12.0%	100.0%
<hr/>							
1900							
No.	56	28	14	18	164	10	287
%	20.0%	10.0%	4.0%	6.0%	57.0%	3.0%	100.0%
<hr/>							
1910							
No.	20	21	6	11	308	5	370
%	5.0%	6.0%	2.0%	3.0%	83.0%	1.0%	100.0%

Source: 1880,1900,1910 Utah Census

The foreign-born segment of the Cedar City work force declined from 48 percent in 1880 to 43 percent in 1900 and to 17 percent by 1910. From Table 24 the largest percent of the skilled businessmen and artisans such as shopkeepers, blacksmiths, tailors, tanners, shoemakers, carpenters, brick masons, stone masons were emigrants or their sons. All tailors and tanners were foreign-born. There were no tanners left by 1910. Richard Palmer, born in Wales, was a blacksmith, and all three of his sons owned a saddle and harness shop and listed themselves in 1880 as blacksmiths. Two were still blacksmiths in 1900 and 1910. One, William R. Palmer, had become a head bookkeeper for the Cedar Cooperative, Mercantile, and sheep cooperative. By 1910 he was manager of the new Cedar City Mercantile Cooperative.⁴⁴

Laborers were the second largest group listed in all three censuses, but they remained about 25 percent of the workforce for the 30-year period. They were found mainly in the 18-29 year group. Farmers and stockmen made up 38 percent in 1880, 43

percent in 1900, and 42 percent in 1910. The category of professionals— doctors, lawyers, teachers, bankers, businessmen, engineers, surveyors, etc.— made the greatest jump in percentage in 1910, from seven teachers in 1880 to 18 in 1910. The Branch Normal School plus the state school system that operated in each county accounted for this increase. For the first time in 1910 there were two bankers, two engineers, one veterinarian, and one librarian, as Cedar had built a library in 1910. The percentage of professionals grew from four percent in 1880 to 11 percent in 1910. A number of other occupations were listed for the first time: a nurse, a postmaster, and a mailman, three laundresses, a railroad agent, a salesman, and one boarding house operator.

Menzies Macfarlane matriculated as a student from St. George to the Branch Normal School in 1899. He was fortunate to have a place to live at his Uncle Charlie Heyborne's. Living quarters were not available to out-of-town students, a situation that changed only slightly, when one home was converted into a boarding house. The student had to find rooms with Cedar families; often they were dark, poorly-ventilated basements where they "batched" through the school year, bringing from home whatever bedding and food staples their mothers could scrape together.⁴⁵

The community of Cedar City from 1851 to 1915 recorded major economic changes. In 1860 Cedar City had 49 heads of households with a total dollar value of all wealth listed as \$39,770; in 1870, 50 heads of households held \$46,850 in wealth; in 1900, 556 adults with \$288,775 wealth, and in 1914, 560 adults with \$1,273,784 total wealth.

The 30 years of this study showed major shifts in LDS church policy, national, political and economic direction, and a shift in the economic focus of the Cedar City community itself. The pioneers who settled Cedar City were poor but skilled workers, obedient to church leaders, and willing to risk everything including their lives to build the

Iron Mission. Their survival in the desolate unyielding desert environment was possible only through hard work and cooperation with their fellow pioneers.

The policy of cooperation with fellow pioneers and the LDS church required unity of economic efforts as well as spiritual efforts. Church policy strongly advocated cooperative business enterprise. It also urged members to return profits over and above living expenses to the cooperative for building the community and providing a start for newcomers to the community. Missions and calls to settle other communities were heeded regardless of the financial sacrifice.. Flight from federal marshals bent on capturing polygamists also caused frustration and turmoil. Examples of this were Henry Lunt and Isaac Haight — church, community, and financial leaders until their flight from federal marshals in the early 1880s.⁴⁶

The conditions for statehood and eventual admission to the union in 1896 was probably the most significant factor in forcing change. The Mormon church had to withdraw from the business affairs of public and private business of the community; United States' money, banking, and businesses for profit replaced local scrip and cooperatives owned by most of the community. The protective business climate encouraged by leaders of the LDS church to protect the interest of the Mormon people from encroachment by anti-Mormon outsiders was discouraged. Intermingling of all factions became a necessity. Cedar City was on the main road south toward Nevada and southern California. The settlers had already learned to do business with the miners of Silver Reef, Panaca, Pioche, Frisco, and Newhouse. Competition had to be accepted. The Albert Lundell and Carl U. Lundgren families, who emigrated from Sweden in the 1890s and arrived in Cedar City after the turn of the century, were examples of non-LDS families who established themselves as respected members of the community and by taking advantage of the wide-open livestock industry. By 1910 they were prosperous sheepmen who owned

their own homes and ranches. In the years that followed they became leading livestock producers who competed successfully with their Welsh, Scottish, and English counterparts.⁴⁷

The American lifestyle entered a new era during the last ten years of the 1800s and the beginning years of the 1900s. Technology changed the production process. Consumerism raised its seductive head and created desires for conveniences never dreamed of only a few years before. Such changes were attested by the appearance of a car company, a gas company, and a power and light company on the assessment rolls by 1910.

The huge market opened up by the use of the railroad for cattle, sheep, wool, hides, and swine being shipped to the markets of the Middle West, created profits, payrolls, and jobs. Overgrazing and mismanagement caught up with these enterprising, hard-working English, Welsh, Scottish, Scandinavian, and Swiss farmer-stockmen later in the twentieth century and forced many of their children to move away. The livestock industry, however, did put off for a few years the scattering of Cedar City's sons from the authority of their fathers, as observed in other studies.⁴⁸

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¹⁹Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1890, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 304.

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²¹Ibid., 385.

²²Ibid., 386.

²³William R. Palmer, "Early Merchandising in Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly, 31 (Summer 1963): 40

²⁴Ibid., 41.

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²⁹Ibid., account book.

³⁰William R. Palmer, Personal History, "My Years at the Cedar Coop," William R. Palmer Special Collection, Southern Utah Special Collection Room, Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, Utah, MS, 53.

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Chapter 5

THE PLACE OF ETHNIC ELITES IN CEDAR CITY, UTAH, 1880-1915

In a western American community populated almost entirely by Mormons and governed by the Mormon hierarchy from Salt Lake City, could ethnic immigrants through individual merit attain elite status economically, culturally, politically, or ecclesiastically? The following chapter examines that question carefully focusing on the role of the ethnic groups making up a large percentage of the local population.

The Iron Mission settlements were founded under the leadership of George A. Smith, a New Englander, and members of the governing Council of the Twelve Apostles through the direction of the Mormon leadership in Salt Lake City. That Mormon leadership was largely American-born. Social, cultural, and religious norms were set by that American elite.¹

Civic leadership was of paramount importance from the first days of settlement. Mayors made significant contributions to the well being of the community's citizens. Matthew Carruthers was called as presiding elder (Table 25) of Coal Creek, later Cedar City, in November of 1851. Henry Lunt stated in his journal that Carruthers desired him (Henry Lunt) as his 1st counselor and John Easton as his 2nd counselor. He was the civic and ecclesiastical leader until May 1852.² On May 10, 1852, during a visit from Brigham Young, Henry Lunt was called to be the civic and ecclesiastical leader of Cedar City. He led from May 1852 to December 1853, when Isaac C. Haight was nominated and elected mayor. In May 1852 the Iron County Stake was organized in Parowan, and Henry Lunt was put in the stake presidency. Philip K. Smith was then set apart as bishop of the Cedar City Ward.³

TABLE 25

Cedar City Mayors 1852–1916

GEN*. NAME	BIRTH PLACE	POS.	DATE
1 MATHEW CARRUTHER	SCOTTISH	PRES. ELDER	1852
1 HENRY LUNT	ENGLISH	PRES. ELDER	1853
1 ISAAC HAIGHT	U.S.A.	MAYOR	1854-60
1 HENRY LUNT	ENGLISH	MAYOR	1861-66
1 JOHN M. HIGBEE	U.S.A.	MAYOR	1867-70
1 HOMER DUNCAN	U.S.A.	MAYOR	1871-72
1 FRANCIS WEBSTER	ENGLISH	MAYOR	1873-76
1 JOHN CHATTERLEY	ENGLISH	MAYOR	1877-78
1 CHRISTOPHER ARTHUR	WELSH	MAYOR	1879-80
1 ROBERT HEYBORNE	IRISH	MAYOR	1881-83
1 JOHN PARRY	WELSH	MAYOR	1884-86
2 LEHI WILLARD JONES	UTAH	MAYOR	1887-88
1 CHARLES HEYBORNE	AUSTRAL.	MAYOR	1889-90
1 JOHN PARRY	WELSH	MAYOR	1891-92
2 HENRY LEIGH	WELSH	MAYOR	1893-94
1 JOSEPH WILKERSON	ENGLISH	MAYOR	1894-95
2 HENRY LUNT	UTAH	MAYOR	1896-97
1 JOHN ADAMS	ENGLISH	MAYOR	1898-99
1 ROBERT HEYBORNE	IRISH	MAYOR	1900-01
2 THOMAS JONES	UTAH	MAYOR	1902-03
2 GEORGE MIDDLETON	UTAH	MAYOR	1904-05
2 DANIEL LEIGH	U.S.A.	MAYOR	1906-07
2 JOHN WOODBURY	U.S.A.	MAYOR	1908-09
2 URIAH JONES	UTAH	MAYOR	1910-
2 JOHN WOODBURY	U.S.A.	MAYOR	1911-
2 DONALD URIE	UTAH	MAYOR	1912-13
3 WILLIAM LEIGH	UTAH	MAYOR	1914-15
2 THOMAS JONES	UTAH	MAYOR	1915-16

SOURCE: Evelyn K and York F Jones Mayors of Cedar City and Histories of Cedar City, Utah, published under commision & Southern Utah State College Cedar City, Utah, 1986.

*GEN = generation

Mathew Carruthers, the first elder (mayor), was born in Scotland, married Isabelle McDonald in 1841. He was assigned the position of presiding elder and was the city's civil and ecclesiastical leader until May of 1852. He was Cedar City's first school teacher as well as an iron expert for the Iron Mission. He left Cedar City in 1853 and returned to Scotland.⁴

Table 25 lists the civil leaders between 1851 and 1915 and shows guidance and direction from the American elites in Salt Lake, but that from the very first days of the Iron Mission local elites were made up of foreign converts newly arrived from Europe. Thirteen of the mayors were among the earliest immigrant settlers. Three were original American-born settlers. Isaac C. Haight was the third mayor but the first civil leader born in the United States. Joseph L. Wilkerson was from England, but settled in several other Mormon communities before coming to Cedar City in the 90s. John S. Woodbury was born in St. George, Utah, and moved to Cedar City at the turn of the century. All of these leaders were original first-generation converts, except John S. Woodbury, who was second generation. Nine mayors were second generation, and only one was third generation by 1915. Of the second-generation mayors, nine were sons of early foreign settlers.⁵

Being a member of the church in good standing, plus a call from proper authority, was necessary for both men and women for the calls to the positions held over time in the local stakes and wards. Especially in the most visible positions those church leaders assumed control of the early cooperatives and other businesses within the community. Local church leaders and the local economy were intertwined in the early days.

A correlation between church leadership, community leadership, business leadership, family name and kinship ties, seemed to exist among those who determined the progress and future of the community. For men church leadership did apparently engender confidence and name recognition because of their visibility and trusted status. For women family and kinship ties seemed especially important.¹⁶ From some diaries and journals a remark or two did express the feeling that elite church families did exist at the expense of ordinary, everyday Mormon families, but this was their personal conjecture. It was more implied than expressed. Major feelings of this type were not openly expressed till years later.

Of the common early family names only six are not listed on Table 25 or 26. Some names were on only one list; names such as Thorley, Sherratt, Bladen, Melling, Gower, Stephens, Mackelprang, Unthank, Ward, Westerhold, and Wilden are found among the socio-economic elite who reached the 5th decile (\$2,000 or higher) in wealth during the period from the 1880s to the 1890s. They also owned stock in many of the co-op companies and other businesses and held positions of trust in their own business or other businesses of which they were a part: president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, bookkeeper, manager, foreman, etc. (Table 28)

In observing ethnic groups in America, Oscar Handlin contends that within the groups that were the products of immigration, the rate of upward mobility seemed to have increased significantly in the second and later generations. Children of those immigrants were more marginal than their parents; born within a group, they passed much of their youth and adolescence outside of the group and they became channels for contacts across ethnic lines. That pattern occurred more and more frequently as the group could survive only by adjusting to their changing circumstances.⁶

Handlin further states that the ethnic factor was important by virtue of its connection to the past, to the family, and to the most impressionable years of personality development. But it receded as a factor if the person were isolated, if the person's English, Welsh, Scottish, Scandinavian, German, or Swiss affiliation appeared only on infrequent occasions, while their everyday primary associations as a citizen, church member, resident, and producer had other contexts.⁷ A rough correlation was always discernible between social status and ethnic membership. Recent immigrants generally entered the labor market at the bottom, a level commensurate with their lack of skills, capital, and prestige.⁸

In Cedar City Handlin's hypothesis that there existed little opportunity for upward mobility and that the first generation had to start at the bottom did not prove accurate. Exceptional men in all the five ethnic groups moved into the larger group of their Mormon American contemporaries shortly after arrival in the community. Their rise in status brought recognition of leadership within the group, and it broadened their contacts with the rest of the Great Basin society, which treated them as spokesmen for their community.

Some examples well illustrate this point. Francis Webster, a convert from England served not only as mayor of Cedar City, as city councilman, a member of the Board of Education of Iron County, but he was also elected to the Lower House of the Territorial Legislature in 1876. Charles M. Heyborne, born in Australia, was not only mayor but a city councilman, city marshal, water master, and chaplain of the Utah State House of Representatives. Robert W. Heyborne, born in Ireland, was mayor twice, a member of the Territorial Legislature, and he also represented Iron County in the first Utah State Legislature. In addition, he was city marshal, a city councilor, city recorder, and Iron County assessor.⁹

TABLE 26
Civil Leaders, 1851-1915

<u>ALDERMAN (Councilmen)</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>CITY MARSHALL</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>
ROBERT W. HEYBORNE	Irish	WILLIAM BATEMAN	USA
JOHN D. LEE	USA	N.W. PRYOR	USA
WILLIAM MILLER	Unknown	ROBERT W. HEYBORNE	Irish
GEORGE S. CLARK	Unknown	JOSEPH H. ARMSTRONG	USA
PHILLIP K. SMITH	USA	EDWARD PARRY	Wales
SAMUEL LEIGH	Welsh	JOHN HARRIS	Wales
JAMES WHITTAKER	England	W. TUCKER	USA
GEORGE HUNTER	England	RICHARD J. BRYANT	England
GEORGE PERRY	England	C.T. DOVER	England
HENRY MCCONNELL	USA	JOSEPH ROSENBERG	Swed
D.S. MACFARLANE	Scotland	ALFRED FROYD	Swed
JENS NIELSON	Den	THOMAS URIE	Scot
NATHANIEL W. PRYOR	USA	O.P.W. BERGSTROM	Sweden
WILLIAM D. LEIGH	Welsh	JOSEPH H. BRYANT	USA
HENRY H. LUNT	England	JOHN PARRY	Wales
EDWIN C. COX	England	SAMUEL F. LEIGH	Utah
RICHARD NELSON	Sweden		
THOMAS THORLEY	England	<u>JUSTICE OF THE PEACE</u>	
MAYHEW H. DALLEY	Utah	JAMES EASTON	USA
WILLIAM H. CORRY	Utah	LOUIS R. CHAFFIN	USA
EUGENE SHOPPMAN	Germany	N.W. PRYOR	USA
O.P. FRETWALL	England	JOSEPH T. WILDERSON	Utah
JAMES SIMKINS	Utah	CHARLES HEYBORNE	Utah
SAMUEL T. LEIGH	Utah	JETHRO PALMER	Utah
JOHN J. G. WEBSTER	Utah	CHARLES M. AHLSTROM	Sweden
ROBERT THORLEY	Utah	HERBERT ADAMS	Utah
DAVID HAIGHT	Utah	ROBERT PAGE	Utah
EVAN WILLIAMS	Utah	ALBERT T. GOWER	Utah
E.J. PALMER	Utah	SAMUEL T. LEIGH	USA
J.H. ARMSTRONG	USA	GEORGE HUNTER	Scotland
S.J. FOSTER	Utah	JOHN DUTTON	England
ALEX ROLLO	Scotland		
A.J. MATTIASON	Utah	<u>DOG CATCHER</u>	
DAVID BULLOCH	Utah	ALEX KEIR	USA
WILLIAM V. WALKER	Utah	LAF MCCONNELL	Utah
J.C. ROBINSON	Utah	J.R. CHAFFIN	USA
JOHN G. PACE	Utah	HYRUM CORRY	Utah
PARLEY DALLEY	Utah	ISAAC C. HAIGHT	USA
		WILLIAM D. LEIGH	Wales

<u>CO. SURVEYOR</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>CITY ATTORNEY</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>
MAYHEW DALLEY	Utah	JOHN M. MACFARLANE	Utah
WILLIAM HOUCHEM	England	DANIEL LEIGH	USA
		E.H. RYAN	Scotland
<u>FENCE VIEWERS</u>		HENRY L. JONES	Utah
JAMES BULLOCH	Utah	LEHI A. THORLEY	Utah
EDWARD WILLIAMS	Utah	CHARLES G. Y. HIGGINS	Utah
<u>CO. CONVENTION DEL.</u>		<u>SEXTON</u>	
HENRY LUNT	England	ROBERT LAMBETH	England
SAMUEL FIFE	Utah	THOMAS B. WRIGHT	USA
RICHARD PALMER	Wales	HORACE DEVER	Utah
		JOSEPH STEVENSON	Utah
<u>JAILOR</u>		O.P.W. BERGSTROM	Sweden
I.C. HAIGHT	Unknown		
<u>RECORDER</u>		<u>SHERIFF</u>	
D.S. MACFARLANE	Utah	EDWARD PARRY	Wales
LOUIS FISCHER	USA	ALFRED FROYD	Sweden
EDWARD PARRY	Welsh		
MYRON D. HIGBEE	USA	<u>CO. COMMISSIONER</u>	
E.C. COX	England	GEORGE HUNTER	Scotland
SAMUEL H. WEBSTER	England		
WILLIAM HOUCHEM	England	<u>CO. ATTORNEY</u>	
EUGENE SHOPPMAN	Germany	E.H. RYAN	Scotland
HERBERT P. HAIGHT	USA		
J. H. ARTHUR	Wales	<u>HUMANE OFFICER</u>	
		C.D. BURKHOLDER	USA
<u>TREASURER</u>		<u>CITY MARSHALL</u>	
JOHN C. DUNCAN	USA	ANDREW HANSEN	Denmark
H. MORRILL	Unknown	ARTHUR NELSON	Denmark
RICHARD PALMER	Wales	FRANCIS M. DALTON	USA
JOSHUA A. ARTHUR	Wales		
NELLIE STRUMP	Utah	<u>WATER MASTER</u>	
BENGT NELSON JR.	Utah	GEORGE PERRY	England
CHARLOTTE PERKINS	Utah	GEORGE WOOD	England
E.M. CORRY	Utah	ANDRUS JENSON	Sweden
S.W. FOSTER	Utah	JOSEPH M. PERRY	Utah
E.H. MACFARLANE	Utah	JOHN FRETWELL	Utah
		PETER B. FIFE	Utah
		JOSEPH ROSENBERG	Sweden
		THOMAS URIE	Scotland
		SAMUEL F. LEIGH	Utah

<u>CITY ENGINEER</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>CO. ASSESSOR</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>
R.S. GARDNER	Utah	A. JENSEN	Denmark
		ROBERT W. HEYBORNE	Irish
<u>LIBRARY BOARD</u>		<u>SCHOOL TRUSTEES</u>	
KATE PALMER	Utah	JOSEPH HUNTER	England
MARY ANN PARRY	Utah	JOSEPH H. ARMSTRONG	USA
M.H. DALLEY	Unknown	BENGT NELSON	Sweden
RICHARD WILLIAMS	Wales	RICHARD HARRISON	USA
S.J. FOSTER	Utah	JAMES BOSNELL	USA
A.H. ROLLO	Utah	GEORGE WOOD	England
MRS. B.F. KNELL	Utah		
		<u>CO. PROBATE JUDGE</u>	
		CHAPMAN DUNCAN	Utah
		EDWARD PARRY	Wales

Source: Assessment Rolls Utah State Historical Dept. 1880-1915 City Minutes Books. R. F. Polk and Co., Polks Cedar City Directory US and Canada book area 979,2471c1E4p.GL Utah Census 1880,1900,1910 Unpublished histories, DUP & SUSC. Cedar City, Utah. Evelyn K and York F Jones Mayors of Cedar City and Histories of Cedar City, Utah published under the direction of Cedar City Historical Preservation Commission & Southern Utah State College Cedar City, Utah, 1986

British domination of the mayor's the office excluded the Continental Europeans, forcing them and the American born into minority status politically. Among the 25 mayors represented were one Scot and one Utahn born of Scottish parents, five Englishmen and two Utahns born of English parents, three Welshmen and six Utahns born of Welsh parents, one Irishman, one Australian, and five American-born. This included all the ethnic groups except the Scandinavians, Germans, and Swiss, who were also present in the community. However, these groups were all found represented among the other civil offices. (Table 27)

Robert R. Dykstra found in The Cattle Towns that the most primitive form of factionalism was the "old settlers" joining together against later arrivals. Their seniority

played a commanding role. He discovered also that some members of the first wave of settlers simply withdrew from the public eye as the newcomers moved in.¹⁰ Date of arrival did not seem to cause that much friction between the families in Cedar City. They were continually proselyting for new settlers.¹¹

Two newcomers were elected mayor—Joseph L. Wilkerson and John S. Woodbury — after residing in Cedar City for only a short time in the 1890s. S. W. Foster, Alex Rollo, William Houchen, C. T. Dover, Joseph Rosenberg, Alfred Froyd, E. H. Ryan, O. P. W. Bergstrom, and J. C. Robinson, all civil officeholders during the 1880-to-1915 period came after 1880. However, many were newcomers themselves but had direct kinship ties to prominent families in Cedar City. John S. Woodbury came from St. George to teach school and married May Higbee. E. H. Ryan married Catherine Perkins from Blanding whose family formerly had lived in Cedar City until called to go with the Hole-in-the-Rock pioneers to the San Juan area. She had aunts, uncles, and cousins still in Cedar City. Most of the others were second generation and married into local families.

A specific need for the expertise of a newcomer was also another factor in upward mobility. Joseph L. Wilkerson was a newspaperman and attorney. He filled both of these slots in Cedar City, as did E. H. Ryan, an attorney, and Alex Rollo, a newspaperman. New individuals with needed skills did rise in the social and occupational hierarchy.¹²

Did status in one area of leadership transfer to other areas? Table 27 shows the leaders in the church organization both on a stake level and ward level from 1851 to 1915.

The stake and ward boundaries were changed several times during that period which had a direct influence on church leadership. In 1851 Parowan, the mother

settlement, and Cedar City were separate with Mathew Carruthers the presiding elder (mayor), the leader both civilly and ecclesiastically in Cedar City. He chose Henry Lunt as his 1st counselor and John Easton as his 2nd counselor. Henry Lunt was civil and ecclesiastical leader until December of 1853. In 1852 the Iron County Stake was organized in Parowan.¹³

On April 21, 1855, President Brigham Young, while in Parowan, organized the Parowan Stake of Zion. The stake consisted of Parowan, Paragonah, Summit, and Cedar City. In 1859, Henry Lunt became bishop of the Cedar City Ward and president of the Cedar Stake which was separated from the Parowan Stake at the same time. Later Cedar Stake was put back in the Parowan Stake. In 1878 Lunt served as a counselor to President William H. Dame in the Parowan Stake. From 1877 to 1919 Parowan was the headquarters for the stake, at which time headquarters were moved to Cedar City.¹⁴

A call to office in the LDS church was felt by its members to be a divine call from God. Through inspiration from God to His authorized priesthood leaders calls were made to the members of the church to fill positions for every office and position, including missions. At this time missions and missionaries included settlement missions, proselyting missionaries, work missionaries on temples, etc., plus calls for men to go east before 1869, and bring companies of saints across the plains and after 1869 to go to Salt Lake to help move new settlers into the outlying areas.¹⁵

These families had one characteristic in common mentioned in the histories, diaries, and obituaries. They described themselves and were described by others as men who did not like to be in the public eye. They liked their privacy. They were by and large faithful members of the LDS church, but they were not public people, preferring to work and serve their families and community out of the limelight.¹⁷

TABLE 27
Church Leaders, 1851 – 1915

STAKE PRESIDENT
HENRY LUNT
ISAAC C. HAIGHT
URIAH T. JONES
THOMAS J. JONES
WILLIAM R. PALMER
PAUL SMITH

COUNCILORS TO PRES.
FRANCIS WEBSTER
HENRY LUNT
SAMUEL W. LEIGH
PAUL SMITH
HENRY LEIGH
JOHN J. WEBSTER
THOMAS J. JONES
RICHARD PALMER

HIGH COUNCILORS
FRANCIS WEBSTER
JOSEPH S. HUNTER
SAMUEL LEIGH
JOSEPH T. WILKERSON
URIAH T. JONES
RICHARD PALMER
J. MCCONNELL

BISHOPS
HENRY LUNT
FRANCIS WEBSTER
CHRISTOPHER ARTHUR
ANDREW CORRY
HENRY W. LUNT
LEHI WILLARD JONES
WILLIAM H. CORRY

COUNCILORS TO BISHOP
FRANCIS WEBSTER
URIAH T. JONES
SAMUEL LEIGH
BENGT NELSON
FRANK WOOD
CALVIN PENDLETON
HERBERT HAIGHT

HIGH PRIESTS/SEVENTIES
GEORGE HUNTER
HOMER DUNCAN
HENRY LUNT
SAMUEL W. LEIGH
GEORGE PERRY
R.R. BERKHARD

STAKE SUPT. OF S.S.
THOMAS J. JONES
ROBERT W. HEYBORNE
MAYHEW H. DALLEY
JOSEPH TAYLOR
JOSEPH H. ARMSTRONG
J. MCCONNELL

STAKE SUPT. COUNCILORS
JOSEPH T. WILKINSON
JOHN W. BROWN
JOSEPH F. FIFE
ISAAC W. BERRY
S.J. FOSTER
JAMES PARRY
EDWARD J. PALMER
HERBERT WEBSTER
HELANAN WEBSTER
RANDLE JONES

YWMIA
HELEN NELSON
BERTHA PARRY

YMIA
ELIAS M. CORRY
FRANK WOOD
WALLACE LUNT

STAKE R.R. PRESIDENCY

ELLEN W. LUNT
MARY ANN LUNT
SARAH CHATTERLEY
SAGE T. JONES
ANA C. WEBSTER
CAROLINE K. JONES

ELDERS PRESIDENCY

ANDREW CORRY
BENJAMIN PERKINS
JOHN LEIGH
LOUIS FISHER
SAMUEL WOOD
WILLIAM TUCKER
DAVID HAIGHT
AUGUST MACFARLANE
PETER B. FIFE
WILLIAM HOUCHEN
DANIEL LEIGH
LARS SANDIN
THOMAS JED JONES
EUGENE SHOPPMAN
JOHN BENSCH
ISAAC NELSON

PATRIARCH

HENRY LUNT
ALEX MATHESON

SEVENTIES

HOMER DUNCAN
PETER MACKELPRANG

WARD S.S. SUPT.

JOHN MORRIS
JEHIEL MCCONNELL
SAMUEL LEIGH
EUGENE SHOPPMAN
HENRY LEIGH
JOHN PARRY
JOSEPH T. WILKERSON
JOHN S. WOODBURY
MAYHEW DALLEY

WARD CLERKS

ALBERT N. TOLESTRUP
JOHN HOLMAN

STAKE PRIM. PRESIDENCY

MARY A. PALMER
RUTH DALLEY
CAROLINE R. JONES

SUPT. OF SCHOOLS

PARLEY DALLEY

MISSIONARIES

HENRY LUNT
ISAAC C. HAIGHT
HOMER DUNCAN
CHRISTOPHER J. ARTHUR
LEHI WILLARD JONES
CHARLES M. HEYBORNE
JOHN PARRY
HENRY LEIGH
THOMAS J. JONES
SAMUEL T. LEIGH
DONALD C. URIE
WILLIAM H. LEIGH
DAVID BULLOCH
GEORGE PERRY
EDWARD MACKELPRANG
GEORGE W. PERRY
DAVID HAIGHT
WILLIAM H. CORRY
GEORGE HUNTER
MISSIONARIES Cont.
GEORGE S. HUNTER
SAMUEL LEIGH
MAYHEW H. DALLEY
S.J. FOSTER
WILLIAM P. HUNTER
ROBERT S. GARDNER
THOMAS S. BLADEN
BENGT NELSON
JOHN MIDDLETON
ALORVIS BAUER
WILLIAM R. PALMER

COUNCILORS OF SUPT.

JOHN V. ADAMS
JOHN PARRY
LOUIE FISHER
JOSEPH HUNTER
WILLIAM JONES
SAMUEL LEIGH
THOMAS JONES
BENGT NELSON JR.
JETHRO PALMER
WILLIAM W. LUNT

ELDERS QUORUM

DANIEL T. LEIGH

WARD CHOIR

JOSEPH COSSLETT
JOHN CHATTERLEY

DRAMA CLUB

JOHN CHATTERLEY
CHARLES AHLSTROM

BRASS BAND

JOHN CHATTERLEY
THOMAS BLADEN

Source: Parowan Stake minute
books—Parowan Stake
History 1851-1980. Minutes
of Church B of Ed. July 23,
1888 March 1894

MISSIONARIES (continued)

EDWARD MACKELPRANG
J. GRANT PAGE
RICHARD BIRKBACK
THOMAS BLADEN
THOMAS SAMUEL BLADEN
GEORGE W. PERRY
WILLIAM S. THORLEY
REBECCA F. ANDERSON
CLARENCE JONES
KENNETH MCFARLANE
FRANK A. THORLEY
JOHN U. WEBSTER
THOMAS BULLOCH
JOSEPH VICTOR FORD
EVAN HUNTER
TRUHORNE LEIGH
CALVIN PENDLETON
STAPLEY H. PARRY
EVAN WILLIAMS
GEORGE C. FOSTER
ROBERT HUNTER
MYRON HIGBEE
ROYCE B. NELSON
WILLIAM URIE
JOSEPH WALKER MELLING
JOHN HALLMAN
TALDSTRUP
JOHN HENRY WILLIAMS
U. ASHTON JONES
BERTHA PERRY
INA LEIGH

One of these, Thomas Samuel Bladen, son of Thomas Bladen and Alice Cattle Bladen, English converts, was the second boy born in Cedar City in 1852. His father left on a mission to England in 1856 and, possessed of an overwhelming desire to stay in his native land, did not return to his family in Cedar City until in the 1890s. Thomas S. and his brother Neil went barefoot, not knowing what it was to wear shoes until they were 16 years old, a common practice for a great many pioneer children. Their home for many years was a dirt cellar, with a small cupboard put in the dirt walls on two sides and across the back. The two brothers worked together and little by little acquired land to farm, a few

head of cows and horses. They worked with ox teams for many years. Together they worked for building material and by exchanging one kind of labor for another built a home for their mother and themselves over the old dirt cellar.¹⁸

Thomas S. was called to work on the Manti Temple in 1877, to explore the San Juan country in 1879, to log and saw timber for the "Old Tabernacle" in 1885, to go on a mission to Great Britain in 1894, and to help take charge of building the Branch Normal School in 1896. In 1907 he, with others, formed a company to generate electricity in Cedar City. He did work on the old ward hall and bought considerable stock in the Bank of Southern Utah. He owned a ranch at Three Creeks and a large farm in the south field.

He married Eliza Ellen Adams in the St. George Temple on 1882. They had nine children; a son died in infancy; seven girls and one son grew to adulthood, and married and remained in the Cedar City area.¹⁹

He was a member of the "Old Brass Band," which was from early days till into the early years of the 1900s the center of attraction on holidays and many other occasions. Loving music and singing, he also did the calling for dances. He was active in the church. He was honest and expected others to be. But he was a man who never cared for public office or speaking. He was not afraid of hard work, and always did his share of whatever he was asked to do, but preferred to take his part in other ways.²⁰

Table 28 indicates Mary Bladen, a widow, had an assessed wealth of \$2,950 in 1880. That was not quite accurate as she presumed her husband was dead, since he had been gone since 1856. He did not return until in the 1890s, but her two single sons lived with her and helped her accumulate her wealth.

The social-economic elites found in Table 28 are an important part of the development of Cedar City and Southern Utah. As previously mentioned, some names are

found reaching upward mobility in business and finance which are not found holding civic and church office, but most are on all three tables.

Some names are found among the social-economic elite in 1880 that are not found in 1900 or 1915. One such is Homer Duncan, sixth mayor of Cedar City. A native of Vermont, he came to Utah in October of 1848, crossed the plains 11 times, served as a captain, and was called to Southern Utah in 1851. He was also on the city council. He ran huge herds of cattle and founded the Utah Iron Company with Ebenezer Hanks and Thomas Taylor. They also founded the settlement of Iron City (Pinto). Duncan was a member of the board of directors. When John R. Young brought in more capital to the company it was renamed Great Western Mining and Manufacturing Company.²¹

The sizable wealth acquired by the older generation was found in the 1900s as probated estates, or the father had turned his real estate, business, or personal wealth over to his children. Probably because of the division of estates, the sons were at the 5th and 6th decile, but not at the 8th, 9th, or 10th decile as their fathers had been.

Scandinavian names were missing from the list of 1915 wealthiest elites, along with German and Swiss names, but they still held positions in civil and church organizations. The Nelsons, Jensions, Mackelprangs, Bauers, and Schoppmans were among those persisters found in Table 28 for 1880 but deceased or retired by 1915. Bengt Nelson's, Andrew Jenson's, and Peter Mackelprang's sons were on all three tables, but not in the top deciles. Charles Westerhold, a Prussian, only eight years in Utah in 1880 and found in the 3rd decile, had prospered and was in the 5th decile by 1900.

TABLE 28
Social-Economic Leaders, 1880 –1900

NAME	1880	1900
THOMAS TAYLOR	---	\$5,916.00
HOMER DUNCAN	\$16,000.00	---
JOSEPH ARMSTRONG	1,890.00	---
CHRISTOPHER ARTHUR	2,770.00	---
ALVIN BAUER	3,000.00	1,750.00
CATHERINE BELL (Widow)	2,650.00	---
MARY BLADEN (Widow)	1,950.00	---
DAVID BULLOCH	7,875.00	13,485.00
RICHARD BULLOCH	11,900.00	---
ROBERT BULLOCH	2,675.00	6,217.00
JOHN CHATTERLEY	6,400.00	2,095.00
GEORGE CONDIE	1,825.00	1,045.00
JOHN M. CHATTERLEY	---	---
ANDREW CORRY	3,000.00	6,232.00
EVAN EDWARDS	---	2,100.00
PETER B. FIFE	2,675.00	1,002.00
DAVID HARRIS	---	3,920.00
JOHN HAMMILTON	4,950.00	925.00
JOHN C. HAMMILTON	5,800.00	765.00
JOHN M. HIGBEE	5,400.00	2,770.00
ROBERT HEYBORNE	2,050.00	---
JOSEPH S. HUNTER	4,150.00	3,759.00
ANDREW JENSON	5,750.00	465.00
JED T. JONES	2,520.00	18,450.00
LEHI W. JONES	2,520.00	"
URIAH JONES	2,520.00	"
DANIEL LEIGH	---	"
HENRY LEIGH	2,325.00	4,379.00
SAMUEL T. LEIGH	---	---
WILLIAM D. LEIGH	1,210.00	2,205.00
HENRY LUNT	6,550.00	---
HENRY W. LUNT	---	5,100.00
FRANK MIDDLETON	---	4,826.00
JOHN MIDDLETON	9,950.00	---
ISAAC C. MACFARLANE	---	2,056.00
WILLIAM MIDDLETON	2,350.00	---
JOSEPH MELLING	---	\$3121.00
BENGT NELSON	4,000.00	2,400.00
EDWARD PARRY	3,050.00	2,479.00

NAME	1880	1900
JOHN PARRY	---	\$2,174.00
JOSEPH PERKINS	---	2,220.00
GEORGE PERRY	\$2,400.00	5,400.00
HYRUM PERRY	3,000.00	1,470.00
JOHN SHERRETT	4,400.00	---
BEN SMITH	3,000.00	765.00
JOHN STEPHENS	1,400.00	2,120.00
MARY ANN STEWART	3,250.00	---
THOMAS THORLEY	1,770.00	5,500.00
FRANK THORLEY	---	4,680.00
ROBERT THORLEY	---	"
RICHARD THORLEY	---	"
THOMAS WALKER	4,000.00	1,545.00
DAVID WARD	4,900.00	---
FRANCIS WEBSTER	3,900.00	2,280.00
JOHN WEBSTER	---	5,805.00
GEORGE WOOD	7,400.00	9,310.00
WILLIAM UNTHANK	1,800.00	1,300.00
ANSON ROOT	---	3,757.00
CHARLES WESTERHOLD	---	1,817.00
THOMAS M. URIE	---	2,413.00
PETER MACKELPRANG	1,400.00	---
HENRY MCCONNELL	---	1,180.00

Source: Assessment Rolls Utah State Historical Dept. 1880-1915; City Minutes Books; R. F. Polk and Co., Polks Cedar City Directory; Utah Census 1880,1900,1910 Unpublished histories, DUP & SUSC. Cedar City, Utah.

Homer Duncan in 1880 was by far the wealthiest individual in Cedar City, with \$16,000 assessed valuation. He was found on all three lists (Tables 26, 27, and 28) of elites playing an important role in the shaping and decision-making of the area. In 1885 he sold out and moved to Salt Lake City. In 1890, at age 75, he served time in the state penitentiary for polygamy.²²

On the other hand, one of Duncan's partners in the Utah Iron Company, Thomas Taylor, moved from Pinto to Cedar City and was found on the assessment rolls for 1900, with \$5,916 capital, the fourth largest personal wealth. Only his widow was listed in 1910 as executor of his estate. Isaac C. Haight and Henry Lunt, also appear on Tables 26, 27,

28, and 29 from 1851 to 1880. Each left a great legacy for the family members that remained in Cedar City after their hurried exits in the late 1880s. Henry's sons reached the 7th decile in 1914, the decile their father had reached in 1880.

Table 29 shows the names of men found on Tables 25, 26, 27, and 28. The maiden names of their wives also are shown next to their husband, as the kinship ties linking the elite families were very important. The generation of the elite male plus his ethnic origins are also shown.

TABLE 29
Male Elites and their Wives' Maiden Names Ranked by Wealth, 1914

NAME	WIFE	GEN. ETHNIC ORIGIN
DAVID BULLOCH	ALICE BLADEN	2ND SCOT
	SARAH ANN HIGBEE	2ND SCOT
ROBERT BULLOCH	MARIA FIFE	2ND ENGLISH
GEORGE WOOD	MARY DAVIS	2ND US. ENGLISH
ANDREW CORRY	LETETIA NEWCOMB	2ND UTAH WELSH
LEHI JONES	HENRIETTA LUNT	2ND UTAH WELSH
JED JONES	ELLEN LUNT	2ND UTAH WELSH
URIAH JONES	MARY A. HIGBEE	2ND UTAH ENGLISH
JOHN WEBSTER	ELIZA ANN URIE	2ND UTAH ENGLISH
THOMAS THORLEY	JANE ROUNDTREE	2ND UTAH ENGLISH
ROBERT THORLEY		2ND UTAH ENGLISH
DAVID THORLEY	ELLA CHATTERLEY	2ND UTAH ENGLISH
RICHARD THORLEY	SARAH STEWART	2ND UTAH ENGLISH
GEORGE PERRY	LOUISA LEIGH	2ND UTAH ENGLISH
RANDLE LUNT	CATHERINE HUNTER	2ND UTAH ENGLISH
HENRY LUNT	ROSEALLA HUNTER	2ND UTAH ENGLISH
WILLIAM LUNT	ROSEANNA	2ND UTAH ENGLISH
HENRY LEIGH	AMY WEBSTER	2ND WELSH
WILLIAM LEIGH	ELIZABETH WOOD	2ND WELSH
FRANK MIDDLETON	SARAH HOLLAND	2ND UTAH ENGLISH
ANSON ROOT	GENIL	2ND US
JOSEPH HUNTER	ELIZA PINNOCK	2ND SCOT
SAMUEL BAUER	ROSALIE HUNTER	2ND UTAH/SWISS
JOSEPH MELLING	SARAH WALKER	2ND ENGLISH
DAVID HARRIS	JOSEPHINE	2ND UTAH WELSH

Source: Tax Assessment records 1900,1910,1915, Iron Co. Treasurer #127. Probate records State Capital Archives 1899-1922 film no. 0485215 Family History Center Probate records 1886-1896 film no. 048,5221 GL Census: 1880,1900,1910 Personal Histories. DUP Cedar City, Utah Special Collections SUSC Cedar City, UT. Personal interviews with children born during 1895-1915 done by Inez S. Cooper & Thom Challis in 1960, Special Collections, SUSC Cedar City, UT Family Group Records, GL Marriage licenses 1888-1893 film no. 0484842, GL and marriage licenses.

John Sherratt was born in England. In 1880 he was 53 years old and a stockman with a wife and five children. He also had heart trouble and was deaf. His handicaps did not keep him from acquiring a total wealth of \$4,400, which placed him in the 6th decile. John was unique. He was sent to help settle the Iron Mission shortly after it was founded. He was handicapped by being both deaf and dumb, but a man of superior intelligence, from a good family, good-natured, friendly, and well-liked and accepted by the community. Shortly after arriving in Cedar City, he met Christine Bulloch, daughter of James Bulloch, and sister of Robert, David, and Richard. They married in 1855, and always lived in Cedar City where they reared five boys and four girls. John farmed and ran livestock with his wife's brothers. They were married for 43 years before he died in 1898. Christine survived him.²³

From the data just analyzed it is apparent that leadership in one area of service and expertise aided upward mobility in other areas. Most of the leading families were found in all three areas. It was not by coincidence that leadership positions in the church, community, and business were dominated by livestock men who were at the right place at the right time to make the most of hard work and their opportunities. Twenty-one of the elites found in the top 24 names for 1915 were second generation with both parents born in the same country of origin.

There were families who were found predominantly in one area or another, although being Mormon community builders they did whatever the church or community asked them to do. The Bullochs were good examples. They always took great pride in their Scottish heritage. David and also his sister Christine, mention in their journals and other writings "The Scottish Independents," 12 families of a more determined nature, more

familiar with the methods of travel, who decided not to wait for the rest of their company in the spring of 1854 and through their pluck and perseverance landed in the Salt Lake Valley five or six weeks ahead of the rest of the company. They remained in Salt Lake a few weeks and then were called to settle the Iron Mission. The “Scottish Independents” stopped on the north side of Coal Creek; the others on the south side. Their high ideals and sincerity in their religious beliefs were shown by their posterity to be splendid citizens who were proud of the kind of town they helped build.²⁴

David found himself too busy with business and church activity to hold office in the church leadership or the community. He with his brother Robert and Lehi W. Jones claimed the whole of Cedar Mountain through “squatter’s rights.” They built their herds until they were three of the largest livestock holders in the whole country. He was one of the organizers and presidents of the co-op store. He joined the sheep association in which he later owned a controlling interest.. He was a large stockholder in the bank and its vice president for many years. He was a member of the city council and helped on civic improvements when needed.

A devoted church member, he was always ready to sacrifice for the church. He crossed the plains three times, once for freight, twice for emigrants. In 1875-76 he went on a mission to his native Scotland. He had two wives and 13 children. A friendly, generous man, he enjoyed helping other men build their livestock businesses.²⁵

The male heads of households, persisters, and leaders of church, community, and wealth have been examined and analyzed, but the females were also an important factor in all areas of the founding and building of the Mormon community. They were not found in great numbers in Tables 25, 26 or 27. They’re not listed as bishops or stake presidents in

Table 27, but as stake Relief Society presidents, ward Relief Society presidents, teachers, treasurers, secretaries, Primary presidencies, YWMIA leaders and missionaries in Table 31. They were also listed in Table 28 in limited numbers.

A substantial number of the Latter-day Saint women in Cedar City during the period covered by this thesis, especially during the 1880s and 1890s, were of direct British and European origin. About two-thirds were British and one-third Scandinavian. The influence of the ethnic women, especially the British (English, Welsh, Scottish, and Irish) in nineteenth century LDS history is very important.²⁶

Their leadership was soon demonstrated. Despite their humble origins in a “class society,” with traditional and legal obstacles to opportunity and upward mobility, their talents and abilities blossomed rapidly after their baptisms. Abilities they never knew they possessed suddenly surfaced.. Dissatisfied with their own religion, the gospel gave them hope, determination, and new associations and standards to live by and work toward that they could never have attained in their traditional countries.²⁷

Leonard Arrington observes that there was a difference between the convert-immigrants from Britain and women converts from America or the Continent. The British women were less submissive, more spunky, more willing to stand up and exert themselves. They were surprisingly articulate even with little education. They were expressive, candid, and not afraid to voice complaints and opinions in their letters and diaries. Indignant at the slurs of their anti-Mormon enemies, they demanded their rights and were not prone to overlook unfair treatment.²⁸

TABLE 30

Church Offices Held by Females, 1853-1915

<u>WARD R.S. PRESIDENCY</u>			<u>STAKE R.S. PRESIDENCY</u>
LYDIA O. HOPKINS	PRES		JULIA A. HIGBEE
ANNABELLE HAIGHT	1ST		NELLIE T. PAGE
RACHEL WHITTAKER	2ND		
ELLEN LUNT	SEC		<u>WARD PRIMARY</u>
ALICE RANDALL	TREA		MARY ANN M. PALMER
RACHEL WHITTAKER	PRES		SARAH ANN H. BULLOCH
ANNABELLE HAIGHT	1ST		
MARY HIGBEE	2ND		<u>STAKE PRIMARY</u>
ELLEN LUNT	SEC		MARY ANN M. PALMER
ALICE BENNETT	TREA		SARAH ANN H. BULLOCH
SARAH URIE	PRES		
JANE PARRY	TREA		<u>STAKE YWMIA</u>
MARY ANN LUNT	PRES		MARY ANN H. DALLEY
SAGE JONES	2ND		HILDA MITCHELL
SAGE JONES	PRES		DEANNA SMITH
MARION ARTHUR	1ST		HENRIETTA L. JONES
ELIZABETH EVANS	2ND		
JANE P. MACKELPRANG	SEC		<u>WARD YWMIA</u>
MARION ARTHUR	TREA		HENRIETTA L. JONES
MARY C. JONES			AMY WEBSTER
ANN E. WEBSTER	PRES		SARAH JANE LEIGH
MARY HIGBEE	1ST		MARY NIELSON
MARY HUNTER	2ND		KATE STEWART
SARAH A. HIGBEE	SEC		MARY MACKELPRANG
ANN A. THORLEY	PRES		RACHEL CORRY
MARY ANN ARMSTRONG	1ST		NELLIE T. PAGE
LUCY M. JONES	2ND		MARY ANN H. DALLEY
VIOLET A. URIE	SEC		
IDA J. WEBSTER	TREA		
BELLE M. TERRY	SEC		
AMY W. LEIGH	PRES		
MARY ANN HEYBORNE	1ST		
MARIA BULLOCH	2ND		
CATHERINE RYAN	SEC		
MARY ANN PARRY	TREA		
NELLIE T. PAGE	1ST		

Source: Parowan Stake minute book C, Cedar Ward Relief Society book A:23, book B:1,21,108, book C:127 147, book E:47,102,164. Parowan Utah Stake history 1851-1980 Journals, obituaries, & autobiog. of early pioneers.

They migrated willingly, but many to the end of their long lives expressed feelings of nostalgia and longing for their loved ones left behind and the villages where they grew up. Despite their tender feelings, they had no regrets for joining the church, for migrating, or for the trials and adjustments they were forced to make in a new land. They were praiseworthy people, reinforced by the gospel and personal righteousness, and imbued with one goal--doing their part to build the kingdom of God in Zion.²⁹

Among the civil leaders, no woman was mentioned until the Cedar City Council minutes of November 11, 1901. The city council met in special session to count the official returns from the judge of election of District No. 1 and 2. Nellie Stump, a Republican, won the treasurer office over Marni Corry, a Democrat; and Joseph Cosslett, a Socialist. She got 186 votes; Corry, 49; and Cosslett, 19. She was listed in the 1900 census as a widow, 29 years old, with three children. She owned her own home, but listed her occupation as none. She had a total wealth of \$40. She had died before the 1910 census.³⁰

Charlotte Perkins Ryan was elected city treasurer in November of 1905. Unopposed, she won more votes (491) than any other candidate for any position. Also being the wife of popular county attorney E. H. Ryan may have been a help. Barbara Tweedie also ran for the same office in 1909 on the Socialist ticket. She lost.³¹

Barbara and her husband Richard Tweedie were both children of Scottish parents who emigrated to Kansas in 1883. In 1899 they were converted to Mormonism. That same year they moved to Summit, Iron County, and later to Cedar City. She held many offices in the Summit and Cedar wards: ward clerk, stake librarian, organist, Sunday School teacher, and counselor in Relief Society. In civic life she was a school trustee and public librarian.³²

This courageous young family suffered much adversity. In 1910 Richard was ill and out of work. They rented a home with their three children. Barbara was city librarian. Richard died in 1910 and Barbara died one year later. This likable couple was mourned by the whole area.

In 1909, Kate Isom Palmer and Mary Ann Parry were elected to six-year terms on the Republican ticket to the office of library and gymnasium directors. Kate (wife of William R. Palmer) was also listed as a candidate for the same office on the Democratic ticket. Alice J. Urie ran on the Socialist ticket for the same office but was defeated. Alice Jones Urie was the wife of Thomas Urie, but even well-liked candidates from old families didn't win on the unpopular Socialist ticket.

Women served in LDS church offices from the early days of the settlement. These names were from the early Cedar City families and are found in every position. (See Table 30)

Henrietta Lunt Jones, daughter of Henry Lunt and Mary Ann Wilson Lunt, stated in her journal that after the Retrenchment Association, predecessor of the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association, was started in November 28, 1869, sisters were sent out from Salt Lake City to organize associations in the wards and stakes. In 1875 they came to Cedar City to organize the young girls. They met at the Lunt house and called Henrietta to be the first president of the Retrenchment Association in Cedar City. Henrietta was 17 years old. She was told to select six counselors, which she did. She stated, "I'll never forget the feeling that came over me, the thoughts of such responsibility, and to be expected to teach the gospel which I didn't understand myself. There were no guidelines to guide us, and so far from headquarters."

She selected Amy Webster, Sarah Jones Leigh, Mary Nielson, Kate Stewart, Mary Mackelprang as counselors, and Rachel Corry, as secretary and treasurer. Later the bishop appointed Sister Ann Aldridge to be the mother of the society.³³

A very important calling in early Mormon communities was the aide to the Relief Society president who took sunshine and charity to the needy. This also was a chief responsibility of the visiting teachers which many diaries and journals mention with great joy and satisfaction. Nearly every sister, whether a leader or a gentle, loving woman who stated she never enjoyed being in the public eye, found service to her sisters in need a gratifying sacred experience.

One of these sisters was Christina Mackelprang Chatterley Brown, a daughter of Peter and Sophia Mackelprang, early Danish immigrants. She was chosen by Relief Society President Ann Thorley to be her aide. She was set apart to wash and dress the dead with Ann Dover as her assistant. They worked in love and harmony for over 25 years, going at all hours of the day or night when called. After Sister Dover passed away, Sister Lizzie Fife helped her for 16 more years. She resigned at age 81, having dressed over 200 dead, made 50 temple suits and 403 temple aprons.³⁴

Table 28 showed three women, all listed as widows, among the economic elite in 1880. They are not found listed in the 1900 or 1915 assessment rolls. However, they were still alive, and found on the census records in 1910.

Catherine Granger Gibson Bell in 1880 was a 31-year-old widow with three children, two by Gibson and one by Bell. She listed her occupation as dairying. She was born in Scotland as were her parents and first husband. Her second husband was born in England. From the assessment rolls she was listed as having a total wealth of \$2,650.

In 1910 she listed her occupation as farming and dairying. She owned her farm, mountain ranch, and own home. Her assessed real estate was \$7,970. The city minutes

record her being granted a license to own and operate the Cedar Hotel. The city minutes also record on January 12, 1912, that she agreed to donate a hearse to the city on certain conditions. The city had to agree to provide a shed or suitable building for its care and protection, and use it for rich and poor alike and not for any financial gain. However, the council could charge a fee for its service to keep it in repair. On motion of Councilman Higbee, the city accepted the gift of the hearse.³⁵

Her great-granddaughter recalled in the family history, that she also wanted to be on the board of directors of the Bank of Southern Utah. When the directors refused, she threatened to withdraw her deposit of \$20,000, and put it all in a Salt Lake bank. She was added to the board of directors. She was successful in her business affairs and although she seems to have held no office, she remained faithful to the LDS church. She was a shrewd, determined woman who held her own in the man's world of business.³⁶

Listed on Table 27 are positions that were highly valued by all members of the the early church or community whether young or old. These were the brass band, drama club, and choirs. They were considered offices both in the community and the church. Organized within weeks after the settlement of Cedar City, they are mentioned with affection and pride in every history, journal, or record kept of the community. Most settlers joined as children and those with musical ability continued membership all their lives.

Joseph Coslett and his brother Gomer, born in Wales, emigrated to Cedar City in 1868. In 1870 Joseph was called to organize the Sunday School choir. He led with such ability that he was appointed Cedar Ward choir director in 1881, a position he held until his death in 1910. He played the piano and organ and was loved by all his students. He was jovial and cheerful, and spent so much time with music that his shop had to be run mainly

by Gomer. There was hardly money to bury him, but the town and his former students gathered money and bought a headstone to honor him.³⁷

Charles M. Ahlstrom, a Swedish emigrant, filled the same position in drama. With a group of local drama-loving citizens, he built the Cedar City Opera House in the 1880s. LaFayette and Billy J. McConnell headed a local theatrical group that put on plays for years to packed houses. The brass band also performed not only for public functions, but in private groups, weddings, dances, and parties. Charley Corry and Tom Bladen were callers; Conrad Haight, Tom Dunton and Hyrum Dunton were the musicians.

Fierce competition existed between Cedar City and Parowan's choirs, drama clubs, and brass bands. The pride each took in their music and drama spurred each town to perform works of art not thought possible for such small rural communities.³⁸

By 1915, the old pioneers were retired or dead and the second and third generations now filled positions of leadership. Some families through church leadership, civil office, and social-economic dominance were in the forefront of community development and progress from 1851 to 1915 and continue on to the present day. Those who came later after a few years were added to this list and were soon merged with the common surnames of the community.³⁹

The changing life style evolving at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth made education a top priority in gaining status in the new professions that were created. Education became a priority of all parents regardless of ethnic background. The second and third generations went to Branch Normal School in Cedar. It was given college status by the State Legislature in 1913. The name was changed to Branch Agricultural College under the direction of the Utah State Agricultural College in Logan, with all the rights and privileges of the parent college. Before that families determined to educate their families had to send them north to the University of

Utah or Brigham Young Academy. The Lunts, Joneses, Bullochs, Uries, Middletons, Palmers, Leighs, Macfarlanes, and many others sent their children north. It was at Brigham Young Academy that the shy, gawky country boy George W. Middleton went, at age 19, to further his education. There Sam Allen, a polished city boy, befriended him and through the personal attention of the old master, Dr. Karl G. Maeser, he was inspired to go on to more advanced studies.⁴⁰

The original settlers and their children born before emigration and right after arrival in the new settlement had to make survival their top goal, but the desire for the education of their children burned in their hearts. Their united heroic efforts to complete the Branch Normal School successfully in 1898 exemplified this.

Beginning in the 1890s education would become a necessity for the successful merger of isolated Utah with American progress. The development of intellectual scholarship in the professions, science, and modern industry had arrived.

Many Cedar City Latter-day Saint parents expressed the fear that going East among the intellectual gentiles who were disdainful of religion, especially Mormon religion, would destroy the faith of their innocent children. At this time the great paradoxes of religion and science were raging. George Middleton, after going to Brigham Young Academy, chose to go East to Baltimore Medical School in 1892 and had to resolve this inner conflict, which he did. He finally accepted Jesus Christ as the Son of God and no skeptic could shake it. Through years as a doctor in Cedar City and Salt Lake, he pondered and studied his religion and finally concluded there was no conflict between true science and true religion.⁴¹

Education in the East had a different outcome for others. Menzies John Macfarlane, the son of John M. Macfarlane and Lillie Heyborne Macfarlane, was reared in St. George. He went to Branch Normal School in Cedar, then on to the University of Utah. He taught school at BNS and then went back to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to attend medical school, after which he returned to Cedar City to practice medicine the rest of his life. He and Dr. Middleton had both married daughters of Richard Palmer, Lillie and Katherine.

The more M. J. Macfarlane learned, the less the LDS church in which he had been raised, appealed to him. Finally, he was unable to accept the LDS or any other religious doctrine; all of them he believed were “man-made.” He felt that way the rest of his life, and tried to influence his family and friends to think as he did. He was successful with many of them, especially his nephews who went away to school. His nephews were anti-Mormon, and scoffed at the church and its doctrine all through their lives. Only one of his children remained active in the LDS church.⁴²

A paradox existed in which he was highly respected all over the state in the medical profession, education, and government as well as by the people of Cedar City. He was a respected leader and a loved doctor, but the people of his hometown never ceased to chide him for denouncing and criticizing his Mormon heritage. Accommodation of differences in thinking and lifestyle among the younger generation had become a reality. In fact, diversity had never been entirely alien within the church.

Among the students he taught and influenced was a 13-year-old student from Bunkerville, Nevada--Juanita Leavitt. Of her teacher she said, “He opened my eyes and helped me establish an independence of thought.” After her marriage to Will Brooks, she wrote the Mountain Meadow Massacre, and later many other well-received historical books and articles. Dr. Joseph Walker added to Juanita’s “education,” but M. J. Macfarlane was pleased that his disbelief in orthodoxy had been an influence in her early life.⁴³ However, Juanita remained a faithful Mormon all her long, successful life.

TABLE 31

Higher Education, 1890—1915

(Sampling of local students)

NAME	INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	OCCUPATION
JOSEPH S. HUNTER	BYU	
MAYHEW H. DALLEY	BYU	TEACHER
MARY ANN M. PALMER	BYU	TEACHER
GEORGE W. MIDDLETON	BYU	DOCTOR
SARAH HIGBEE BULLOCH	BYU	TEACHER
ALFRED FROYD	AG of UT	
S.A. FOSTER	BNS	BANK CASHIER
ROBERT S. GARDNER	BNS/UofU	TEACHER
HAZEL FLANIGAN		
SARAH HEYBORNE DALLEY	BNS	TEACHER
MOLLIE M. PALMER	BYU	TEACHER
RICHARD MIDDLETON	UAS	
CATHERINE MIDDLETON	BNS	
ELLA BERRY LEIGH	BNS	
AMELIA DALLEY	BNS	TEACHER
JULIUS S. DALLEY	BNS/UofU	
EMMA GARDNER	BNS	PRINCIPAL
ALICE REED	BNS	
JOSEPH T. WILKERSON	BNS	NEWSPAPER EDITOR
MELLIE THORNTON PACE	BYU	TEACHER

SUPT. OF SCHOOLS
 JULIUS S. DALLEY
 ERASTUS B. DALLEY
 RICHARD BRYANT
 PARLEY DALLEY
 HERBERT P. HAIGHT
 J. WESLEY BARTON

Source: Newspaper articles; JH 1901 April 8, p. 5 Church Historical Dept.; Deseret News, Articles in Iron Co. Record, DUP library, Cedar City, UT.; Personal unpublished histories in DUP library and Special Collection room, SUSC, Cedar City, UT.; Histories in possession of private people.

Love of education and good teachers, such as Eugene Schoppman, a German convert, and later the stake academies and then BNS raised the literate level in 1900 to only three over 18 years who could not read or write English--one English, one Welsh, and one Scot. The demographics of 1880 were very different. In 1880 the census showed the following number of illiterates: English, 40; Welsh, 18; Scots, 10; Scandinavians, 9; U.S. and Utah, 10; and others, 10; for a total of 106. One hundred fifty-three children were under school age, five or younger, so of the population 18 and older, 15 percent could not read or write English.

Those unable to read or write were found most often among the older (55+) population, or couples and singles who were in the last years of the young adult group (20-39) when they immigrated. Also, second-generation children born in the land of their origin before immigration sometimes were found in the "can't read" or "can't write" or both groups. This was true of all ethnic groups.⁴⁴ There was also a direct correlation between command of the English language and leadership in the community, church and business.

One Scandinavian in that category was Nels Christofferson, brother-in-law of Bengt Nelson, who lived with the Nelsons. He was born in Sweden, was 36 years old and deaf. He could neither read nor write. He was still with the Nelson family in 1910. One of Bengt Nelson's last trips was to Salt Lake City to visit his son Charles and buy headstones for his mother-in-law and father-in-law and Nels, plus one for his wife and himself.⁴⁵

The relationship between the leading families of Cedar City was complex. Though lacking a common ancestry through marriage and intermingled kinship ties they shared common interests and LDS goals. There were changes but these changes corresponded to the generational cycles that underlay some of the fundamental rhythms of life found in rural western Mormon agricultural communities like Cedar City.

After statehood in 1896, the church policy of “called resettlement” generally ceased. The solidified kinship networks allowed extended families established by the first generation to continue. Sons could sustain close relationships with parents through economic opportunities and continued life in Cedar City or a nearby community in which their parents, siblings, grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins lived. The persistence of those early extended families provided a basic source of stability and continuity in a world entering a new phase.

Statehood also marked the interpenetration of the Utah community with the wider culture of American society. Gentiles came into the community and established churches and homes side by side with the local population. Sons and daughters moved out into the rest of the country. They went for education and better opportunities for employment. Some came back true to the ideals of their parents, some didn't. The roads beckoned in all directions, and automobiles made travel much faster and more pleasant.

It was in Utah that the Mormon subculture took shape made a necessity by the isolation and insufficient rainfall of Utah during the nineteenth century, according to Richard D. Poll. He states the saints had to apply cooperative concepts received in the East successfully enough to become more than communities of mindless followers.⁴⁶ The preoccupation with building and defending Zion reinforced a doctrinally-based “we-they” image of the world that has persisted among the descendants of those early Utah Mormons to the present.⁴⁷

The general character of Mormons became increasingly complex and varied after 1890. Ethnic background had encouraged variety in the Mormon community. Many in Cedar City as well as other Mormon communities had thought patterns formed by immersion in Mormon doctrine, but for various reasons personal or otherwise they did not take an active role in church activity, although they sent their children to weekly meetings.

The second generation was not hostile to the church or other Mormons. They defended the church against anti-Mormons, contributed time, money, and support to church and community efforts, but their third-generation children married out of the church, moved away and were totally inactive in church programs and ordinances. The children were not baptized, and the lifestyle of these “Jack Mormons” was identical with their non-Mormon counterparts. The Word of Wisdom by now had become an issue, dividing the “good Mormon” from the “Jack Mormon.”

That was true of several families in Cedar City, especially those in occupations that took them away from home for long periods. Their children went out to the herd or in the mining atmosphere for long periods of time, and often lost touch with the flow of church involvement. The original and first generation grew up when enforcement of the Word of Wisdom was much more lax, and steady attendance at meetings was not required. However, they continued to live their lives in the Mormon community as passive members or some as “Jack Mormons.” This group in the early decades at the turn of the century was small but it drew its members from every ethnic group and economic, political, and education segment of the local population.

Notes to Chapter 5

¹Dean May, "A Demographic Portrait of the Mormons, 1830-1980," Journal of Mormon History, 7, (1980), 64.

²Henry Lunt, Journals of Henry Lunt (1824-1902), Church Historical Department, 55.

³Ibid., 722, 73.

⁴Ibid., 115.

⁵Evelyn K. & York F. Jones, Mayors of Cedar City and Histories of Cedar City, Utah, (published by Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, Utah, 1986), 6 - 7.

⁶Oscar Handlin, "Historical Perspectives on the American Ethnic Group," Daedalus, 90 (Spring, 1961): 220-232, 226.

⁷Ibid., 229.

⁸Ibid., 229.

⁹Prominent Men of Southern Utah, Iron County Record, Cedar City, Utah, January 5, 1905, Files DUP Cedar City Library.

¹⁰Robert R. Dykstra, The Cattle Towns, (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1968), 209.

¹¹Andrew Jenson, "History of Parowan," (unpublished, Parowan Library, 66, 67). Boosterism was just as strong 50 years later. Promotion was found in the Deseret News and every local newspaper. For example, see Deseret News, October 4, 1897, titles "Cedar City Booms - This is the Place to Be" J. H. 1897, 11. The local newspapers were perpetual boosters of the advantages of settlement in Cedar City and Southern Utah.

¹²Iron County Record, DUP Library located in Cedar City Public Library, Cedar City, Utah.

¹³Kenneth G. Topham, Parowan Utah Stake History, 1851-1980, (Published by Parowan Sesquicentennial Committee, 1980), 68

¹⁴Ibid., 85.

¹⁵Ibid., 20.

¹⁶Ibid., 65.

¹⁷Obituary, Joseph Cosslett, Iron County Record, January 1910. DUP Special Collection, Cedar City Library, Cedar City, Utah

¹⁸Rhoda Bladen Willis (a daughter), "A Brief History of Thomas Samuel Bladen," Cedar City, Utah, January 1937, for the Cedar City Camp of the DUP, 1.

¹⁹Ibid., 2, 3.

²⁰Ibid., 4.

²¹Inez S. Cooper, "Homer Duncan," From Prominent Men of Utah File, Cedar City DUP, Special Collection, Cedar Library, Cedar City, Utah.

²²Ibid.

²³Obituaries, Christina Bulloch Sherratt, Iron County Record, July 1926, Cedar City DUP Special Collection, Cedar Library, Cedar City, Utah.

²⁴David Bulloch, Journal, and Life of David Bulloch, by his granddaughter Afton Bulloch, property of DUP, Cedar City, Utah.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Leonard J. Arrington, "Mormon Women in Nineteenth-Century Britain," Brigham University Studies, 27 (Winter 1987), 70.

²⁷Ibid., 72.

²⁸Ibid., 73.

²⁹Ibid., 74.

³⁰Evelyn K. & York F. Jones, Mayors of Cedar City, 133.

³¹Ibid.

³²Obituaries, Mrs. Barbara Tweedie, Iron County Record, August 25, 1911, DUP, Cedar City, Utah.

³³Original Journal of Henrietta Lunt Jones in possession of Madelon J. Payne, granddaughter, Cedar City, Utah.

³⁴Biographical sketch of Christina Mackelprang Chatterley, 1847-1938, manuscript lent to Zella B. Matheson by Mrs. Morton Thorley (great-granddaughter-in-law) to be copied for library of College of Southern Utah, Cedar City, Utah.

³⁵Evelyn K. and York F. Jones, Mayors of Cedar City, 188.

³⁶History in possession of Alene Gibson Chamberlain, Cedar City, Utah.

³⁷Obituary, Joseph Cosslett, Iron County Record, January 1910. Special Collection DUP, Cedar City Library, Cedar City, Utah.

³⁸June Ahlstrom, "Cedar City Opera House," Talk given May 14, 1968, for College of Southern Utah Library, Cedar City, Utah.

³⁹Oral interview with Samuel F. "Bud" Leigh, November 1, 1962. Interviewers: Inez S. Cooper and Tom Challis, OH444 Special Collections Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, Utah

⁴⁰George W. Middleton, Memoirs of A Pioneer Surgeon, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Publishers Press, 1976): 74

⁴¹Ibid., 75, 76.

⁴²L. W. Macfarlane, Doctor Macfarlane, the Man, His Land, and His People, (Cedar City, Utah: Southern Utah College Press, 1985), 270.

⁴³Ibid., 271.

⁴⁴Cedar City Census, 1880-1900.

⁴⁵Bengt Nelson, "Life Sketch of Bengt Nelson and His Wife Ellen J. Nelson," Special Collections, Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, Utah, 16.

⁴⁶Richard D. Poll, "Utah and the Mormons: A Symbiotic Relationship," New Views of Mormon History Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington, ed. by Davis Billon & Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1987), 325.

⁴⁷Ibid., 326.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

This study examined the ethnic groups that made up the Mormon community of Cedar City from 1851 to 1915. Through the use of quantifiable data, exploration, and study of the basic structure and ethnic composition of individuals and families within Cedar City has been possible. City and county records, church records, family histories, diaries, the manuscripts, census records, and assessment records have contributed statistical data, facts, and insight. Also studies of other communities and ethnic groups within the American settlement process have been compared and analyzed for similarities and differences, which could shed insight into the Cedar City community.

Mormon Apostles Erastus Snow and Franklin D. Richards reported in 1852 that in Cedar City they found a Scottish party, a Welsh party, an English party, and an American party, and even more important than producing iron, the community was producing saints for building up the Kingdom of God. G. H. Heap passing through Cedar City in the fall of 1853 described the inhabitants as principally foreigners, primarily Englishmen from the coal districts of Great Britain. They were mainly coal miners, as well as steel workers.

Cedar City, with its five well-represented ethnic groups, was typical of most Mormon communities. The foreign-born adult population peaked in 1880 with seventy percent of Cedar City's adults converts from overseas; 65 percent were British or Scandinavian. The population was characteristically young, and after 1900, American-born second and third generation children of their foreign-born parents. Studies of the 1900 and 1910 census also verified the arrival of new converts from foreign lands. Out of 145

English adults in 1900, 60 were new arrivals. Four new arrivals came between 1900 and 1910, indicating a change in immigrant policy.

The population of Cedar City in 1900 showed the majority of the ethnic heads of households to be age 40 or older. From the data studied the persistence rate in Cedar City was found to be comparable to other American and western communities at between 50 and 60 percent during the 1800s. However, 1900 showed a 90% persistence rate, as a result of the following: 1) discontinuance of the LDS church's settlement missions to unsettled areas in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico; 2) the upheaval of the "raid" by federal marshalls had ceased; 3) the panic and recession of the last decade had subsided, and foreign immigrants had slowed to a trickle; 4) the railhead at Lunt, Iron County, Utah, allowed shipment of livestock and produce to other markets; 5) higher education facilities had been built within the city; 6) Cedar City residents were enjoying enough economic growth to allow the young to remain within the community, plus "Southern Utahites" loved Southern Utah.

Melding European and American culture in the furnace of western Mormon acculturation was a grueling challenge. It required the immigrant to break with the Old World country, church, and often family and friends. The native language was tolerated only until the immigrant could learn to understand English. Cedar City, with its composition of ethnic groups living side by side throughout the community never had an enclave of any one minority which was found for example in "Dutch Town" in Washington County, Utah, or "Little Denmark" in Sanpete County, Utah.

The problems encountered by "Dutch Town" and "Little Denmark," were not mentioned as problems in Cedar. The composition of the total population was divided among all ethnic groups, with all the people advancing socially, economically or spiritually. The British and Americans due to their greater numbers generally surpassed the Continental

Europeans in status and wealth. All groups were conquerors of their environment by learning to work together as a community. However, even though the people learned English and used it in public, as Maggie Urie stated in her recollection of her grandparents, Peter and Sophie Mackelprang, in private or when they had something to say that they didn't want to be understood by others, they reverted to Danish.¹

Lehi Willard Jones in describing his early youth in Cedar City remembered with nostalgia learning to speak the Indian language from an Indian girl adopted by one of the local families. Also his parents taught him to speak Welsh. They did a great deal of singing and he learned many old Welsh songs, which were still part of his memories until his death in 1947.²

Each group from 1851 –1914 had equal opportunity for upward economic mobility with all families that remained in Cedar City experiencing an increase in real estate and personal wealth. Statistics show the foreign immigrants to have been mainly from among the skilled working classes. They emigrated through hard work, selling everything they owned, and through financial cooperation from others. When they arrived in Cedar City, their economic wealth consisted mainly of a team, wagon, and the clothing and household items contained within that wagon. By the turn of the century they had reached the fourth or fifth decile, evidence that they did better themselves financially through settlement in Cedar City.

To reach the economic prosperity at the turn of the century, major changes had occurred not only in the goals of the original Iron Mission, but also in the occupational status of those settlers called to produce the iron. In 1851 the settlers called to settle the Iron Mission were primarily miners who came to develop the iron industry for the LDS Church. Failure of the iron industry in 1858 required the population that stayed in Cedar and those that came later to make farming and livestock raising the major economic base. All ethnic groups were participants. Homesteading and public lands made farming and ranching profitable. In the summer the woman and children milked the cows and made the butter

and cheese at the mountain ranches while the men ran the farming and livestock down in town and on the desert. The railroad line, running through the county with a station at Lund, had a lot to do with the increased revenue. It broadened the relationship of Cedar City with the outside world. The first train came through the county in 1899, and steady growth resulted.

The work place and mass produced goods forced many occupational changes. Artisans, such as watchmakers, gardeners, shoemakers, blacksmiths, tanners, cabinetmakers, tailors, clocksetters, and bellringers, had nearly vanished by 1910. The one-man shopkeeper disappeared along with the home industries which had been the foundation of cooperative enterprise since the first cooperative mercantile in 1858 and livestock institutions in 1869.

A sense of community was established in these isolated Mormon towns by membership in the local ward family as well as through kinship ties and extended families. The local wards, like the small towns, had elements of similarity. In any Mormon ward one encountered the same meetings and activities, common programs and experiences did much to mold a common identity, culturally, socially, and traditionally. These factors all added up to a sense of group identity.

For example, the Cedar City Ward maintained musical and dramatic associations as early as 1852. During the winter of 1880, the society produced a play a week for thirteen weeks. Choirs were maintained for both religious and secular music. In 1866 fund raisers were under way to purchase instruments for the brass band and for a cabinet organ. Fiddlers were always available for ward dances.

The Mormon ward was the center of Mormon worship, religious training, humanitarian service, recreation, and friendship and other associations. For the Latter-day Saints, it was an arena of growth, a network of personal relationship, and a focal point of identity.³

Kinship ties and extended families helped unite the isolated rural communities of Southern Utah. Of the 327 marriages between 1888 and 1915, 77 percent of the brides and grooms were local. Proximity of available mates was the most important factor. Conformity to LDS standards was also a top priority; 38 percent of the marriages were performed in an LDS temple, and 62 percent were married by a local bishop. The year 1915 witnessed by far the largest number (five) of mixed Mormon and non-Mormon marriages, which seemed to indicate a slight shift.

Sweethearts married their local peers and settled down in their own homes in Cedar City even when the mate was from other areas in the county. This was especially true for Cedar males marrying females from outside areas. Fewer Cedar girls moved to the residences of their mates; more of their mates moved to Cedar City with them. Some lived on farms, either homesteaded or on property owned by the couples' families.

They were now part of the adult population, and enjoyed the advantages of life in a harmonious community of family and friends, related in one way or another to most of the local families by the third and fourth generation. This pattern of marriage, kinship ties, and local residency bonded the community into a close-knit group able to trace ancestry of the local surnames back to the original settlers. All ethnic groups were found among the 22 most common surnames. However, by the third generation all ethnic surnames had been intermingled with other ethnic surnames,

During this time period (1900-1915) an extraordinary degree of social harmony was realized. This was different from the "raid" period of the 1880s and 90s which created hardship, separation of families, and suffering among polygamous families. Statistics of husbands with more than one wife show 42 male heads of households, or 22 percent. All the ethnic groups were represented, but the English were the highest group with 26

percent. The lowest were the Welsh and Scandinavian with 10 and seven percent, which was typical of the rest of the church members elsewhere.

Did the ethnic groups in Cedar City better themselves as they were shaped into saints through helping build the Kingdom of God? The verdict from the evidence substantiates conclusively that every ethnic group bettered itself spiritually, socially, financially, and were able to leave their posterity a unified, harmonious community. They bequeathed to their children the ambition to aspire for great things and the ability to work unselfishly together to achieve them. As a result of this community spirit and cooperative effort, Cedar City was one of Utah's leading settlements. When a difficulty arose, everybody banded together and donated time, labor, and material wealth to meet the challenge. For continued progress economically, intellectually, and spiritually they had to encounter and make wise choices not just in their own area but in the changing American society of which they and their Mormon counterparts were now a part.

From the studies made, it became apparent that each ethnic group had cultural and physical abilities as a group that added strength, courage, endurance, humor, etc., to the rest of the community. It was also apparent that the family, and even more so the individual person, determined by their choices where they found themselves in the makeup of the community. Dysfunctional families were found in all groups, as were individuals with personality defects.

From city, county, and church records, Word of Wisdom problems such as alcohol accounted for most of the unacceptable behavior at home and in public. Alcohol addiction, long absences from home, projected personal grievances, avoidant personalities, and failure to read, write, or speak English, limited a family or an individual's commitment and dedication to church, economic betterment, or a place among the social elite.

By and large, the people of Cedar City reflected the characteristics that made the settlement and growth of the community during the period studied a significant time. They felt they had a mission to fulfill, and everything they did was dominated by that. At least three characteristics made the Mormon community, family, and person strong: a strong sense of mission; strong spiritual incentive; and a group consciousness that enabled them to work together for the good of the community.

Communities are like individuals. They have character, and the community which has men and women of vision, who are willing to labor cooperatively together, are fortunate. Cedar City was one of those progressive communities. Most of the inhabitants were people of vision who were the eyes of the community. They overcame impossible obstacles and their indomitable spirit and lives are the real history of Cedar City.

Notes to Chapter 6

¹Margret M. Urie, "Memories of My Grandparents, Peter and Sophie Mackelprang," unpublished history, possession of Arnetta Webb, daughter of Margret M. Urie, Cedar City, Utah

²York F. Jones & Evelyn K. Jones, Lehi Willard Jones, 1854-1947 (Salt Lake City, Utah: Woodruff Printing Company, 1972) 17.

³Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, The Mormon Expience: A History of The Latter-day Saints. (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1980) 216.

APPENDIX

TABLE 18
Real Estate & Personal Wealth of Adults, 1880
Cedar City (18 +)

REAL ESTATE				
DECILE	ENGLISH	\$ AMT	# Pop.	% OF WEALTH
1	\$0-99	\$0.00	84	0
2	100-249	\$775.00	6	10
3	250-499	\$2595.00	9	4
4	500-999	\$4500.00	6	6
5	1000-2499	\$28888.00	15	34
6	2500-4499	\$29850.00	9	35
7	5000-9999	\$17730.00	3	21
TOTAL		\$84338.00	132	100
	Median	\$125.00		
	Per Capita	\$638.92		
WELSH				
	\$0-99	\$75.00	20	1
	100-249	\$225.00	2	2
	250-499	\$1570.00	4	8
	500-999	\$4282.00	5	20
	1000-2499	\$10660.00	9	48
	2500-4499	\$5200.00	2	24
	5000-9999			
TOTAL		\$22012.00	42	100
	Median	\$125.00		
	Per Capita	\$546.00		
SCOTS				
	\$0-99	\$0.00	12	00
	100-249	—	—	—
	250-499	—	—	—
	500-999	\$880.00	1	6
	1000-2499	\$7,675.00	5	52
	2500-4499	\$6,100.00	3	42
	5000-9999			
TOTAL		\$14,655.00	21	100
	Median	0		
	Per Capita	\$698.00		

DECILE	SCANDINAVIANS	\$ AMT	# Pop.	% OF WEALTH
1	\$0-99	\$0.00	15	0
2	100-249	\$100.00	1	1
3	250-499	\$478.00	1	1
4	500-999	\$2743.00	4	18
5	1000-2499	\$6600.00	2	55
6	2500-4499	—	—	—
7	5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL		\$9,921.00	23	100
	Median	0		
	Per Capita	\$431.00		
US & UTAH				
	\$0-99	\$95.00	51	.0
	100-249	\$500.00	3	.01
	250-499	\$2,130.00	5	.1
	500-999	\$5,820.00	8	.16
	1000-2499	\$13,775.00	9	.38
	2500-4499	\$5,800.00	2	.16
	5000-9999	\$8,250.00	2	.23
TOTAL		\$36,370.00	80	1.000
	Median	0		
	Per Capita	\$454.00		
OTHERS				
	\$0-99	\$0.00	12	0
	100-249	—	—	0
	250-499	—	—	0
	500-999	\$750.00	1	.1
	1000-2499	\$3,790.00	2	.37
	2500-4499	\$5,700.00	2	.37
	5000-9999			
TOTAL		\$10,240.00	17	100
	Median	0		
	Per Capita	\$602.00		
TOTAL REAL ESTATE		\$179,728.00		

PERSONAL PROPERTY

ENGLISH	\$ AMT	Pop.	% OF WEALTH
\$0-99	\$216.00	93	0.01
100-249	\$1,502.00	10	0.04
250-499	\$3,285.00	10	0.1
500-999	\$7,295.00	10	0.21
1000-2499	\$7,300.00	5	0.21
2500-4499	\$8,150.00	3	0.24
5000-9999	\$6,750.00	1	0.20
TOTAL	\$34,498.00	132	100
Median	0		
Per Capita	\$261.35		
WELSH			
\$0-99	\$318.00	27	0.05
100-249	\$848.00	5	0.12
250-499	\$1,700.00	5	0.24
500-999	\$3,025.00	4	0.42
1000-2499	\$1,250.00	1	0.18
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$7,141.00	42	1.00
Median	0		
Per Capita	\$170.00		
SCOTS			
\$0-99	\$0.00	13	0
100-249	\$165.00	1	.02
250-499		0	
500-999	\$1,350.00	2	.17
1000-2499	\$6,685.00	5	.82
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$8,200.00	21	1.00
Median	0		
Per Capita	\$390.00		

SCANDINAVIANS			
\$0-99	\$148.00	17	0.01
100-249	\$140.00	1	0.01
250-499	\$650.00	2	0.14
500-999	\$645.00	1	0.14
1000-2499	\$3,150.00	2	0.67
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$4,733.00	23	1.00
Median	0		
Per Capita	\$205.00		
US & UTAH			
\$0-99	\$110.00	49	0.
100-249	\$575.00	4	0.02
250-499	\$3,100.00	8	0.20
500-999	\$3,800.00	6	0.12
1000-2499	\$9,530.00	8	0.31
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$17,115.00	75	1.00
Median	0		
Per Capita	\$228.00		
OTHERS			
\$0-99	\$0.00	12	0
100-249	\$167.00	1	0.04
250-499	\$800.00	2	0.97
500-999	\$3,100.00	2	0.76
1000-2499	—	—	—
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$4,067.00	17	1.00
Median	0		
Per Capita	\$239.00		

TOTAL WEALTH			
ENGLISH	\$ AMT	Pop.	% OF WEALTH
\$0-99	\$216.00	84	0
100-249	\$2,258.00	6	0.02
250-499	\$5,880.00	9	0.25
500-999	\$11,795.00	6	0.10
1000-2499	\$36,188.00	15	0.31
2500-4499	\$38,000.00	9	0.31
5000-9999	\$24,300.00	3	0.21
TOTAL	\$118,856.00	132	1.000
WELSH			
\$0-99	\$393.00	20	0.01
100-249	\$1,073.00	2	0.04
250-499	\$3,270.00	4	0.11
500-999	\$7,310.00	5	0.25
1000-2499	\$11,910.00	9	0.41
2500-4499	\$5,200.00	2	0.18
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$29,153.00	42	1.000
SCOTS			
\$0-99	\$0.00	12	0
100-249	\$165.00	—	0.01
250-499	—	—	0
500-999	\$2,230.00	1	0.10
1000-2499	\$14,360.00	5	0.63
2500-4499	\$6,100.00	3	0.27
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$22,855.00	21	1.000
SCANDINAVIANS			
\$0-99	\$148.00	15	0.01
100-249	\$240.00	—	0.01
250-499	\$1,125.00	—	0.07
500-999	\$3,388.00	4	0.20
1000-2499	\$5,325.00	5	0.32
2500-4499	\$6,600.00	3	0.40
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$16,826.00	23	1.000

US & UTAH			
\$0-99	\$205.00	49	0.01
100-249	\$1,075.00	4	0.02
250-499	\$5,230.00	8	0.08
500-999	\$9,620.00	6	0.14
1000-2499	\$23,305.00	8	0.35
2500-4499	\$5,800.00	4	0.09
5000-9999	\$8,250.00	4	0.12
10,000+	\$14,000.00	1	0.21
TOTAL	\$67,485.00	84	1.000
OTHERS			
\$0-99	\$0.00	12	0.01
100-249	\$167.00	1	0.06
250-499	\$800.00	2	0.05
500-999	\$750.00	1	0.48
1000-2499	\$6,890.00	1	0.40
2500-4499	\$5,700.00	1	
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$14,307.00	18	1.000
TOTAL	\$88,239.00		

Sources: 1880 assessment rolls, State Capital

Note: adults 18 and over are included because many heads of house-holds are widows representing their husbands estate and children over 18 and unmarried living with parents but listed on the rolls.

Total of all wealth \$269,482

TABLE 19
1880 Wealth of Persisters

REAL ESTATE			
ENGLISH	\$ AMT	Pop.	% OF WEALTH
\$0-99	\$60.00	42	0
100-249	\$625.00	6	.02
250-499	\$775.00	3	.02
500-999	\$2,200.00	3	.05
1000-2499	\$14,560.00	11	.30
2500-4499	\$12,050.00	4	.25
5000-9999	\$17,750.00	3	.37
TOTAL	\$48,020.00	72	1.00
Median	\$0.00		
Per Capita	\$671.00		
 WELSH			
\$0-99	\$0.00	9	0
100-249	\$710.00	4	0.04
250-499	\$1,314.00	3	0.07
500-999	\$2,120.00	3	0.11
1000-2499	\$12,547.00	8	0.64
2500-4499	\$2,785.00	1	0.14
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$19,476.00	28	1.00
Median	\$430.00		
Per Capita	\$695.00		
 SCOTS			
\$0-99	\$0.00	1	0
100-249	\$150.00	1	0.01
250-499	\$1,145.00	3	0.10
500-999	\$2,650.00	4	0.25
1000-2499	\$2,600.00	2	0.22
2500-4499	\$5,157.00	2	0.44
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$11,702.00	13	1.00
Median	\$500.00		
Per Capita	\$900.00		

SCANDINAVIANS			
\$0-99	\$0.00	3	0
100-249	\$575.00	3	.13
250-499	\$385.00	1	.09
500-999	\$2,073.00	3	.48
1000-2499	\$1,325.00	1	.30
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$4,358.00	11	1.00
Median	\$500.00		
Per Capita	\$900.00		
US & UTAH			
\$0-99	\$40.00	24	0.01
100-249	\$900.00	5	0.03
250-499	\$1,570.00	4	0.05
500-999	\$10,882.00	15	0.32
1000-2499	\$13,325.00	9	0.340
2500-4499	\$6,930.00	2	0.21
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$33,647.00	59	1.00
Median	\$200.00		
Per Capita	\$570.00		
OTHERS			
\$0-99	\$0.00	5	0
100-249	\$400.00	2	.08
250-499	0	0	.97
500-999	\$3,070.00	4	.60
1000-2499	\$1,650.00	1	.32
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$5,120.00	12	1.00
Median	\$200.00		
Per Capita	\$426.00		
TOTAL REAL ESTATE	\$122,623.00		

PERSONAL PROPERTY

ENGLISH	\$ AMT	Pop.	% OF WEALTH
\$0-99	\$155.00	46	.01
100-249	\$407.00	3	.02
250-499	\$3,050.00	9	.11
500-999	\$5,120.00	7	.19
1000-2499	\$5,550.00	4	.21
2500-4499	\$6,000.00	2	.22
5000-9999	\$6,750.00	1	.25
TOTAL	\$27,032.00	72	1.00
Median	\$0.00		
Per Capita	\$375.00		
WELSH			
\$0-99	\$195.00	14	.04
100-249	\$753.00	5	.14
250-499	\$2,270.00	7	.43
500-999	\$529.00	1	.10
1000-2499	\$1,594.00	1	.30
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$5,341.00	28	1.00
Median	\$0.00		
Per Capita	\$190.00		
SCOTS			
\$0-99	\$235.00	6	.04
100-249	\$462.00	3	.08
250-499	—	—	—
500-999	\$1,364.00	2	.22
1000-2499	—	—	—
2500-4499	\$4,060.00	1	.66
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$6,121.00	13	1.00
Median	\$172.00		
Per Capita	\$470.00		

SCANDINAVIANS			
\$0-99	\$198.00	6	.15
100-249	\$408.00	3	.31
250-499	\$717.00	2	.55
500-999	—	—	—
1000-2499	—	—	—
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$1,323.00	11	1.00
Median	\$0.00		
Per Capita	\$120.00		
US & UTAH			
\$0-99	\$295.00	29	.03
100-249	\$2,668.00	17	.26
250-499	\$1,056.00	3	.10
500-999	\$3,843.00	6	.38
1000-2499	\$2,352.00	2	.23
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$10,214.00	11	1.00
Median	\$0.00		
Per Capita	\$173.00		
OTHERS			
\$0-99	\$93.00	7	.07
100-249	\$752.00	4	.52
250-499	—	—	—
500-999	\$590.00	1	.41
1000-2499	—	—	—
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$1,435.00	12	1.00
Median	\$0.00		
Per Capita	\$119.00		

TOTAL WEALTH			
ENGLISH	\$ AMT	Pop.	% OF WEALTH
\$0-99	\$215.00	42	.01
100-249	\$1,332.00	6	.02
250-499	\$3,825.00	3	.05
500-999	\$7,320.00	3	.10
1000-2499	\$20,110.00	11	.27
2500-4499	\$18,050.00	4	.24
5000-9999	\$24,500.00	3	.33
TOTAL	\$75,352.00	72	1.00
WELSH			
\$0-99	\$195.00	9	.01
100-249	\$1,463.00	4	.06
250-499	\$3,584.00	3	.14
500-999	\$2,649.00	3	.11
1000-2499	\$14,141.00	8	.57
2500-4499	\$2,785.00	1	.11
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$24,817.00	28	1.00
SCOTS			
\$0-99	\$235.00	1	.01
100-249	\$612.00	1	.03
250-499	\$1,145.00	3	.06
500-999	\$4,014.00	4	.23
1000-2499	\$2,600.00	2	.15
2500-4499	\$9,217.00	2	.52
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$17,823.00	13	1.00

SCANDINAVIANS			
\$0-99	\$198.00	3	.04
100-249	\$983.00	3	.17
250-499	\$1,102.00	1	.19
500-999	\$2,073.00	3	.37
1000-2499	\$1,325.00	1	.23
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$5,681.00	11	1.00
US & UTAH			
\$0-99	\$335.00	24	.01
100-249	\$3,568.00	5	.08
250-499	\$2,626.00	4	.06
500-999	\$14,725.00	15	.334
1000-2499	\$15,677.00	9	.36
2500-4499	\$6,930.00	2	.16
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$43,861.00	59	1.00
OTHERS			
\$0-99	\$93.00	5	.01
100-249	\$1,152.00	2	.18
250-499	—	0	—
500-999	\$3,660.00	4	.56
1000-2499	\$1,650.00	1	.25
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$6,555.00	12	1.00
TOTAL	\$122,623.00		

Sources: 1880 assessment rolls, State Capital
Note: adults 18 and over are included because many heads of house-holds are widows representing their husbands estate and children over 18 and unmarried living with parents but listed on the rolls.

TABLE 20
1900 Adult Wealth

REAL ESTATE ENGLISH	\$ AMT	Pop.	% OF WEALTH
\$0-99	\$205.00	52	.01
100-249	\$3,722.00	10	.07
250-499	\$4,980.00	17	.09
500-999	\$9,050.00	13	.16
1000-2499	\$19,476.00	15	.34
2500-4499	\$6,025.00	2	.10
5000-9999	\$14,106.00	2	.25
TOTAL	\$57,564.00	111	1.00
Per Capita	\$549.00		
WELSH			
\$0-99	\$0.00	14	0
100-249	\$935.00	5	.04
250-499	\$2,149.00	5	.10
500-999	\$2,999.00	4	.14
1000-2499	\$12,547.00	8	.59
2500-4499	\$2,785.00	1	.13
5000-9999	—	0	—
TOTAL	\$21,415.00	37	1.00
Per Capita	\$578.00		
SCOTS			
\$0-99	\$0.00	3	0
100-249	\$570.00	4	.05
250-499	\$1,145.00	3	.09
500-999	\$2,650.00	4	.22
1000-2499	\$2,600.00	2	.22
2500-4499	\$5,157.00	2	.43
5000-9999	—	0	—
TOTAL	\$12,122.00	18	1.00
Per Capita	\$673.00		

SCANDINAVIANS			
\$0-99	\$70.00	14	.01
100-249	\$915.00	6	.13
250-499	\$2,050.00	6	.29
500-999	\$2,738.00	4	.39
1000-2499	\$1,325.00	1	.19
2500-4499	—	0	—
5000-9999	—	0	—
TOTAL	\$7,098.00	31	1.00
Per Capita	\$338.00		
US & UTAH			
\$0-99	\$443.00	250	.01
100-249	\$3,035.00	19	.03
250-499	\$12,028.00	27	.12
500-999	\$33,805.00	46	.34
1000-2499	\$31,699.00	24	.34
2500-4499	\$19,578.00	6	.20
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$100,588.00	372	1.00
Per Capita	\$270.40		
OTHERS			
\$0-99	\$0.00	12	.000
100-249	\$575.000	3	.076
250-499	\$740.000	2	.097
500-999	\$4,645.000	6	.610
1000-2499	\$1,650.000	1	.214
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$7,610.000	24	1.00
Per Capita	\$317.00		
TOTAL	\$206,562.00		

PERSONAL PROPERTY

ENGLISH	\$ AMT	Pop.	% OF WEALTH
\$0-99	\$895.00	69	.04
100-249	\$2,715.00	18	.13
250-499	\$5,434.00	11	.25
500-999	\$1,854.00	3	.09
1000-2499	\$2,300.00	2	.11
2500-4499	\$8,550.00	2	.39
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$21,748.00	105	1.00
Per Capita	\$207.00		
WELSH			
\$0-99	\$390.00	21	.07
100-249	\$1,039.00	7	.18
250-499	\$2,270.00	7	.39
500-999	\$529.00	1	.09
1000-2499	\$1,594.00	1	.28
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$5,822.00	37	1.00
Per Capita	\$157.00		
SCOTS			
\$0-99	\$295.00	11	.05
100-249	\$462.00	3	.08
250-499	—	—	—
500-999	\$1,364.00	2	.22
1000-2499	—	—	—
2500-4499	\$4,060.00	1	.66
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$6,181.00	17	1.00
Per Capita	\$364.00		
SCANDINAVIANS			
\$0-99	\$438.00	24	.14
100-249	\$568.00	4	.19
250-499	\$717.00	2	.23
500-999	\$1,355.00	1	.45
1000-2499	—	—	—
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$3,078.00	31	1.00
Per Capita	\$99.00		
US & UTAH			
\$0-99	\$1,983.00	258	.05
100-249	\$6,160.00	46	.14
250-499	\$3,685.00	11	.09
500-999	\$6,663.00	26	.16
1000-2499	\$7,147.00	9	.17
2500-4499	\$12,019.00	3	.28

5000-9999	\$5,405.00	1	.13
TOTAL	\$43,062.00		354 1.00
Per Capita	\$122.00		
OTHERS			
\$0-99	\$120.00	15	.05
100-249	\$1,087.00	7	.45
250-499	—	—	—
500-999	\$1,190.00	1	.50
1000-2499	—	—	—
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$2,397.00	23	1.00
Per Capita	\$104.00		
TOTAL	\$82,289.00		

TOTAL WEALTH			
ENGLISH	\$ AMT	Pop.	% OF WEALTH
\$0-99	\$1,100.00	52	.01
100-249	\$6,437.00	10	.08
250-499	\$10,414.00	17	.13
500-999	\$10,904.00	13	.14
1000-2499	\$21,776.00	15	.27
2500-4499	\$14,575.00	2	.18
5000-9999	\$14,106.00	2	.19
TOTAL	\$79,312.00	111	1.00
WELSH			
\$0-99	\$390.00	14	.02
100-249	\$1,974.00	5	.07
250-499	\$4,419.00	5	.16
500-999	\$3,528.00	4	.13
1000-2499	\$14,141.00	8	.52
2500-4499	\$2,785.00	1	.10
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$27,237.00	37	1.00
SCOTS			
\$0-99	\$295.00	3	.02
100-249	\$1,032.00	4	.06
250-499	\$1,145.00	3	.06
500-999	\$4,014.00	4	.22
1000-2499	\$2,650.00	2	.14
2500-4499	\$9,217.00	2	.50
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$18,353.00	18	1.00
SCANDINAVIANS			
\$0-99	\$508.00	14	.05
100-249	\$1,483.00	6	.15
250-499	\$2,767.00	6	.27
500-999	\$2,738.00	4	.27
1000-2499	\$2,680.00	1	.26
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$10,176.00	31	1.00

US & UTAH			
\$0-99	\$2,426.00	250	.02
100-249	\$9,195.00	19	.06
250-499	\$15,713.00	27	.11
500-999	\$40,468.00	46	.28
1000-2499	\$38,846.00	24	.27
2500-4499	\$31,591.00	6	.22
5000-9999	\$5,405.00	—	.08
TOTAL	\$143,644.00	372	1.00
OTHERS			
\$0-99	\$120.00	12	.012
100-249	\$1,662.00	3	.166
250-499	\$740.00	2	.074
500-999	\$5,835.00	6	.583
1000-2499	\$1,650.00	1	.165
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$10,007.00	24	1.00

TOTAL \$288,775.00

Sources: 1880 assessment rolls, State Capital

Note: adults 18 and over are included because many heads of house-holds are widows representing their husbands estate and children over 18 and unmarried living with parents but listed on the rolls.

TABLE 21
1900 Wealth of Persisters

REAL ESTATE			
ENGLISH	\$ AMT	Pop.	% OF WEALTH
\$0-99	\$60.00	42	0
100-249	\$625.00	6	.02
250-499	\$775.00	3	.02
500-999	\$2,200.00	3	.05
1000-2499	\$14,560.00	11	.30
2500-4499	\$12,050.00	4	.25
5000-9999	\$17,750.00	3	.37
TOTAL	\$48,020.00	72	1.00
Per Capita	667.00		
WELSH			
\$0-99	\$0.00	9	.000
100-249	\$710.00	4	.036
250-499	\$1,314.00	3	.067
500-999	\$2,120.00	3	.109
1000-2499	\$12,547.00	8	.644
2500-4499	\$2,785.00	1	.144
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$19,476.00	28	1.00
Per Capita	\$695.00		
SCOTS			
\$0-99	\$0.00	1	0
100-249	\$150.00	1	.01
250-499	\$1,145.00	3	.02
500-999	\$2,650.00	4	.23
1000-2499	\$2,600.00	2	.22
2500-4499	\$5,157.00	2	.44
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$11,702.00	13	1.00
Per Capita	\$900.00		

SCANDINAVIANS			
\$0-99	\$0.00	3	0
100-249	\$575.00	3	.13
250-499	\$385.00	1	.09
500-999	\$2,073.00	3	.48
1000-2499	\$1,325.00	1	.30
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$4,358.00/	11	1.00
Per Capita	\$396.00		
US & UTAH			
\$0-99	\$40.00	24	.01
100-249	\$900.00	5	.03
250-499	\$1,570.00	4	.05
500-999	\$10,882.00	15	.32
1000-2499	\$13,325.00	9	.40
2500-4499	\$6,930.00	2	.21
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$33,647.00	59	1.00
Per Capita	\$570.00		
OTHERS			
\$0-99	\$0.00	5	0
100-249	\$400.00	2	.08
250-499	—	—	—
500-999	\$3,070.00	4	.60
1000-2499	\$1,650.00	1	.32
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$5,120.00	12	1.00
Per Capita	\$426.00		
TOTAL	\$117,509.00		

PERSONAL PROPERTY

ENGLISH	\$ AMT	Pop.	% OF WEALTH
\$0-99	\$741.00	40	.038
100-249	\$2,130.00	15	.108
250-499	\$3,995.00	11	.204
500-999	\$1,854.00	3	.094
1000-2499	\$2,300.00	2	.118
2500-4499	\$8,550.00	2	.438
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$19,570.00	73	1.00
Per Capita	\$268.00		
WELSH			
\$0-99	\$195.00	14	.04
100-249	\$753.00	5	.14
250-499	\$2,270.00	7	.43
500-999	\$529.00	1	.10
1000-2499	\$1,594.00	1	.30
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$5,341.00	28	1.00
Per Capita	\$190.00		
SCOTS			
\$0-99	\$235.00	6	.04
100-249	\$462.00	3	.08
250-499			
500-999	\$1,364.00	2	.22
1000-2499			
2500-4499	\$4,060.00	2	.66
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$6,121.00	13	1.00
Per Capita	\$470.00		
SCANDINAVIANS			
\$0-99	\$198.00	6	.149
100-249	\$408.00	3	.309
250-499	\$717.00	2	.542
500-999			
1000-2499	—	—	—
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$1,323.00	11	1.00
Per Capita	\$120.00		

US & UTAH			
\$0-99	\$295.00	29	.03
100-249	\$2,668.00	17	.26
250-499	\$1,056.00	3	.10
500-999	\$3,843.00	6	.38
1000-2499	\$2,352.00	2	.23
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$10,214.00	57	1.00
Per Capita	\$179.00		
OTHERS			
\$0-99	\$93.00	7	.07
100-249	\$752.00	4	.52
250-499	—	—	—
500-999	\$590.00	1	.41
1000-2499	—	—	—
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$1,435.00	12	1.00
Per Capita	\$119.00		
TOTAL	\$68,915.00		
TOTAL WEALTH			
ENGLISH	\$ AMT	Pop.	% OF WEALTH
\$0-99	\$946.00		.02
100-249	\$5,420.00		.09
250-499	\$8,475.00		.14
500-999	\$7,164.00		.11
1000-2499	\$20,716.00		.33
2500-4499	\$11,805.00		.19
5000-9999	\$8,260.00		.13
TOTAL	\$62,786.00	72	1.00
Per Capita	\$871.00		
WELSH			
\$0-99	\$195.00		.006
100-249	\$1,463.00		.043
250-499	\$3,584.00		.103
500-999	\$2,649.00		.076
1000-2499	\$24,141.00		.693
2500-4499	\$2,785.00		.079
5000-9999	—		—
TOTAL	\$34,817.00	28	1.00
Per Capita	\$1,243.00		

SCOTS			
\$0-99	\$235.00		.01
100-249	\$612.00		.03
250-499	\$1,145.00		.07
500-999	\$4,014.00		.23
1000-2499	\$2,600.00		.15
2500-4499	\$9,217.00		.52
5000-9999	—		—
TOTAL	\$17,823.00	13	1.00
Per Capita	\$1,371.00		
SCANDINAVIANS			
\$0-99	\$198.00		.04
100-249	\$983.00		.17
250-499	\$1,102.00		.19
500-999	\$2,073.00		.37
1000-2499	\$1,325.00		.23
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$5,681.00	11	1.00
Per Capita	\$516.00		
US & UTAH			
\$0-99	\$335.00		.01
100-249	\$3,568.00		.08
250-499	\$2,626.00		.05
500-999	\$14,725.00		.33
1000-2499	\$15,677.00		.37
2500-4499	\$6,930.00		.16
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$43,861.00	59	1.00
Per Capita	\$743.00		
OTHERS			
\$0-99	\$93.00		.01
100-249	\$1,152.00		.18
250-499	—	—	—
500-999	\$3,660.00		.56
1000-2499	\$1,650.00		.25
2500-4499	—	—	—
5000-9999	—	—	—
TOTAL	\$6,555.00	12	1.00
Per Capita	\$546.00		

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